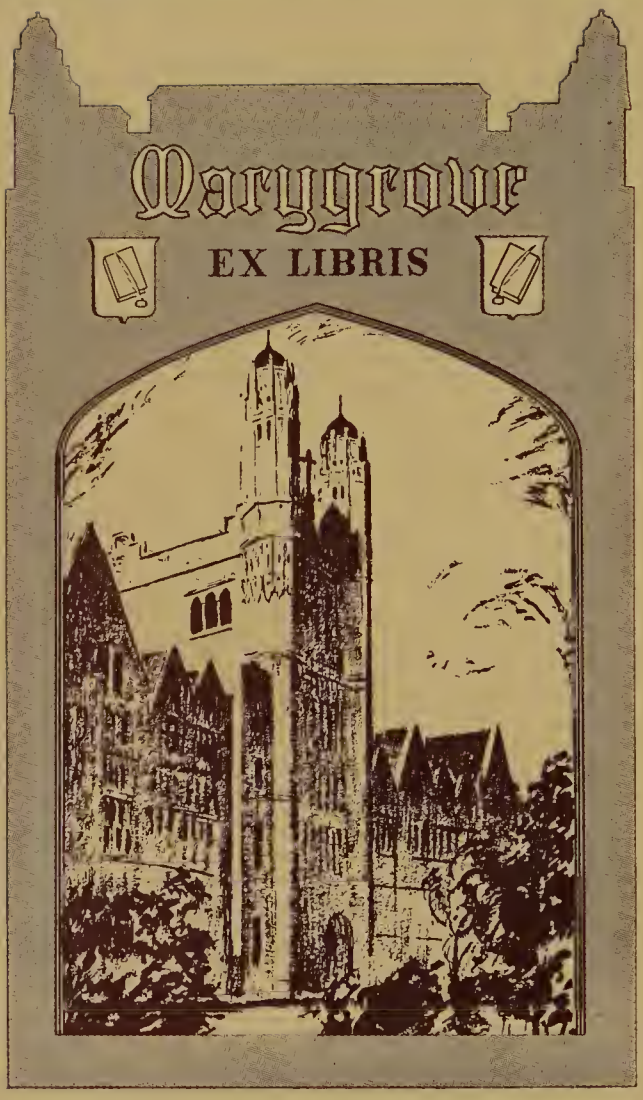
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ANNUAL REPORT OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE YEAR 1929

IN ONE VOLUME

AND A SUPPLEMENTAL VOLUME

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1930

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LETTER OF SUBMITTAL

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
Washington, D. C., May 29, 1930.

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the act of incorporation of the American Historical Association approved January 4, 1889, I have the honor of submitting to Congress the annual report of the association for the year 1929. I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

C. G. ABBOT, *Secretary.*

ACT OF INCORPORATION

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Andrew D. White, of Ithaca, in the State of New York; George Bancroft, of Washington, in the District of Columbia; Justin Winsor, of Cambridge, in the State of Massachusetts; William F. Poole, of Chicago, in the State of Illinois; Herbert B. Adams, of Baltimore, in the State of Maryland; Clarence W. Bowen, of Brooklyn, in the State of New York, their associates and successors, are hereby created, in the District of Columbia, a body corporate and politic by the name of the American Historical Association, for the promotion of historical studies, the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts, and for kindred purposes in the interest of American history and of history in America. Said association is authorized to hold real and personal estate in the District of Columbia so far only as may be necessary to its lawful ends to an amount not exceeding $500,000, to adopt a constitution, and make by-laws not inconsistent with law. Said association shall have its principal office at Washington, in the District of Columbia, and may hold its annual meetings in such places as the said incorporators shall determine. Said association shall report annually to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution concerning its proceedings and the condition of historical study in America. Said secretary shall communicate to Congress the whole of such report, or such portions thereof as he shall see fit. The Regents of the Smithsonian Institution are authorized to permit said association to deposit its collections, manuscripts, books, pamphlets, and other material for history in the Smithsonian Institution or in the National Museum at their discretion, upon such conditions and under such rules as they shall prescribe.

[Approved, January 4, 1889.]

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,
Washington, D. C., May 15, 1930.

SIR: As provided by law, we submit herewith the annual report of the American Historical Association for the year 1929.

This consists of the proceedings of the forty-fourth annual meeting held at Durham and Chapel Hill, N. C., December 30–31, 1929, and January 1, 1930, the proceedings of the twenty-fifth annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association held at Eugene, Oreg., on December 27–28, 1929, the proceedings of the twenty-fourth annual session of the Conference of Historical Societies at Indianapolis, December 31, 1928, and the sixteenth report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, embracing correspondence addressed to John C. Calhoun, 1837–1849, edited by Chauncey S. Boucher and Robert P. Brooks.

In accordance with the present policy of the association, papers and abstracts of papers read are omitted, but the places of publication of those which have been printed and of those which are scheduled for early appearance are indicated.

A supplemental volume contains a bibliography of writings on American history during the year 1929, compiled by Miss Grace Gardner Griffin.

LEO F. STOCK,
Chairman Committee on Publications.
LOWELL JOSEPH RAGATZ,
Editor.

To the SECRETARY OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
Washington, D. C.

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CONSTITUTION

I

The name of this society shall be The American Historical Association.

II

Its object shall be the promotion of historical studies.

III

Any person approved by the executive council may become a member by paying $5 and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of $5. On payment of $100 any person may become a life member exempt from fees. Persons not resident in the United States may be elected as honorary or corresponding members and be exempt from the payment of fees.

IV

The officers shall be a president, a first vice president, a second vice president, a secretary, a treasurer, an assistant secretary-treasurer, and an editor.

The president, vice presidents, secretary, and treasurer shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting in the manner provided in the by-laws.

The assistant secretary-treasurer and the editor shall be elected by the executive council. They shall perform such duties and receive such compensation as the council may determine.

If the office of president shall, through any cause, become vacant, the first vice president shall thereupon become president, and the second vice president shall become first vice president whenever the office of the first vice president shall have been vacated.

V

There shall be an executive council, constituted as follows:

1. The president, the vice presidents, the secretary, and the treasurer.
2. Elected members, eight in number, to be chosen annually in the same manner as the officers of the association.
3. The former presidents, but a former president shall be entitled to vote for the three years succeeding the expiration of his term as president, and no longer.

VI

The executive council shall conduct the business, manage the property, and care for the general interests of the association. In the exercise of its proper functions, the council may appoint such committees, commissions, and boards as it may deem necessary. The council shall make a full report of its activities to the annual meeting of the association. The association may by vote at any annual meeting instruct the executive council to discontinue or enter upon any activity, and may take such other action in directing the affairs of the association as it may deem necessary and proper.

VII

This constitution may be amended at any annual meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at the previous annual meeting or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the executive council.

BY-LAWS

I

The officers provided for by the constitution shall have the duties and perform the functions customarily attached to their respective offices with such others as may from time to time be prescribed.

II

A nomination committee of five members shall be chosen at each annual business meeting in the manner hereafter provided for the election of officers of the association. At such convenient time prior to the 15th of September as it may determine, it shall invite every member to express to it his preference regarding every office to be filled by election at the ensuing annual business meeting and regarding the composition of the new nominating committee then to be chosen. It shall publish and mail to each member at least one month prior to the annual business meeting such nominations as it may determine upon for each elective office and for the next nominating committee. It shall prepare for use at the annual business meeting an official ballot containing, as candidate for each office or committee membership to be filled thereat, the names of its nominees and also the names of any other nominees which may be proposed to the chairman of the committee in writing by 20 or more members of the association at least one day before the annual business meeting, but such nominations by petition shall not be presented until after the committee shall have reported its nominations to the association as provided for in the present by-law. The official ballot shall also provide under each office a blank space for voting for such further nominees as any member may present from the floor at the time of the election.

III

The annual election of officers and the choice of a nominating committee for the ensuing year shall be conducted by the use of an official ballot prepared as described in By-law II.

IV

The association authorizes the payment of traveling expenses incurred by the voting members of the council attending one meeting of that body a year, this meeting to be other than that held in connection with the annual meeting of the association.

The council may provide for the payment of expenses incurred by the secretary, the assistant secretary-treasurer, and the editor in such travel as may be necessary to the transaction of the association's business.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Organized at Saratoga, N. Y., September 10, 1884. Incorporated by Congress January 4, 1889

Officers for 1930

PRESIDENT

EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE
Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

FIRST VICE PRESIDENT

EPHRAIM DOUGLASS ADAMS[1]
Stanford University, Calif.

SECOND VICE PRESIDENT

CARL BECKER
Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

SECRETARY

DEXTER PERKINS
University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.

TREASURER

CHARLES MOORE
40 B Street SW., Washington, D. C.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY-TREASURER

PATTY W. WASHINGTON
40 B Street SW., Washington, D. C.

EDITOR

LOWELL JOSEPH RAGATZ
The George Washington University, Washington, D. C.

Executive Council

(Ex officio: The president, vice president, secretary, and treasurer)

Former Presidents

JOHN BACH McMASTER
2109 Delancey Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON
Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART
Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

FREDERICK J. TURNER
The Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.

[1] Died Sept. 1, 1930.

ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN
University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

GEORGE L. BURR
Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

WORTHINGTON C. FORD
Care Morgan and Cie., 14 Place Vendome, Paris, France

EDWARD CHANNING
Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

JEAN JULES JUSSERAND
5 Avenue Montaigne, Paris, France

CHARLES H. HASKINS
53 Francis Avenue, Cambridge, Mass.

EDWARD P. CHEYNEY
University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS
424 St. Ronan Street, New Haven, Conn.

DANA C. MUNRO
Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR
135 East Sixty-sixth Street, New York, N. Y.

JAMES H. BREASTED
University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON
173 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y.

ELECTED COUNCILORS

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Stanford University, Calif.

WILLIAM L. CLEMENTS
Bay City, Mich.

SAMUEL E. MORISON
Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

WINFRED T. ROOT
State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa

ELIZABETH DONNAN
Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.

JOSEPH G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

DIXON R. FOX
Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

ULRICH B. PHILLIPS
Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

PACIFIC COAST BRANCH

OFFICERS FOR 1930

PRESIDENT

FRANK W. PITMAN
Pomona College

VICE PRESIDENT

DAN E. CLARK
University of Oregon

SECRETARY-TREASURER

CARL F. BRAND
Stanford University

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

(In addition to the above-named officers)

OSGOOD HARDY
Occidental College

H. A. HUBBARD
University of Arizona

F. C. PALM
University of California

E. S. McMAHON
University of Washington

TERMS OF OFFICE

(Deceased officers are marked thus: †)

EX-PRESIDENTS

†ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, L. H. D., LL. D., D. C. L., 1884–1885.
†GEORGE BANCROFT, LL. D., 1885–1886.
†JUSTIN WINDSOR, LL. D., 1886–1887.
†WILLIAM FREDERICK POOLE, LL. D., 1887–1888.
†CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL. D., 1888–1889.
†JOHN JAY, LL. D., 1889–1890.
†WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL. D., 1890–1891.
†JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL. D., 1891–1893.
†HENRY ADAMS, LL. D., 1893–1894.
†GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL. D., 1895.
†RICHARD SALTER STORRS, D. D., LL. D., 1896.
†JAMES SCHOULER, LL. D., 1897.
†GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., 1898.
†JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D., D. Litt., 1890.
†EDWARD EGGLESTON, L. H. D., 1900.
†CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL. D., 1901.
†ALFRED THAYER MAHAN, D. C. L., LL. D., 1902.
†HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL. D., 1903.
†GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL. D., 1904.
JOHN BACH McMASTER, Ph. D., Litt. D., LL. D., 1905.
†SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL. D., 1906.
J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, Ph. D., LL. D., Litt. D., 1907.
†GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, Ph. D., Litt. D., 1908.
ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, Ph. D., LL. D., Litt. D., 1909.
FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, Ph. D., LL. D., Litt. D., 1910.
WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, Ph. D., L. H. D., LL. D., 1911.
†THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D., D. C. L., 1912.
†WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, Ph. D., LL. D., 1913.
ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, A. M., LL. B., LL. D., 1914.
†H. MORSE STEPHENS, M. A., Litt. D., 1915.
GEORGE LINCOLN BURR, LL. D., Litt. D., 1916.
WORTHINGTON C. FORD, A. M., 1917.
†WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER, LL. D., Litt. D., L. H. D., 1918–1919.
EDWARD CHANNING, Ph. D., Litt. D., 1920.
JEAN JULES JUSSERAND, F. B. A., 1921.
CHARLES H. HASKINS, Ph. D., Litt. D., LL. D., 1922.
EDWARD P. CHEYNEY, A. M., LL. D., 1923.
†WOODROW WILSON, LL. D., Litt. D., 1924.
CHARLES M. ANDREWS, A. M., Ph. D., L. H. D., 1925.
DANA C. MUNRO, L. H. D., 1926.
HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR, LL. B., L. H. D., Litt. D., 1927.
JAMES H. BREASTED, Ph. D., Litt. D., 1928.
JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON, Ph. D., LL. D., 1929.

EX-VICE PRESIDENTS

†JUSTIN WINSOR, LL. D., 1884–1886.
†CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL. D., 1884–1888.
†WILLIAM FREDERICK POOLE, LL. D., 1886–1887.
†JOHN JAY., LL. D., 1887–1889.
†WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL. D., 1888–1890.
†JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL. D., 1889–1891.
†HENRY ADAMS, LL. D., 1890–1893.
†EDWARD GAY MASON, A. M., 1891–1894.
†GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL. D., 1894.
†RICHARD SALTER STORRS, D. D., LL. D., 1895.
†JAMES SCHOULER, LL. D., 1895, 1896.
†GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., 1896, 1897.
†JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D., D. Litt., 1897, 1898.
†EDWARD EGGLESTON, L. H. D., 1898, 1899.
†MOSES COIT TYLER, L. H. D., LL. D., 1899, 1900.

†CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL. D., 1900.
†HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS, PH. D., LL. D., 1901.
†ALFRED THAYER MAHAN, D. C. L., LL. D., 1901.
†HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL. D., 1902.
†GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL. D., 1902, 1903.
†EDWARD McCRADY, LL. D., 1903.
JOHN BACH McMASTER, PH. D., LITT. D., LL. D., 1904.
†SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL. D., 1904, 1905.
J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1905, 1906.
†GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PH. D., LITT. D., 1906, 1907.
ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1907, 1908.
FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1908, 1909.
†WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, PH. D., L. H. D., LL. D., 1909, 1910.
†THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D., D. C. L., 1910, 1911.
†WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, PH. D., LL. D., 1911, 1912.
ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, A. M., LL. B., LL. D., 1912, 1913.
†H. MORSE STEPHENS, M. A., LITT. D., 1913, 1914.
GEORGE LINCOLN BURR, LL. D., LITT. D., 1914, 1915.
WORTHINGTON C. FORD, A. M., 1915, 1916.
†WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER, LL. D., LITT. D., L. H. D., 1916, 1917.
EDWARD CHANNING, PH. D., LITT. D., 1917, 1918–1919.
JEAN JULES JUSSERAND, F. B. A., 1918–1919, 1920.
CHARLES H. HASKINS, PH. D., 1920, 1921.
EDWARD P. CHEYNEY, A. M., LL. D., 1921, 1922.
†WOODROW WILSON, LL. D., LITT., D., 1922, 1923.
CHARLES M. ANDREWS, A. M., PH. D., 1923, 1924.
DANA C. MUNRO, L. H. D., 1924, 1925.
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JAMES H. BREASTED, PH. D., LL. D., 1926, 1927.
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EVARTS B. GREENE, PH. D., 1928, 1929.

SECRETARIES

†HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS, PH. D., LL. D., 1884–1900.
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CHARLES HOMER HASKINS, PH. D., 1900–1913.
WALDO GIFFORD LELAND, A. M., 1908–1919.
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†JOHN SPENCER BASSETT, PH. D., 1919–1928.
DEXTER PERKINS, PH. D., 1928–.

TREASURERS

CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN, PH. D., 1884–1917.
CHARLES MOORE, PH. D., 1917–.

CURATOR

†A. HOWARD CLARK, A. M., 1889–1918.

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†CHARLES DEANE, LL. D., 1884–1887.
†MOSES COIT TYLER, L. H. D., LL. D., 1884–1885.
EPHRAIM EMERTON, PH. D., 1884–1885.
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JOHN W. BURGESS, PH. D., LL. D., 1887–1891.
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†THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D., D. C. L., 1894–1895.
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ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PH. D., LITT. D., 1897–1900.
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†WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, PH. D., LL. D., 1899–1902.
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MAX FARRAND, PH. D., 1907–1910.
FRANK HEYWOOD HODDER, PH. M., 1907–1910.
EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, PH. D., 1908–1911.
CHARLES HENRY HULL, PH. D., 1908–1911.
FRANKLIN LAFAYETTE RILEY, A. M., PH. D., 1909–1912
EDWIN ERLE SPARKS, PH. D., LL. D., 1909–1912.
JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN, PH. D., LL. D., 1910–1913.
FRED MORROW FLING, PH. D., 1910–1913.
HERMAN VANDENBURG AMES, PH. D., 1911–1914.
DANA C. MUNRO, A. M., 1911–1914.
ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE, PH. D., 1912–1914.
JOHN MARTIN VINCENT, PH. D., LL. D., 1912–1915.
FREDERIC BANCROFT, PH. D., LL. D., 1913–1915.
CHARLES HOMER HASKINS, PH. D., 1913–1916.
EUGENE C. BARKER, PH. D., 1914–1917.
GUY S. FORD, B. L., PH. D., 1914–1917.
ULRICH B. PHILLIPS, PH. D., 1914–1917.
†LUCY M. SALMON, A. M., L. H. D., 1915–1919.
†SAMUEL B. HARDING, PH. D., 1915–1919.
HENRY E. BOURNE, A. B., B. D., L. H. D., 1916–1920.
CHARLES MOORE, PH. D., 1916–1917.
GEORGE M. WRONG, M. A., 1916–1920.
HERBERT E. BOLTON, B. L., PH. D., 1917–1920.
WILLIAM E. DODD, PH. D., 1917–1920.
WALTER L. FLEMING, M. S., PH. D., 1917–1920.
WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH, PH. D., 1917–1920.
JAMES T. SHOTWELL, PH. D., 1919–1922
RUTH PUTNAM, B. LITT., 1919–1922.
ARTHUR L. CROSS, PH. D., 1920–1924.
SIDNEY B. FAY, PH. D., 1920–1924.
CARL RUSSELL FISH, PH. D., 1920–1923.
CARLTON J. H. HAYES, PH. D., 1920–1925.
FREDERIC L. PAXSON, PH. D., 1920–1925.
ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT, PH. D., 1920–1923.
HENRY P. BIGGAR, B. A., B. LITT. 1922–1925.
MARY W. WILLIAMS, PH. D., 1922–1926.
CHARLES H. McILWAIN, PH. D., 1923–1926.
ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, PH. D., 1923–1926.
WILLIAM K. BOYD, PH. D., 1924–1927.
NELLIE NEILSON, PH. D., 1924–1927.
†ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE, A. M., LL. D., 1925–1927.
LAURENCE M. LARSON, PH. D., 1925–1928.
FRANK MALOY ANDERSON, A. M., 1925–1928.
JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS, A. M., LL. D., LITT. D., 1926–1929.
DWIGHT W. MORROW, A. B., LL. B., 1926–1929.
PAYSON J. TREAT, PH. D., 1926–
WILLIAM L. CLEMENTS, B. S., 1927–
SAMUEL E. MORISON, PH. D., 1927–
WINFRED T. ROOT, PH. D., 1927–
ELIZABETH DONNAN, 1928–
J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON, PH. D., 1928–
DIXON R. FOX, PH. D., 1929–
ULRICH B. PHILLIPS, PH. D., 1929–

COMMITTEES FOR 1930

Executive Committees of the Council

Committee on ad interim business.—President Evarts B. Greene, chairman; the secretary, Edward P. Cheyney; Dixon R. Fox, J. Franklin Jameson, Charles Moore, Samuel E. Morison.

Committee on appointments.—Winfred T. Root, chairman; the secretary, Elizabeth Donnan; Ulrich B. Phillips.

Committee on nominations.—E. Merton Coulter, chairman, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.; Louise Phelps Kellogg, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wis.; James F. Willard, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo.; Frederick Merk, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; Chester P. Higby, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

Delegates in the American Council of Learned Societies.—J. Franklin Jameson, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. (term expires 1931); Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (term expires 1933).

Delegates in the Social Science Research Council.—Guy Stanton Ford, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. (3 year term expires December, 1931); Carlton J. H. Hayes, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (term expires 1932); Arthur M. Schlesinger, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (term expires 1930).

Representative in the International Committee of Historical Sciences.—Waldo G. Leland, 703 Insurance Building, Washington, D. C.

Representatives for the Encyclopedia of Social Sciences.—Member of the board of directors, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.; members of the joint committee, Carl Becker, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., C. H. Haring, 15 Channing Street, Cambridge, Mass.

STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE ASSOCIATION

Committee on program for the forty-fifth annual meeting.—Ralph H. Gabriel, chairman, 127 Everit Street, New Haven, Conn.; James P. Baxter, 3d, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; William K. Boyd, Duke University, Durham, N. C.; Godfrey Davies, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.; Albert Hyma, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.; Edgar E. Robinson, Stanford University, Calif.; Reginald G. Trotter, Queen's University, Kingston, Canada; William L. Westermann, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.; Laura A. White, University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyo. Ex officio: Dexter Perkins, secretary of the American Historical Association, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.; Christopher B. Coleman, secretary of the Conference of Historical Societies, Historical Bureau, State House, Indianapolis, Ind.; O. C. Stine, secretary of the Agricultural History Society, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

Committee on local arrangements for the forty-fifth annual meeting.—Francis R. Hart, chairman, 17 Court Street, Boston, Mass.; James P. Baxter, 3d, 23 Brewster Street, Cambridge, Mass.; Charles F. D. Belden, Boston Public Library, Boston, Mass.; Charles K. Bolton, 10½ Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.; William Crowninshield Endicott, Danvers, Mass.; William S. Ferguson, Harvard University,

Cambridge, Mass.; William L. Langer, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; Samuel E. Morison, 44 Brimmer Street, Boston, Mass.; Francis Parkman, 2 Hubbard Park, Cambridge, Mass.; Edward M. Pickman, 17 Chestnut Street, Boston, Mass.; Mrs. Barrett Wendell, 358 Marlborough Street, Boston, Mass.

Board of editors of the American Historical Review.—Henry E. Bourne, managing editor (ex officio), 40 B Street SW., Washington, D. C.; A. C. Cole, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio (1933); V. W. Crane, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich., (1934); Sidney B. Fay, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., (1930); J. Franklin Jameson, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. (1931); James Westfall Thompson, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (1935); Tenney Frank, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. (1935).

Historical manuscripts commission.—Theodore C. Pease, chairman, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.; Randolph G. Adams, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.; Elizabeth Donnan, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.; J. G. deR. Hamilton, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.; Reginald C. McGrane, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio; Newton D. Mereness, 909 Tower Building, Washington, D. C.; John C. Parish, University of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles, Calif.; Wayne E. Stevens, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.

Committee on the Justin Winsor prize.—Thomas M. Marshall, chairman, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.; Kathleen Bruce, 4608 Roland Avenue, Baltimore, Md.; Allan Nevins, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.; William S. Robertson, 806 Florida Ave., Urbana, Ill.; Wayne E. Stevens, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize.—Louis R. Gottschalk, chairman care Guaranty Trust Co., 1 Rue des Italiens, Paris, France; Eugene N. Curtis, Goucher College, Baltimore, Md.; Paul B. Jones, 1112 West Illinois Street, Urbana, Ill.; Preserved Smith, 156 Cascadilla Park, Ithaca, N. Y.; Judith Williams, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.

Committee on the George Louis Beer prize.—John M. S. Allison, chairman, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn.; Charles E. Fryer, McGill University, Montreal, Canada; Parker T. Moon, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.; Thad W. Riker, University of Texas, Austin, Tex.; Preston W. Slosson, 1212 Olivia Street, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Committee on the John H. Dunning prize.—Ulrich B. Phillips, chairman, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.; Avery O. Craven, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.; J. G. de R. Hamilton, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Committee on the Jusserand medal.—Carl Becker, chairman, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.; C. Crane Brinton, 35 Weld Hall, Cambridge, Mass.; Merle E. Curti, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

Committee on publications.—Leo F. Stock, chairman, 3737 Michigan Avenue NE., Washington, D. C.

Committee on membership.—Arthur J. May, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y., acting chairman; George G. Andrews, 525 South Lucas Street, Iowa City, Iowa; Julian P. Bretz, Goldwin Smith Hall, Ithaca, N. Y.; Philip P. Chase, 241 Highland Street, Milton, Mass.; E. Merton Coulter, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.; Alexander J. Wall, 170 Central Park, West, New York, N. Y.; Waldemar Westergaard, University of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles, Calif.

Conference of Historical Societies.—Dixon Ryan Fox, chairman,[1] Columbia University, New York, N. Y.; Christopher B. Coleman, secretary, Historical Bureau, State House, Indianapolis, Ind.

[1] Elected at annual business meeting of the Conference of Historical Societies.

Committee on national archives.—Charles Moore, chairman, 40 B Street SW., Washington, D. C.; Tyler Dennett, Department of State, Washington, D. C.; J. Franklin Jameson, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.; Waldo G. Leland, 703 Insurance Building, Washington, D. C.; Eben Putnam, Wellesley Farms, Mass.; W. F. Willoughby, 26 Jackson Place NW., Washington, D. C.

Committee on bibliography.—Henry R. Shipman, chairman, 27 Mercer Street, Princeton, N. J.; William H. Allison, 34–A Irving Street, Cambridge, Mass.; Solon J. Buck, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.; Sidney B. Fay, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; Grace Gardner Griffin, 1627 Hobart Street NW. Washington, D. C.; Augustus H. Shearer, Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, N. Y.

Committee on bibliography of modern British history.—Edward P. Cheyney, chairman, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.; Arthur Lyon Cross, 705 South State Street, Ann Arbor, Mich.; Godfrey Davies, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.; Roger B. Merriman, 175 Brattle Street, Cambridge, Mass.; Wallace Notestein, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.; Conyers Read, 1218 Snyder Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.; Caroline F. Ware, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

Committee on the bibliography of travel.—Solon J. Buck, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.

Public archives commission.—Charles W. Ramsdell, chairman, University of Texas, Austin, Tex.; J. B. Hedges, Clark University, Worcester, Mass.; Thomas M. Marshall, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.; Margaret C. Norton, Archives Division, State Library, Springfield, Ill.; James G. Randall, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

Committee on historical research in colleges.—Fred A. Shannon, chairman, 1526 Humboldt Street, Manhattan, Kans.; Troyer S. Anderson, 8 Whittier Place, Swarthmore, Pa.; Clarence E. Carter, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio; C. C. Pearson, Wake Forest, N. C.; Bertha H. Putnam, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.; Alfred H. Sweet, Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa.

Commission on the social studies in the schools.—A. C. Krey, chairman, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.; F. W. Ballou, superintendent of schools, Franklin Administration Building, Thirteenth and K Streets NW., Washington, D. C.; Charles A. Beard, New Milford, Conn.; Isaiah Bowman, American Geographical Society, New York, N. Y.; Ada L. Comstock, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Mass.; George S. Counts, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.; Avery O. Craven, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.; Edmund E. Day, 61 Broadway, New York, N. Y.; Guy Stanton Ford, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.; Carlton J. H. Hayes, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.; Ernest Horm, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa; Henry Johnson, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.; Leon C. Marshall, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.; Charles E. Merriam, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.; Jesse H. Newlon, Lincoln School, 425 West One hundred and twenty-third Street, New York, N. Y.; Jesse F. Steiner, Tulane University, New Orleans, La.

Committee on endowment.—Christopher B. Coleman, chairman, 334 State House, Indianapolis, Ind.; James P. Baxter, 3d, 23 Brewster Street, Cambridge, Mass.; Solon J. Buck, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.; Harry J. Carman, 701 Hamilton Hall, Columbia University, New York, N. Y; Conyers Read, 1218 Snyder Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.; Charles Moore, treasurer of the association, 40 B Street SW., Washington, D. C.

Committee on the documentary historical publications of the United States.—Samuel F. Bemis, chairman, The George Washington University, Washington,

D. C.; William K. Boyd, Duke University, Durham, N. C.; J. Franklin Jameson, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.; H. Barrett Learned, 2123 Bancroft Place NW., Washington, D. C.; John Bach McMaster, 2109 Delancey Street, Philadelphia, Pa.; Dumas Malone, Dictionary of American Biography, Washington, D. C.; Charles Moore, 40 B Street SW., Washington, D. C.; Joseph Schafer, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; St. George L. Sioussat, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.; Mark Sullivan, 1700 I Street NW., Washington, D. C.; Charles Warren, 1527 Eighteenth Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Committee on the Carnegie revolving fund for publications.—Edward P. Cheyney, chairman, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.; Violet Barbour, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; Evarts B. Greene, 602 Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.; Marcus W. Jernegan, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.; Waldo G. Leland, 703 Insurance Building, Washington, D. C.

Committee on international cooperation.—Waldo G. Leland, chairman, 703 Insurance Building, Washington, D. C.; Frederick B. Artz, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio; Eloise Ellery, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; Carl R. Fish, 511 North Carroll Street, Madison, Wis.; J. Franklin Jameson, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.; Herbert I. Priestley, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.; Bernadotte E. Schmitt, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Committee on permanent quarters.—Henry E. Bourne, chairman, 40 B Street SW., Washington, D. C.; Fairfax Harrison, Belvoir, Fauquier County, Va.; H. Barrett Learned, 2123 Bancroft Place NW., Washington, D. C.; Charles Moore, 40 B Street SW., Washington, D. C.; Dexter Perkins, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.

International subcommittee on chronology.—Rt. Rev. George Lacombe, care Equitable Trust Co., 41 Rue Cambon, Paris, France.

Committee on historical inscriptions.—Christopher B. Coleman, chairman, 334 State House, Indianapolis, Ind.; R. D. W. Connor, university of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.; Dixon R. Fox, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.; Edmond S. Meany, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.; Charles Moore, 40 B Street SW., Washington, D. C.; Samuel E. Morison, 44 Brimmer Street, Boston, Mass.; Joseph Schafer, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison,, Wis.

ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES

The American Historical Association is the national organization for the promotion of historical writing and studies in the United States. It was founded in 1884 by a group of representative scholars, and in 1889 was chartered by Congress. Its national character is emphasized by fixing its principal office in Washington and by providing for the publication of its annual reports by the United States Government through the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. The membership of the association, at present about 3,400, is drawn from every State in the Union as well as from Canada and South America. To all who desire to promote the development of history, local, national, or general, and to all who believe that a correct knowledge of the past is essential to a right understanding of the present, the association makes a strong appeal through its publications and other activities.

The meetings of the association are held annually during the last week in December in cities so chosen as to accommodate in turn the members living in different parts of the country, and the average attendance is about 400. The meetings afford an opportunity for members to become personally acquainted and to discuss matters in which they have a common interest.

The principal publications of the association are the Annual Report and the American Historical Review. The former, usually in two volumes, is printed for the association by the Government and is distributed free to all members who request it. It contains the proceedings of the association, as well as valuable collections of documents, edited by the historical manuscripts commission, reports on American archives, prepared by the public archives commission, bibliographical contributions, reports on history teaching, on the activities of historical societies and other agencies, etc., and an annual group of papers on agricultural history contributed by the Agricultural History Society.

The American Historical Review is the official organ of the association and the recognized organ of the historical profession in the United States. It is pubpublished quarterly, each number containing about 225 pages. It presents to the reader authoritative articles, critical reviews of important new works on history, groups of inedited documents, and news of many and varied activities in the field of history. The Review is indispensable to all who wish to keep abreast of the progress of historical scholarship, and is of much value and interest to the general reader. It is distributed to all members of the association in part return for their dues.

For the encouragement of historical research the association offers two biennial prizes, each of $200, for the best printed or manuscript monograph in the English language submitted by a writer residing in the Western Hemisphere who has not achieved an established reputation. The Justin Winsor prize, offered in the even years, is awarded to an essay in the history of the Western Hemisphere, including the insular possessions of the United States. In odd years the Herbert Baxter Adams prize is awarded for an essay in the history of the Eastern Hemisphere.

The John H. Dunning prize, a third biennial prize of $200, is to be awarded in the odd years, beginning in December, 1929, to an essay on "any and all subjects relating to the political and social transformation of the Southern States

since 1865, provided that said subjects have antecedents in, or are related to, conditions in those States prior to 1876."

A prize, bearing the name of its founder, the late George Louis Beer, amounting to $250, is offered annually for the best work upon any phase of European international history since 1895; while a medal struck in honor of Jean Jules Jusserand, late ambassador of the French Republic to the United States and a former president of the association, is offered annually for the best work on intellectual relations between America and one or more European countries.

To the subject of history teaching the association has devoted much and consistent attention through conferences held at the annual meetings, the investigations of committees, and the preparation of reports. The association has a close advisory relationship with The Historical Outlook, that valuable organ of those engaged in teaching history and the social studies. A standing committee on history teaching gives constant attention to that vital part of the school curriculum.

The association maintains close relations with the State and local historical societies through a conference organized under the auspices of the association and holding a meeting each year in connection with the annual meeting of the association. In this meeting of delegates the various societies discuss such problems as the collection and editing of historical material, the maintenance of museums and libraries, the fostering of popular interest in historical matters, the marking of sites, the observance of historical anniversaries, etc. The proceedings of the conference are printed in the annual report of the association.

The Pacific Coast Branch of the association, organized in 1904, affords an opportunity for the members living in the Far West to have meetings and an organization of their own while retaining full membership in the parent body. In 1915 the association met with the branch in San Francisco, Berkeley, and Palo Alto in celebration of the opening of the Panama Canal.

From the first the association has pursued the policy of inviting to its membership not only those profcssionally or otherwise actively engaged in historical work but also those whose interest in history or in the advancement of historical science is such that they wish to ally themselves with the association in the furtherance of its various objects. Thus the association counts among its members lawyers, clerygmen, editors, publishers, physicians, officers of the Army and Navy, merchants, bankers, and farmers—all of whom find material of especial interest in its publications.

Membership in the association is obtained through election by the executive council, upon nomination by a member or by direct application. The annual dues are $5, there being no initiation fee. The fee for life membership is $100, which secures exemption from all annual dues.

Inquiries respecting the association, its work, publications, prizes, meetings, membership, etc., should be addressed to the assistant secretary of the association at 40 B Street SW., Washington, D. C., from whom they will receive prompt attention.

PRIZES AND MEDAL OFFERED BY THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Justin Winsor and the Herbert Baxter Adams Prizes

For the purpose of encouraging historical research the American Historical Association offers two prizes, each prize of $200: The Justin Winsor prize in American history and the Herbert Baxter Adams prize in the history of the Eastern Hemisphere. The Winsor prize is offered in the even years (as heretofore), and the Adams prize in the odd years. Both prizes are designed to encourage writers who have not published previously any considerable work or obtained an established reputation. Either prize shall be awarded for an excellent monograph or essay, printed or in manuscript, submitted to the committee of award. Monographs must be submitted on or before April 1 of the given year. In the case of a printed monograph the date of publication must fall within a period of two and a quarter years prior to April 1. A monograph to which a prize has been awarded in manuscript may, if it is deemed in all respects available, be published in the annual report of the association. Competition shall be limited to monographs written or published in the English language by writers of the Western Hemisphere.

In making the award the committee will consider not only research, accuracy, and originality, but also clearness of expression and logical arrangement. The successful monograph must reveal marked excellence of style. Its subject matter should afford a distinct contribution to knowledge of a sort beyond that having merely personal or local interest. The monograph must conform to the accepted canons of historical research and criticism. A manuscript—including text, notes, bibliography, appendices, etc.—must not exceed 100,000 words if designed for publication in the annual report of the association.

The Justin Winsor prize: The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in American history. The phrase "American history" includes the history of the United States and other countries of the Western Hemisphere. The monograph may deal with any aspect or phase of that history.

The Herbert Baxter Adams prize: The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in the history of the Eastern Hemisphere. The monograph may deal with any aspect or phase of that history, as in the case of the Winsor prize.

The George Louis Beer Prize

In accordance with the terms of a bequest by the late George Louis Beer, of New York City, the American Historical Association offers the George Louis Beer prize in European international history. The prize is $250, and is awarded annually for the best work upon "any phase of European international history since 1895."

The competition is limited to citizens of the United States and to works that shall be submitted to the American Historical Association. A work may be submitted in either manuscript or print.

Works must be submitted on or before April 1 of each year in order to be considered for the competition of that year. In the case of printed works the date of publication must fall within a period of two and a quarter years prior to April 1.

A work submitted in competition for the Herbert Baxter Adams prize may at the same time, if its subject meets the requirements, be submitted for the George Louis Beer prize; but no work that shall have been so submitted for both prizes will be admitted to the competition for the Beer prize in any subsequent year.

In making the award the committee in charge will consider not only research, accuracy, and originality, but also clearness of expression, logical arrangement and general excellence of style.

The prize is designed especially to encourage those who have not published previously any considerable work nor obtained an established reputation.

Only works in the English language will receive consideration.

The John H. Dunning Prize

In accordance with the terms of a bequest by the late Miss Mathilde M. Dunning, of New York, the American Historical Association offers the John H. Dunning prize. The conditions governing the award of this prize are as follows:

1. That the scope of the John H. Dunning prize in American history shall include any and all subjects relating to the political and social transformation of the Southern States since 1865, provided that said subjects have antecedents in, or are related to, conditions in those States prior to 1876.

2. That the prize amounting to $200 shall be awarded biennially, beginning in December, 1929, to a member of the association.

3. That a standing committee of three be appointed to consider essays submitted, to make the award, and to formulate regulations necessary for this work.

(As in the case of the other prizes, monographs must be submitted on or before April 1 of the given year, and the date of publication of printed monographs must fall within a period of two and a quarter years prior to that April 1.)

The Jusserand Medal

The Jusserand medal will be awarded, as occasion may arise, for a published work of distinction on any phase involving the history of the intellectual relations between the United States and any foreign country, whether such work be written by an American citizen or by a citizen of a foreign country.

Inquiries concerning these prizes and the medal should be addressed to the chairmen of the respective committees, or to the secretary of the American Historical Association, 40 B Street SW., Washington, D. C.

AWARDS

The Justin Winsor prize (which until 1906 was offered annually) has been awarded to the following:

1896. Herman V. Ames. The Proposed Amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

1900. William A. Schaper. Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina.

1901. Ulrich B. Phillips. Georgia and State Rights.

1902. Charles McCarthy. The Anti-Masonic Party.

1903. Louise Phelps Kellogg. The American Colonial Charter; A Study of Its Relation to English Administration, chiefly after 1688.

1904. William R. Manning. The Nootka Sound Controversy.

1906. Annie Heloise Abel. The History of Events Resulting in Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi River.

1908. Clarence Edwin Carter. Great Britain and the Illinois Country, 1765–1774.

1910. Edward Raymond Turner. The Negro in Pennsylvania; Slavery—Servitude—Freedom, 1639–1861.

1912. Arthur Charles Cole. The Whig Party in the South.

1914. Mary W. Williams. Anglo-American Isthmian Diplomacy, 1815–1915.

1916. Richard J. Purcell. Connecticut in Transition, 1775–1818.

1918. Arthur M. Schlesinger. The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution, 1763–1776. (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Vol. LXXVIII, whole number 182. New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1918.)

1920. F. Lee Benns. The American Struggle for the British West India Carrying Trade, 1815–1830. (Indiana University Studies, Vol. X, No. 56, Bloomington, Ind., University Bookstore, 1923.)

1922. Lawrence Henry Gipson. Jared Ingersoll: A Study of American Loyalism in Relation to British Colonial Government. (Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany, VIII. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1920.)

1924. Elizabeth B. White. History of Franco-American Diplomatic Relations.

1926. Lowell Joseph Ragatz. The Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean, 1763–1833. (The Century Co., New York, 1928).

1928. Fred A. Shannon. The Organization and Administration of the Union Army, 1861–1865. Two volumes. (Cleveland, Ohio, Arthur H. Clark Co., 1928.)

From 1897 to 1899 and in 1905 the Justin Winsor prize was not awarded.

The Herbert Baxter Adams prize has been awarded to—

1905. David S. Muzzey. The Spiritual Franciscans.

1907. In equal division—Edward B. Krehbiel. The Interdict—Its History and Its Operation with Especial Attention to the Time of Pope Innocent III, and William S. Robertson. Francisco de Miranda and the Revolutionizing of Spanish America.

1909. Wallace Notestein. A History of Witchcraft in England from 1558 to 1718.

1911. Louise Fargo Brown. The Political Activities of the Baptists and Fifth-Monarchy Men in England During the Interregnum.

1913. Violet Barbour. Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington.

1915. Theodore C. Pease. The Leveller Movement.

1917. Frederick L. Nussbaum. Commercial Policy in the French Revolution: A Study of the Career of G. J. A. Ducher.

1919. William Thomas Morgan. English Political Parties and Leaders in the Reign of Queen Anne, 1702–1710. (Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany, VII. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1920.)

1921, Einar Joranson. The Danegeld in France. (Rock Island, Ill., Augustana Book Concern, 1923.)

1923. In equal division—Mary Hume Maguire. History of the Oath Ex Officio in England, and John Thomas McNeill. The Celtic Penitentials and Their Influence on Continental Christianity. (Paris, Champion, 1923.)

1925. Frederick S. Rodkey. The Turko-Egyptian Question in the Relations of England, France, and Russia, 1832–1841. (University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. XI, Nos. 3 and 4. Urbana, The University, 1924.)

1927. William F. Galpin. The British Grain Trade in the Napoleonic Period. [University of Michigan Publications, History and Political Science, VI.] (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1925.)

1929. H. S. Commager. Struensee and the Reform Movement in Denmark.

The George Louis Beer prize has been awarded to—

1923. In equal division—Walter Russell Batsell. The Mandatory System: Its Historical Background and Relation to the New Imperialism, and Edward Mead

Earle. Turkey, the Great Powers, and the Bagdad Railway. (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1923.)

1924. Alfred L. P. Dennis. The Foreign Policies of Soviet Russia. (New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1924.)

1925. Edith P. Stickney. Southern Albania or Northern Epirus in European International Affairs, 1912–1923. (Stanford University Press, 1927.)

1928. Sidney B. Fay. The Origins of the World War. Two volumes. (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1928.)

1929. M. B. Giffen. Fashoda: The Incident and Its Diplomatic Setting. (University of Chicago Press, 1930.)

In 1922, 1926, and 1927 the George Louis Beer prize was not awarded.

THE JOHN H. DUNNING PRIZE has been awarded to—

1929. Hayward J. Pearce, jr. Benjamin H. Hill: Secession and Reconstruction. (University of Chicago Press, 1928.)

THE JUSSERAND MEDAL has been awarded to—

1925. Bernard Fay, L'Esprit Révolutionnaire en France et aux États-Unis à la Fin du Dixhuitième Siècle. (Paris, Champion, 1925.)

NOTE.—The prize essays prior to 1918 were published by the American Historical Association.

I. PROCEEDINGS OF THE FORTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

DURHAM AND CHAPEL HILL, N. C., DECEMBER 30–31, 1929 AND JANUARY 1, 1930

THE NORTH CAROLINA MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION [1]

The meetings of the association in the South have left pleasant memories. To be able to say, "I was at New Orleans in 1903" or "I attended the Charleston meeting in 1913" still wins instant and interested attention. In the Review of April, 1925, it is stated by a high authority that "Many if not all of those who attended the Richmond meeting of 1908 regarded it as the pleasantest the association had ever held." According to the same high authority, it seems to have been matched by the Richmond meeting of 1924. That the association enjoys its meetings in the South is, therefore, not an accident nor a coincidence but a natural law. The meeting at Durham and Chapel Hill again illustrated the rule. Even the North Carolina weather man acted ex officio as a member of the local committee on arrangements, for not a drop of rain fell during the three days of the sessions, and the members from the Far and Frozen North who saw on December 31 the blue sky at Chapel Hill, who glowed in its sunshine, and who breathed the soft air, will never forget the last day of 1929.

The hospitality was as generous as the skies. Three luncheons were offered to as many conferences at Chapel Hill, and four at Duke University. After the presidential address there was a "smoker" at the union on the north campus of Duke University, and on the next afternoon a tea at the south campus. Those who had thoughtfully brought their golf sticks were invited to meet the hazards of the Hope Valley Country Club.

The number in attendance was a surprise—593. What is perhaps more surprising, 155 came from west of the Alleghenies and north of the Ohio River. Nearly 250 came from the northeastern section of the country. Approximately 154 came from the Southeastern States and 34 from the Southwest.

Three other historical societies held meetings on the same days—the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the Agricultural History Society, and the History of Science Society. There were also a conference of historical societies and two sessions with the National Council of Social Studies. The sessions of the first day, with the exception of that for the presidential address, were held at the

[1] Reprinted from *The American Historical Review* for April, 1930.

Washington Duke Hotel, the headquarters in Durham, or at the chamber of commerce. The next morning the association and the societies migrated to Chapel Hill, a dozen miles to the southwest but returned to Durham for the annual banquet. On the third day the north campus of Duke University was the place of five morning sessions and three in the afternoon. All sessions were well attended, although some thinning out naturally occurred on the final afternoon, as trains were leaving for the North.

The auditorium at the north campus was filled on Monday evening in anticipation of the president's address. Years ago, when "Professor" Robinson was a more constant attendant at the meetings of the association, lobbies and vestibules were emptied by the exclamation "Robinson's up!" The traditional anticipation was not disappointed as those who heard or have read the address in the January Review are aware. At the close of the address came a surprise to the speaker and to all the audience except the initiated. Prof. David Saville Muzzey, of Columbia University, in a felicitous address, presented to Doctor Robinson a memorial volume to which those who had worked in his seminars had contributed essays. Among these essays were: Toleration, by Professor Muzzey himself; The Place of History among the Sciences, by Preserved Smith; The Philosopher turned Patriot, by Carlton J. H. Hayes; Baron von Holstein, by Maude A. Huttmann; and The Inside of Germany's War Politics, by Charles A. Beard.

The program, upon which Prof. William K. Boyd and his committee had worked with such generous expenditure of thought, was of extraordinary variety and interest. The 22 sessions and 7 luncheon conferences touched many phases of history, but it was natural that American history should lead in the number of subjects treated. There were sessions on American foreign policy, American social history, the Jacksonian democracy, American colonial history, besides a joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, which naturally dealt with phases of American history, and two sessions and two luncheon conferences on the history of the South. Next to American history in point of attention came modern European history, with four sessions and a luncheon conference. No one could repeat the criticism heard a few years ago that modern European history was neglected by the program committee.

One of the most important enterprises of the association is entrusted to the Commission on Social Studies, of which Prof. A. C. Krey is chairman. A brief statement of its progress and its committees appeared in the January Review. At a meeting in New York in November the commission had approved a testing program presented by Prof. Truman L. Kelley. At Durham Mr. Krey first sketched the present stage which the work of the commission had

reached[2] and called upon Mr. Kelley to discuss the "Possibilities of testing values in the teaching of the social studies." A primary difficulty Mr. Kelley found in the lack of agreement as to what the values are. This he felt to be not altogether unfortunate, because it indicated that these studies had not yet become "mummified." If social studies should be made the core of the curriculum, their aims should be conceived in as broad terms as possible and should be concerned with attitudes of mind rather than specific types of conduct. Mr. Kelley said that attitudes can be measured by techniques which are a "cross between those employed in the measurement of knowledge and of habit." A certain word may be chosen as the cue and the association of the child with it may indicate a slant on things. The measurement of the capacity of the child to apply principles and laws is equally interesting. Here tests must be devised which bring out something essentially different from acts of memory. Novel content must be used, Mr. Kelley showed, and in such a way as to call for the use of knowledge in dealing with situations which were not anticipated.[3]

The discussion was opened by Laurence B. Packard, of Amherst College, who spoke of the problem of what should be included in the secondary school curriculum as judged by the competence of graduates who later undertake college courses in history. The next speaker, O. M. Dickerson, of Teachers College, Greeley, Colo., expressed the feeling that two pitfalls were to be avoided—getting lost in a maze of philosophical discussion of ultimate aims and attempting to test everything. He thought that it would be unfortunate if anyone inferred from Doctor Kelley's paper that content was unimportant, for it is our specific task to equip the student with definite information concerning the economic, social, and political world, to teach him how to test this information and to add to it.

A luncheon conference followed in which it was proposed to discuss "Regional differences in the treatment of the social studies." Mr. Dickerson led this discussion, giving the results of his observations in the schools of Detroit, Boston, New York, and Washington. He found that specific instruction in local history is usually given in the early grades, before the ninth. He found also that if a local economic interest had become vocal, and was much discussed in the newspapers, it was likely to find its way into the schoolroom. Edgar Dawson, of Hunter College, thought we were moving toward a rational compromise between the claims of local interests and the demands of the more general body of historical fact, and this is to teach the development of mankind, but to select many of the concrete illustrations from local conditions in their proper, chronological

[2] Paper published in *The Historical Outlook*, February, 1930, pp. 63 ff.
[3] Paper published in *The Historical Outlook*, February, 1930, pp. 66 ff.

order. The discussion was closed by Lawrence V. Roth, president of the New England History Teachers' Association.

After the luncheon, the introductory course in the college curriculum claimed the attention of those interested in the problems of teaching. The points of view of three departments of history were represented by Witt Bowden, for the University of Pennsylvania; Harry J. Carman, for Columbia; and Arthur H. Noyes, for Ohio State University. All recognized the fact that the vast increase in the number of entering students has forced upon college teachers a restudy of the whole problem. Witt Bowden found the solution in developing the individual work of the student, in more conferences, and less mass instruction. He also urged that teachers of history utilize historical exhibits and laboratories; that in this respect they recapture a position of equality with science teachers. Harry J. Carman explained that at Columbia they dealt with entering students on the assumption that they might be roughly classified in three groups: (1) Those who desire a general education, (2) those who look forward to advanced scholarly work, and (3) those preparing for a professional career. Through placement and achievement tests, certain students begin what are called maturity courses. The general object of the work of the first two years is to orient the student, in order that he may do more intensive work in his chosen field in his junior and senior years. At Ohio State University, according to Professor Noyes, two methods were being tested, lectures with quizzes, and the more traditional class discussions, five days a week. Professor Noyes also emphasized the need of a faculty interested in the problem, and made up of men successful in this type of instruction.

This year again an experiment was made of devoting a session to the discussion of a single theme. Dixon Ryan Fox was asked to set forth a synthetic principle in American history. The plan was to print his essay in the January, 1930, issue of the Review and send proof sheets to several interested in the problem. The result was a lively session, with some good-tempered intellectual skirmishing. As the readers of the Review will recall, Mr. Fox, after a witty inquiry into the differences between the historians themselves upon the question of what history really is, and into the diverse schemes for organizing material, suggested that the concept of social evolution offers a plan for bringing "an immense number of seemingly discreet facts into an understandable relation." He conceded that this framework does not integrate everything, and that "much has to be hung on other racks." An incidental, and somewhat jocular, allusion to the emphasis which he thought that the Beards had put upon the contest of economic classes in their exposition of American history provoked one of the most interesting exchanges of the occasion. Mr.

Beard, who had been invited to take part in this discussion, declared that he did not and never did believe in the doctrine of the economic man, nor consciously subscribe to any such creed as Mr. Fox appeared to find in their book. What he did believe was that all men, women, and children, all the time, must have food, clothing, and shelter, and that the ways in which they acquire these necessities have a profound, constant, and inescapable influence on all departments of their life, political, moral, æsthetic, and religious. Economic development therefore furnishes one structure for grouping. "Moreover, it seems to me," said Mr. Beard, "to be illuminating in surprising ways." Mr. Fox, in his reply, conceded that the sentence in his paper referring to the Beards' Rise of American Civilization contained an ellipsis which might lead to misunderstanding; the group rivalries which the Beards trace, he explained, wherein the agricultural interest, the mercantile interest, the manufacturing interest, etc., are posed against each other, though fundamentally economic, produce a very different sort of conflict, of course, from that envisaged by Marx in his theory of class struggle. Mr. Beard added another interesting comment. Mr. Fox's concept of social evolution reminded him of Spencer's famous but abstract description of the process of evolution, and, to the amusement of the audience, Mr. Beard drew forth from the archives of his memory Spencer's ponderous progression from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite, coherent heterogeneity, etc., and added that when you try to work out the structure on the differentiation theory you will find economics running into the most minute ramifications of it. Among others who discussed the paper were Joseph Schafer and Solon J. Buck. Mr. Buck expressed the opinion that social historians, reacting against an overemphasis of political and even economic facts, are in some danger of producing works no more general or comprehensive than those of their predecessors, and especially lacking in unity. The most obvious synthetic principle, he said, for a general history of the United States is the fact that the United States is a nation—a political entity—and that its people are citizens thereof. This does not mean, he added, that histories should be narrowly political. Mr. Schafer's comments are developed in an editorial in the March issue of the Wisconsin Magazine of History. They called attention to the diversity of motive in human action, so that no one principle of organization, social in the sense which Mr. Fox indicated, or economic in Mr. Beard's conception of history, should be allowed to push others to one side.

In describing the sessions on the several fields of history, we may, for convenience of analysis, follow the accepted chronology and begin with ancient history. This was devoted to a consideration of the Later Hellenic World. The first paper was by Clinton

W. Keyes, of Columbia University: Specimens of Government Bookkeeping from Roman Egypt. In it Professor Keyes gave examples of the important day books and ledgers now preserved at Columbia University, and discussed their bearings on the economic life of Roman Egypt. The next paper was by N. C. Debevoise, of the University of Chicago, on the Historical Importance of Parthia. The Parthian period is still one of the blanks in the history of the world, although much available source material has not been utilized and more is constantly discovered. A distinction must be drawn between the Parthians and the people of their empire, many of whom retained a large measure of their own culture. In Babylonia, for example, elements of earlier civilizations survived in art, architecture, religion, science, economic life, and thought of the people.[4] The discussion, led by A. T. Olmstead, of the University of Chicago, emphasized the unity of ancient history and the close connection between East and West in the later ancient history. The chairman, Arthur E. R. Boak, of the University of Michigan, gave a brief report on the important Michigan excavations at Karanis in the Egyptian Fayum and at Seleucia in Babylonia.

The sessions on the Middle Ages and the Renaissance dealt with two aspects of the same theme, two attitudes toward divergencies of thought or belief, a morning session on Heresy and Persecution, and an afternoon session on Ideas of Toleration. Ernest W. Nelson, of Duke University, explained the theory of Persecution. He found that the later Roman imperial government sought through enforcement of conformity to achieve moral unity and so to impart new vigor to the declining state. The medieval church motive is to be found in Augustine's conception of life and the relation of the secular to the spiritual authorities, a conception which dominated the whole medieval point of view. Heresy was looked upon as a crime of such enormity that even the dead bodies of heretics were objects of vengeance. Punishments short of death were in the nature of spiritual preventive medicine. Austin P. Evans, of Columbia University, in a suggestive paper on the Social Aspects of Heresy, showed that heresy had been studied too much from the point of view of religious conceptions and that its social causes needed investigation. He noted the fact that as the narrow localism of the medieval world gave way before the rise of commerce and the development of the towns, heresy became an alarming phenomenon. In a final paper Dorothy Louise Mackay, of West Virginia University, said, apropos of Restrictions on the Teacher in the Medieval University of Paris, that as long as medieval teachers avoided "errors against the Faith" they were comparatively free. There were, of course, requirements of training. A. H. Sweet, of Washington and Jefferson College, opened the dis-

[4] Paper to be published in *The American Journal of Semitic Languages.*

cussion, calling attention to the fact that persecution was sometimes a defense mechanism to guard the community against what was considered harmful.

With the Renaissance came defenders of the idea of toleration. One of these was Erasmus. Wallace K. Ferguson, of New York University, expressed the feeling that in his case the effort has been to search through his writings for occasional *obiter dicta* and he urged that a better method is to study the implications of Erasmus's whole attitude toward life, religion, and morals. Roland H. Bainton, of Yale University, dealt with Castellio, whose principal expression of toleration came in a reply to Calvin's charge of scepticism provoked by Castellio's leadership in the protest against the burning of Servetus. In this work Castellio pointed out that in such cases judgment is blunted by prejudice, hate, and ambition. He also held that truth and error are to be perceived through experience as well as through revelation and that both sources are subject to rational criticism. Frederic C. Church, of the University of Idaho, dealt with an especially attractive character, Lelio Sozzini, or Socinus, a gentle, manly, scholarly, and sincerely religious nature, a student more than a teacher. Only Calvin discerned in the intellectual distress of the young man a determined effort to confute those to whom truth had been providentially imparted and who were therefore its authoritative defenders. George L. Burr, who led the discussion, pointed to two positive contributions which Erasmus made to toleration, supplying the town of Basel the religious ordinance which first provided for freedom of worship, and writing the little tract on the measureless mercy of God (*De immensa misericordia Dei*, 1524). Professor Burr also recalled the fact that Castellio's booklet in protest at the fate of Servitus was so eagerly read that the copies were literally worn out; but the traces of its influence are everywhere.

The session on English history was devoted to the seventeenth century. The first paper, by W. Frank Craven, of New York University, touched early American colonial history as well as an English problem. He sought to show that the Dissolution of the London Company of Virginia was due not so much to the machinations of the court party as to the illadvised efforts of Sandys to increase the population of Virginia without adequate supplies. The most interesting incidental argument was based on evidence that the charge of a too "Democratical and Tumultuous" government did not apply to the make-up of the Assembly in Virginia, but to the fact that the votes in the company at London were so counted that the minor adventurers had as much influence as the men with a greater number of shares.[5] The second paper, by Clyde L. Grose, of Northwestern University, was also in a sense an historical revision. Dealing with

[5] Paper to be published in *The American Historical Review*.

Cromwellian Ideals during the Restoration, it gave another illustration of the error in fixing the attention in the case of revolutions or restorations upon change, rather than upon persistence or continuity. His subtitle, Comparative Insignificance of the Year 1660, emphasized his idea. He finds that British foreign policy from 1650 to 1674 was dominated by commercial hatred of the Dutch and that the advent of Charles II made no change, not even a ripple. Another phase of the same tendency was the development of "sea-mindedness," with which Charles and his brother James were in entire sympathy. The third paper, on the First Earl of Shaftesbury, by Louise Fargo Brown, of Vassar College, credited this noble lord with the ideas which were embodied in the fundamental constitutions of Carolina. John Locke was simply the secretary who put them into shape. In opening the discussion F. G. Marcham, of Cornell University, referring to Professor Grose's emphasis upon elements of continuity in the Restoration, remarked that it was more important to account for continuity than to detect it. He believed that the forces which prevented violent change might be found in the persistence of interest in property, illustrated in the development of estates through enclosures, marriage contracts, and control of commercial companies. The men of property held the government to a policy of moderate change.

Three sessions were given to modern European history, besides one on recent Russian history. Each of the three topics provoked a lively discussion after the more formal papers were read. Under the head of Nineteenth Century Nationalism, Kent R. Greenfield, of Yale University, described certain neglected forces which prepared the way for the work of Cavour. Attention is commonly fixed upon the group of revolutionaries of the type of Mazzini, who moved from one abortive attempt to another to overthrow the reactionary governments of the peninsula. Mr. Greenfield found a more constructive force in the journalistic propaganda inspired by the teachings of Gian Domenico Romagnosi, who saw in the economic revolution, and the scientific movement which was a part of it, a means by which, without resorting to illegal action, an impulse could be given to the life of Italy that would lead to its regeneration.[6] The relation of Michelet to French nationalism was then described by F. B. Artz, of Oberlin College. Mr. Artz explained the influences which contributed to Michelet's intellectual development, the influence of Herder, Cousin, and Vico, and the stimulus which came from Michelet's friendship with Quinet. Mr. Artz did not find in Michelet a consistent body of doctrine which might be described as nationalistic. His contribution was a gospel rather than a doctrine.

[6] Paper published in *The American Historical Review*, October, 1930, pp. 31 ff.

The discussion turned on the definition of nationalism and the period of its appearance.

The session on diplomatic episodes of the later era was opened by M. B. Giffen, of Tarkio College, with a discussion of the reasons why the Fashoda incident closed as it did with the abandonment by France of the aims, deliberately chosen, of the Marchand mission. The secret he found not so much in the naval preponderance of Great Britain and Lord Salisbury's resolute attitude, as in the general diplomatic situation of Europe. Russia's interests were too much engaged in the Far East in 1898 to support France in arms, and the plan of M. Hanotaux for a rapprochement with Germany ended in an inevitable fiasco. Nothing remained for France but to yield. Two papers attempted to state with precision the influence which the press exerted in European affairs before the war. Oron J. Hale, of the University of Virginia, dealt with the years of the first Moroccan crisis, and E. Malcolm Carroll, of Duke University, analyzed French public opinion during the Balkan crisis. Probably the most significant evidence of the effective influence of the press, according to Mr. Hale, may be found in the French press campaign in the early fall of 1905 after the overthrow of Delcassé, led by Stéphane Lauzanne in the Matin, when the acceptance of the project of a conference caused the Germans to hope for a rapprochement with France. In that case France might become a third in the Björkö treaty. The result of this newspaper outburst was that on October 15 Nelidov informed Lamsdorff that to broach the subject of the treaty of Björkö at present would alienate French opinion. Mr. Carroll in dealing with the Balkan crisis naturally commented upon the wholesale bribery of the press in France attributed to Izvolski. Other influences, the speaker said, were at work. Poincaré, then at the head of the French cabinet, through the French finance minister, who was to control the expenditure, used the money for purposes not contemplated by the Russians. In the end, however, the Russians gained what they wanted, the silence of the radical opposition to a war for Russia's interests in the Balkans.

At the same hour and attracting a large audience was a session on recent and contemporary civilization. It was opened by William E. Lingelbach, of the University of Pennsylvania, with a review of the elements entering into the "industrial revolution of the twentieth century," which for want of a better term has sometimes been called the technological revolution. The elements of this Mr. Lingelbach found in the development of a technique of discovery and invention, the extensive use of electricity, and the application of chemistry to industry and agriculture.[7] Charles A. Beard, of New

[7] Paper published in *The Historical Outlook*, January, 1930, pp. 7 ff.

York, followed with an analysis and interpretation of the attitude of labor, showing that it is not international, as in the days of Engel and Marx, but distinctly nationalistic. Foreign labor is no longer welcomed in the United States, which is not now the refuge for the discontented or the unemployed, but, rather, the closed corporation of the "100 per cent American" laborer. The third paper, by F. Lee Benns, of Indiana University, explained the organization and described the achievements of the League of Nations. He emphasized its advantages as an international clearing-house for disputes and problems, and as a center for humanitarian endeavor. In the discussion of the papers Professor Cheyney made the hopeful comment that possibly a revolution other than industrial was in progress, and that an internationalism exemplified by the League would become supreme, in spite of the disruptive and warlike effects of nationalism.

It may be convenient to place the session on "Recent Russia" in this group, for the subjects discussed belong quite as much to European history as to the policies of the Russian government. Especially is this true of the paper on the Straits Question, 1915–1923, by Robert J. Kerner, of the University of California. Mr. Kerner explained that after the agreement of 1915, by which England and France had consented to the acquisition of the Straits and of Constantinople, and so had indorsed Russia's "historical mission," Sazonov's policy for the next two years looked to the actual seizure of these spoils of war before any peace conference might be called.[8] The Communist Party and the significance of its aims and its work was the subject discussed by Samuel N. Harper, of the University of Chicago, while M. Karpovich, of Harvard University, indicated the place of Bolshevism in the history of Russian socialism.

The luncheon conference of members interested in modern European history was of special importance because here was to be determined the question of a further organization of the group. After Bernadotte E. Schmitt, the editor of the Journal of Modern History, had explained the experiences of the first year, the group decided, in compliance with the expressed wish of the University of Chicago Press, the publishers of the Journal, to organize as a distinct section. The purpose is to provide support for the new journal and to furnish the machinery necessary for the selection of its board of editors. In accordance with the constitution, accepted by the conference, the section selected as its first officers: C. P. Higby, of the University of Wisconsin, chairman; L. B. Packard, of Amherst, as secretary; W. E. Lingelbach, of the University of Pennsylvania, W. T. Morgan, of Indiana University, and Ernest W. Nelson, of Duke University,

[8] Paper published in *The Slavonic Review*, March, 1930, pp. 589 ff.

as the three directors. The new constitution may be found in the March number of the Journal of Modern History.

It is now time to turn to the menu offered by the American history group. The first session was devoted to American foreign policy. Here the aim was not so much to explain the policy as to indicate opportunities for further research. This, Samuel F. Bemis, of George Washington University, did in an illuminating paper. He showed that the time was past when the student should be content to base his conclusions upon the material found in a single archive. He also explained that it is becoming more and more possible to use material on American foreign policy from the archives of governments with whom we have dealt, because of the enormous collections of photostats which already exist in the Library of Congress and which will be increased steadily during the coming years.[9] In the discussion that followed, Tyler Dennett, of the Department of State, expressed regret that more use was not made of the archives of that department by mature, well-equipped students. Joseph V. Fuller, also of the Department of State, spoke of the difficulties in the use of postwar material and urged students to go into earlier fields. The fact that much light is found in private correspondents or personal papers was brought out by Clarence R. Williams, of the Library of Congress, and this evoked a little discussion between the representatives of the two ends of the Avenue.

In the session on American colonial history the first two papers dealt with phases in the development of British colonial administration. With the subject "English Administrative Methods and Policy, 1689–1715," Gertrude A. Jacobsen, of Hunter College, told of the time when Whitehall began to take on its modern and impersonal character, when modern departments appeared and office methods were systematized. The significance of the establishment of a supreme military command, half a century later, was the subject of a paper entitled "Imperial Unity, 1760–1774," by Clarence E. Carter, of Miami University, for Grenville's program made the commander in chief an important agency for the enforcement of the trade laws and the mutiny act. He also had charge of the unorganized western territories and of Indian affairs. The attitude of the British public toward the disruption of this unity, or British opinion of the American Revolution, was the subject of the third paper, by Dora M. Clark, of Wilson College. The landowners whose pocketbooks were becoming sensitive to the Government's ever-increasing demands for money were anxious that the colonials should be made to bear a share of the burden. The merchants, on the other hand, naturally did not want to arouse the anger of their customers,

[9] Paper published in *The American Historical Review*, October, 1930, pp. 68 ff.

so the the repeal of the stamp act may be regarded as their victory. After fighting actually began, the Americans had no friends except political liberals. In 1778 the country gentlemen experienced a change of heart, because taxes rose sharply and land values declined. Even placemen finally abandoned the Government, and the end of the war was in sight.[10] A dramatic interest was added to the discussion, which Charles M. Andrews, of Yale University, opened, by the announcement of Randolph G. Adams, of the William L. Clements Library, that the General Gage papers had just been acquired for this library.

Professor Carter's thesis of the importance of the supreme military command was illustrated in the joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, when Helen Louise Shaw, of Ogontz School, dealt with British administration of the Southern Indian Department, especially under John Stuart, the first Superintendent of the Southern Indians. His territory included the region between the Floridas, the "line" of 1763, the Ohio, and the Mississippi. Stuart gradually enlarged his personnel so that at the outbreak of the Revolution the British Government possessed in it a machinery easily converted into wartime services. During the war, unfortunately for the British, the Indians did not always draw fine distinctions between "Loyalist" and "Rebel" scalp locks. The paper of Walter P. Webb, of the University of Texas, in the same session, marks a new stage in the study of the frontier in American history, for he showed that settlement was for decades practically stopped at the "timber line," approximately the ninety-eighth parallel. Beyond that line a new technique was required suited to the Great Plains, the absence of timber, a lessened rainfall, and the character of the rivers. The invention of barbed wire in 1873 and its production in quantity made up so far as fences were concerned for the lack of wood. The knowledge of irrigation practiced in the Old World could be utilized to a degree, but the methods of dry farming were a lesson learned in the region itself. The final paper was on Recent Industrial Growth and Politics in the Southern Appalachian Region, and was presented by John D. Barnhart, of West Virginia University.

Another American history session had as its theme "Jacksonian Democracy." William MacDonald, of New York City, gave a century estimate. To-day, he said, Jackson's limitations seem greater than his achievements. There was something hollow, he felt, even about Jackson's thinking of the people as a sovereign body whom he represented and served, for he made no particular effort to learn public opinion before he took action upon a particular question.

[10] Based on conclusions in the speaker's book, *British Opinion and the American Revolution*, published by the Yale University Press in 1930.

He was quite ready to invoke it later in his support. Moreover, his intellectual capacity was not great, so that his career shows a strong mixture of soundness and folly, of force and crudity, of truth and absurdity. The paper of William E. Smith, of Miami University, on F. P. Blair, journalist, illustrated similar Jacksonian qualities. If he was confronted with baffling problems he often exclaimed, "Send it to Bla-ar." The Globe, which Blair owned, gave the cue to the Jackson press. His editorial policy was to "shoot the deserters" and to "carry the war into Africa." The Political Geography of Southern Jacksonism, by Thomas P. Abernethy, of the University of Alabama, brought the evidence of political geography to the discussion, for it showed that the support of Jackson in the Southwest in 1824 came from the popular elemcnts, affected by the financial distress which followed the panic of 1819. The wealthier, conservative class were in the opposition. In the Southeast this was strong enough to carry the election for Crawford. These political differences were practically submerged during the campaigns of 1828 and 1832, but reappeared in 1836. In the discussion which centered on Mr. MacDonald's paper, Eugenc C. Barker, of the University of Texas, pointed out that Jackson was faced with very practical problems, the spoils system, for example, and his actions werc mere practical actions suggested by questions of the moment. They should not be judged primarily upon standards determined by the perspective of a century.

The joint meeting with the History of Science Society found its themes also in the field of American history. Two of the papers dcalt with the influence of foreign scientists upon American thinkers and teachers. Lao G. Simons, of Hunter Collcge, studied one element, the influence of mathematicians like Lagrange, Laplace, and Legendre upon American mathmatics. Evarts B. Greene, the incoming president of the association, going back a little further in time, presented interesting facts about the "Popularization of science during the American Revolution." He began with the scientific amateurs, including politicians like Jefferson, Madison, and Jamcs Bowdoin, mentioning the members of the two scientific societies, the American Philosophical Society amd the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He finally undertook to show the extent to which European studies were familiar to Amcricans, as indicated by titles in book advertisements, reprints, and references in letters. The concluding paper was a Century of American Geodesy, by Florian Cajori, of the University of California, which explained the development of the United States Coast Survey not only in territorial measurements, but also in locating uncharted rocks, banks, and shoals along the shores.[11]

[11] Paper to be published in *Isis*.

It has already been remarked that the history of the South received appropriate emphasis at Durham and at Chapel Hill. There was a luncheon conference on southern history, in which E. Merton Coulter, now visiting professor at the University of Texas, and Herman C. Nixon, of Tulane University, discussed the problems of the field and the difficulties surrounding research and publication. Another aspect of the same question was treated in the joint luncheon conference with the Agricultural History Society, where the material to be studied, rather than the conclusions to be reached was the subject. Kathleen Bruce, of the College of William and Mary, indicated a mine of material in the private papers of the Virginia planters, and discussed, as an illustration, the Bruce papers in Berry Hill Plantation House, Halifax County. These are the records of James Bruce and of his son James C. Bruce, and furnish information on six southside counties from 1802 to 1865.[12] J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, of the University of North Carolina, threw additional light on these plantation records from his 20 years' experience in connection with the Southern Historical Collection at the university. He deplored the fact that few records exist of the conditions on the small farms, which greatly outnumbered the plantations. His closing remark about the willingness of people to entrust their records to such collections as that at Chapel Hill, about their real historical-mindedness, is encouraging.[13] Charles W. Ramsdell, of the University of Texas, explained the difficulties of discovering adequate material on the Agricultural History of the Confederacy. Only one agricultural journal, the Southern Cultivator, seems to have continued publication during the war. Much may be found in the Adjutant General's office at Washington among the manuscripts of the "Confederate Archives"; but these are ill-arranged.

The session on agricultural history discussed two phases of southern agriculture, the Economic Efficiency and Comparative Advantage in Competition of Slavery under the Plantation System, presented by L. C. Gray, of the Department of Agriculture,[14] and Commercial Fertilizers in South Carolina, by R. H. Taylor, of Furman University.[15] The third paper, by Arthur H. Hirsch of the University of Michigan, on Aspects of the French Contribution to American Agriculture before 1766, was not restricted to southern conditions.[16]

The South also was the theme at the luncheon conference on the history of science, and here Richard H. Shryock, of Duke University, gave an illuminating account of medical practice in the antebellum South.[17] The most notable contribution to any aspect of

[12] Paper published in *Agricultural History*, January, 1930, pp. 10 ff.
[13] Published in *Agricultural History*, January, 1930, pp. 14 ff.
[14] Paper published in *Agricultural History*, April, 1930, pp. 31 ff.
[15] Paper published in *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, April, 1930, pp. 179 ff.
[16] Paper published in *Agricultural History*, January, 1930, pp. 1 ff.
[17] Paper published in *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, April, 1930, pp. 160 ff.

southern history was made at the association banquet by R. D. W. Connor, of the University of North Carolina, whose penetrating and brilliant interpretation of the recent history of his State, with the descriptive title of the "Rehabilitation of a Rural Commonwealth," delighted a throng of diners.[18] Under its impressions the members of the association went to the general session, of which the theme was the South, Recent and Contemporary.

It is significant that the emphasis in this general session was all on economic history. The first paper, by Lester J. Cappon, of the University of Virginia, on the Iron Industry in the New South, pointed out that by 1860 the industry had won a place even in northern and eastern markets. Southern charcoal iron had such a reputation that ironmasters after the Civil War were slow to turn to the use of coke. Mr. Cappon's main theme was the growth of the industry since the war. C. Chilton Pearson, of Wake Forest College, dealing with the Social Aspects of Prohibition, showed that the antiliquor movement, especially in Virginia, has been found in the middle class, which laid emphasis on the "useful virtues." The highest and lowest classes were in the opposition, but in recent years their political power has been ebbing. Monroe Work, of Tuskegee Institute, discussed the Economic Progress of the Negro. To some northerners it may have come as a surprise to see a dark face on the platform of a session dealing with the South in a Southern State. One of the speaker's striking remarks was that the controversy over negro suffrage had led people to overlook the equally important economic rights which the fourteenth amendment granted. He was convinced that the startling loss of interest in elections, revealed in the increase of white absentees, was due to the laws disfranchising the negro. The leader of the discussion was Holland Thompson, of the College of the City of New York, and he treated especially the causes of discontent among the new town-bred textile workers, who had forgotten how opportunities for work in the mills had ameliorated the lot of the earlier rural population.

The "Revolution in the West" was commemorated at a luncheon, and virtually at a dinner, also. At the luncheon, James A. James, of Northwestern University, the biographer of George Rogers Clark, was appropriately chosen to speak of Clark's lesser known associates, Vigo and Pollock in particular. The dinner which called to mind the Revolutionary West was the dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. The speaker was Archibald Henderson, of the University of North Carolina, and his subject was a Pre-Revolutionary Revolt in the Old Southwest. At times it seemed as if he were engaged in one of the popular sports of the day, debunking the Fathers. This he disclaimed, and urged eloquently that they were

[18] Paper published in *The American Historical Review*, October, 1930, pp. 44 ff.

after all human, and that land hunger might well have imparted an added energy to their more abstract love of liberty.[19]

The session devoted to Hispanic American history took its subject from the history of the South American States themselves, rather than from the sphere of irritating controversies with the United States. Isaac J. Cox, of Northwestern University, under the title of the "Development of Political Parties in Chile," described the pseudo-parliamentary system which dominated Chilean politics for 30 years after the overthrow of Balmaceda. It was a system of parliamentary groups, most members of which aspired to be cabinet officers. William S. Robertson, of the University of Illinois, discussed Foreign Estimates of the Argentine Dictator, Juan Manuel de Rosas. He showed that Rosas was a consummate poseur and maintained a skillful diplomatic and journalistic propaganda both at home and abroad.[20] A third paper, by William W. Pierson, of the University of North Carolina, advanced the idea that the influence of France on the Political Theories of Venezuela was a constant force while that of the United States was intermittent.

The session on the Far East, ignoring the turmoil of recent Chinese politics, was devoted to pure history. William Hung, of Harvard University, commenting on the so-called Nestorianism in the T'ang Dynasty, remarked that the study of the monument found in Si-an-fu had led to the discovery of two Chinese manuscripts, now preserved in Japan, which exhibit the efforts of a foreigner to discuss in the Chinese language, which he had not mastered, profound theological problems. When their contents are considered together with certain statements in the Nestorian inscription evidence points to the presence of Jacobite as well as Nestorian missions in China. Arthur W. Hummel, of the Library of Congress, in discussing Chinese Historical Scholarship in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, remarked that many of the "left-over scholars" of the Ming dynasty refused to serve the Manchus after the dynastic revolution of 1644. They, and especially Huang Tsung-hsi, devoted their energies to a critical evaluation of the national heritage and so developed a new school of historical and literary criticism. The Manchus were thus indirectly of assistance in the renaissance of historical studies. A third paper by Berthold Laufer, of the Field Museum, was on the Chinese Tradition of Fu-sang.

The conference of the State and local historical societies and that of the Public Archives Commission were concerned chiefly with the problem of archives. In the latter conference George S. Godard, State librarian of Connecticut, dealt with the legislation touching this problem during the past year. He had found 333 acts, cer-

[19] Paper published in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, September, 1930, pp. 191 ff.
[20] Paper published in *The Hispanic-American Historical Review*, May, 1930, pp. 125 ff.

tainly strong evidence of a lively interest. Margaret C. Norton, superintendent of the Illinois State Archives, explained the methods adopted in that State. It was noticeable that in the discussion the emphasis was not so much upon making material available for research as for rendering it accessible for the practical ends of administration. In the conference of the historical societies, Newton D. Mereness, of Washington, D. C., gave a survey of the location of documentary material concerned with such topics as acquisition of territory, frontier defense, distribution of public lands, territorial governments, and transportation, pointing out what might be found in the files of Congress, in the Departments of State, of War, and the Interior. James A. Robertson, editor of the Hispanic American Historical Review, noted that in the United States the most important repository is the Library of Congress, one collection of which, the East Florida Papers, contains approximately 65,000 manuscripts. Others are found in the British Record Office, for the period of British occupation, but greatest of all is the collection in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville.[21] Julian P. Boyd, of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, told of the significant effort of that society to present in its proposed edition of the Susquehannah Papers a work of technical excellence. The society is ambitious to show what can be done by a local organization, unsupported by Government grants.

A group from teacher training institutions as widely separated as those of Michigan, Kansas, Colorado, and West Virginia, in an informal conference, decided to hold sessions in connection with the annual meetings of the association. Oliver M. Dickerson was asked to arrange for such a session for next December. One of the aims of this enterprise is to create a wider interest in the association among instructors in teachers colleges.

The annual business meeting came while the association was at Chapel Hill. In the absence of the president, and the vice presidents, Dr. J. Franklin Jameson was asked to preside. A report was made for the Pacific Coast Branch by Robert J. Kerner. There were also reports from the endowment committee by Harry J. Carman, and the revolving fund committee, by Edward P. Cheyney. The report of the treasurer was accepted. The secretary, Dexter Perkins, discussed many of the problems of the association and pointed out much that was hopeful in the present organization of research and the means available to facilitate such work. Among the first questions which he raised was that of the treasurership. He said:

> Mr. Charles Moore, who has for more than 10 years given such self-sacrificing and helpful service to the association, not only in the administration of its finances, but also as a wise counsellor in its technical affairs, has signified his

[21] Paper to be published in *The Florida Historical Society Quarterly*.

desire to lay down the office of treasurer. Acting on this intimation, the nominating committee put forward the name of Mr. Fairfax Harrison, the president of the Southern Railroad. Mr. Harrison's acceptance was obtained, and as the membership is aware, the report of the nominating committee went forth with his name. Since its printing, however, Mr. Harrison has signified, to his own great regret, that the pressure of duties which he could not foresee two months ago will compel him to renounce the treasurership. It should be said, however, that Mr. Moore, with his accustomed generosity, has signified his willingness to serve until the question of a successor can be fully and wisely determined.

The secretary called attention to the fact that the council had approved the plan of associating a trust company with the treasurer in the management of the funds of the association. These funds are becoming so considerable that no one would care to accept the responsibility of the office without the assistance of those whose business it is to keep in constant touch with every phase of the investment problem.

Apropos of the endowment campaign the secretary expressed the view that it would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of what had actually been accomplished. For one thing, it had enabled the association to face the added expense occasioned by the termination of relations between the Review and the Carnegie Institution of Washington. But this had been only a part of the gain. The secretary remarked:

> We dispose of special funds to the amount of $125,000 for the promotion of encouragement of historical investigation and historical writing in the field of American history. The Griswold fund of $25,000 and the Beveridge fund, which will eventually attain $100,000, give us resources of very great importance, and the wise handling of which is a matter of profound significance to the association.
>
> Provision has now been made for the use of both these funds, along lines helpful to the interests of American historical scholarship at large. The Griswold fund is to be devoted to the preparation of materials illustrative of the legal history of the United States in the colonial period. The implications of this project are far-reaching. It should be of great interest alike to the social, to the political and to the legal historian. Much encouragement has been given it by eminent representatives of the legal profession. It is under the direction of Prof. E. B. Greene, which constitutes a guarantee of the scholarship which will be brought to its realization.
>
> The Beveridge fund, by vote of the council, is to be devoted to the preparation of one or more volumes illustrative of the state of public opinion in the United States before the Civil War, and is to be under the direction of three members, composed of Profs. Ulrich B. Phillips, Roy F. Nichols, and A. C. Cole, of which the first named is chairman.

The report called attention to the revolving fund, and expressed the feeling of disappointment on the part of the committee of administration and of its chairman, Professor Cheyney, that so few works of mature scholarship had been submitted. The secretary reminded the members that the fund is not intended for the publication of theses for the doctorate.

Remarkable progress in advancing the publication of the annual reports was also noted. Everything but the Writings on American History for 1928 is now in type. To expedite action in regard to the Annual Report for 1929, the council has recommended that this report contain merely the proceedings, and reports of committees, along with the Calhoun Papers, edited by Chauncey S. Boucher and Robert P. Brooks, supplementing the collection edited in 1899 by Doctor Jameson. The places of publication of papers read before the association are henceforth to be indicated in the annual reports. It may be added in this connection that the Guide to Historical Literature has reached the page-proof stage.

The secretary also presented the argument for the establishment of a permanent secretariat, holding that such an officer could maintain more continuous contact with committees and give more consideration to the development of the association's increasing activities than could a secretary with primary obligations as a member of a college faculty. He quoted the late Professor Bassett as of the same opinion. For these reasons he proposed a resolution which was adopted.

The secretary devoted the latter part of his report to the admirable work now being accomplished by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council, bodies in which the association has a special interest as a cooperating member. He called attention to the fact that they had apportioned historical research of a predominantly economic and political character as the province of the Social Science Research Council, and intellectual and cultural history to the American Council of Learned Societies. To promote these studies each council has announced the most liberal plans of grants in aid. Mention was also made of the important projects of publication which these councils are undertaking, of the notable progress made by the Department of State in editing diplomatic records, and of the work of the Library of Congress in the collection of photostats of materials in foreign archives illustrating the diplomatic history of the United States. The secretary's closing remarks were upon the State of History in the Nation.

The following awards of prizes were also announced: The John H. Dunning prize, to Hayward J. Pearce, jr., of Brenau College, for a monograph on Benjamin H. Hill: Secession and Reconstruction; the Herbert Baxter Adams prize, to H. S. Commanger, of New York University, for an essay on Struensee and the Reform Movement in Denmark; the George Louis Beer prize for 1928, to Sidney B. Fay, of Harvard University, for two volumes on the Origins of the World War; the George Louis Beer prize for 1929, to M. B. Giffen, of Tarkio College, for an essay on Fashoda, the Incident, and the Diplomatic Setting.

The association then proceeded to the election of officers. The president is Evarts B. Greene; the first vice president, E. D. Adams;[22] the second vice president, Carl Becker; the secretary, Dexter Perkins; the treasurer, Charles Moore; the two new members of the executive council, Dixon R. Fox and Ulrich B. Phillips. The term of Francis A. Christie as a member of the board of editors of this journal having expired, and the managing editor being considered an ex officio member, the council appointed two new members, Tenney Frank and James Westfall Thompson. The full list of officers and committees, together with the treasurer's report and minutes of the council, appear elsewhere.[23]

[22] Died Sept. 1, 1930.

[23] Pages 11 ff., 17 ff., 61 ff., and 81 ff; respectively.

PROGRAM OF THE FORTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN DURHAM AND CHAPEL HILL, N. C., DECEMBER 30-31, 1929, AND JANUARY 1, 1930

Monday, December 30

WASHINGTON DUKE HOTEL

BALL ROOM

10.30 a. m. JOINT SESSION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SOCIAL STUDIES AND THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.—Chairman, Guy S. Ford, University of Minnesota. Report of Progress in the Investigation of History and other Social Studies in the Schools, A. C. Krey, University of Minnesota; Possibilities of Testing the Values in the Teaching of the Social Studies, Truman L. Kelley, Stanford University. Discussion, led by Laurence B. Packard, Amherst College; O. M. Dickerson, Teachers' College, Greeley, Colo., Frederic Duncalf, University of Texas.

ASSEMBLY ROOM, NO 1

10.30 a. m. AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY.—Chairman, James Phinney Baxter, 3d, Harvard University. Opportunities for Research in American Foreign Relations, Samuel F. Bemis, George Washington University. Discussion, led by Tyler Dennett, Department of State, Washington; Joseph V. Fuller, Department of State, Washington.

ASSEMBLY ROOM, NO 2

10.30 a. m. MEDIEVAL HISTORY—HERESY AND PERSECUTION.—Chairman, Edgar H. McNeal, Ohio State University. The theory of Persecution, Ernest W. Nelson, Duke University; The Social Aspects of French Heresy, Austin P. Evans, Columbia University; Restrictions on the Teacher in the Medieval University of Paris, Dorothy Louise Mackay, West Virginia University. Discussion, led by Alfred H. Sweet, Washington and Jefferson College.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE ASSEMBLY ROOM, TRUST BUILDING (ADJOINING WASHINGTON DUKE HOTEL)

10.30 a. m. CONFERENCE OF STATE AND LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.—Chairman, A. R. Newsome, North Carolina Historical Commission. Operations for Historical Agencies in the National Archives in Washington, Newton D. Mereness, Washington; The Susquehanna Papers, Julian P. Boyd, Wyoming Historical and Geological Society; The Archival Distribution of Manuscripts relative to Florida, James A. Robertson, Takoma Park, Md. Discussion, led by Christopher B. Coleman, Indiana Historical Bureau.

ASSEMBLY ROOM

1 p. m. LUNCHEON CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL STUDIES IN THE SCHOOLS.—Chairman, A. C. Krey, University of Minnesota. Discussion: Regional Differences in the Treatment of the Social Studies, O. M. Dickerson, Teachers College, Greeley, Colo.; Edgar Dawson, Hunter College; Lawrence V. Roth, president of the New England History Teachers' Association.

MAIN DINING ROOM

1 p. m. LUNCHEON CONFERENCE ON HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORY.—Chairman J. Fred Rippy, Duke University.

BALL ROOM

2.45 p. m. JOINT SESSION OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION AND THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SOCIAL STUDIES—THE INTRODUCTORY COURSE IN THE COLLEGE CURRICULUM.—Chairman, O. M. Dickerson, Teachers' College, Greeley, Colo.; The "Better Student" in Introductory Courses in History. Discussion, led by Witt Bowden, University of Pennsylvania; Harry J. Carman, Columbia University; Arthur H. Noyes, Ohio State University.

ASSEMBLY ROOM, NO 1

2.45 p. m. THE RENAISSANCE—IDEAS OF TOLERATION.—Chairman, Edward M. Hulme, Stanford University. Erasmus and Toleration, Wallace K. Ferguson, New York University; Costellio, Roland Bainton, Yale University; Socinus and Rationalism, Frederic C. Church, University of Idaho. Discussion led by George L. Burr, Cornell University.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE ASSEMBLY ROOM, TRUST BUILDING (ADJOINING WASHINGTON DUKE HOTEL)

2.45 p. m. CONFERENCE OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES COMMISSION.—Chairman, George S. Godard, State librarian of Connecticut. The Archives Department as an Administrative Unit in Government, Margaret C. Norton, superintendent of Illinois State archives; Legislation Relating to Public Archives and Records in 1929, George S. Godard, State librarian of Connecticut; Report on the Territorial and State Archives of Minnesota, Donald E. Van Koughnet, St. Paul; Informal Report upon the Progress of the National Archive Building and National Archives. Discussion.

ASSEMBLY ROOM, NO. 2

2.45 p. m. HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORY.—THE NATIONAL PERIOD. Chairman, Wilfrid H. Callcott, University of South Carolina. The Development of Political Parties in Chile, Isaac J. Cox, Northwestern University; Foreign Influences in the Political Theories of Venezuela, William Whatley Pierson, University of North Carolina; Foreign Estimates of the Argentine Dictator, Juan Manuel de Rosas, William S. Robertson, University of Illinois. Discussion, led by C. H. Haring, Harvard University.

ASSEMBLY ROOM

6 p. m. DINNER OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.—Chairman, Frederic L. Paxson, University of Wisconsin. A Pre-Revolutionary Revolt in the Old Southwest, Archibald Henderson, University of North Carolina.

BALL ROOM

6 p. m. DINNER OF THE MEDIEVAL ACADEMY.

AUDITORIUM, DUKE UNIVERSITY, NORTH CAMPUS

8.30 p. m. PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.—Presiding, Robert L. Flowers, chairman of the committee on local arrangements. Greetings, His Excellency O. Max Gardner, Governor of North Carolina. Announcement of prizes. The address, James Harvey Robinson.

DUKE UNIVERSITY UNION, NORTH CAMPUS

9.45 p. m. SMOKER FOR MEMBERS OF ALL ASSOCIATIONS. Courtesy of the University.

Tuesday, December 31

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAPEL HILL

PHARMACY HALL, FIRST FLOOR

10 a. m. AMERICAN SOCIAL HISTORY.—Chairman, Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Princeton University. The Content and Scope of American Social History, Dixon Ryan Fox, Columbia University. Discussion, led by James G. Randall, University of Illinois.

BINGHAM HALL, FIRST FLOOR

10 a. m. ANCIENT HISTORY—THE LATER HELLENIC WORLD.—Chairman, Arthur E. R. Boak, University of Michigan. The Historical Importance of Parthia, Neilson C. Debevoise, University of Chicago; The Straits Question in Ancient Times, Joseph M. Scammell, University of California; Specimens of Government Bookkeeping from Roman Egypt, Clinton W. Keyes, Columbia University. Discussion, led by A. T. Olmstead, University of Chicago.

THE PLAYMAKERS THEATRE

10 a. m. AMERICAN HISTORY—THE JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY.—Chairman, Arthur C. Cole, Ohio State University. Andrew Jackson, a Century Estimate, William MacDonald, New York City; F. P. Blair, Journalist, William E. Smith, Miami University; The Political Geography of Southern Jacksonism, Thomas P. Abernethy, University of Alabama. Discussion, led by Eugene C. Baker, University of Texas.

MANNING HALL, SECOND FLOOR

10 a. m. ENGLISH HISTORY—THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.—Chairman, Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania. The Dissolution of the London Company of Virginia, W. Frank Craven, New York University; Cromwellian Ideals During the Restoration, Clyde L. Grose, Northwestern University; The First Earl of Shaftesbury, Louise Fargo Brown, Vassar College. Discussion, led by Frederick G. Marcham, Cornell University.

GERRARD HALL

10 a. m. MODERN HISTORY—NINETEENTH CENTURY NATIONALISM.—Chairman, Henry E. Bourne, American Historical Review, Washington. The Risorgimento, Kent R. Greenfield, Yale University; Michelet and French Nationalism, F. B. Artz, Oberlin College; Frederick William IV and the German National Movement, Walter L. Dorn, University of Wisconsin. Discussion, led by Arthur P. Watts, University of Pennsylvania.

SWAIN HALL

12.30 p. m. LUNCHEON CONFERENCE ON MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY. (Courtesy of the University of North Carolina.)—Chairman, Chester P. Higby, University of Wisconsin; Launching a Review, Bernadotte E. Schmitt, University of Chicago. Discussion.

DINING ROOM, CAROLINA INN

12.30 p. m. LUNCHEON CONFERENCE ON COMMEMORATION OF THE REVOLUTION IN THE WEST. (Courtesy of the University of North Carolina.)—Chairman, James A. Woodburn, University of Indiana. Speaker, James A. James, Northwestern University.

BALL ROOM, CAROLINA INN

12.30 p. m. JOINT LUNCHEON WITH THE AGRICULTURAL HISTORY SOCIETY. (Courtesy of the University of North Carolina.) MATERIALS FOR SOUTHERN AGRICULTURAL HISTORY.—Chairman, E. Merton Coulter, visiting professor, University of Texas. Materials for Virginia Agricultural History, Kathleen Bruce, College of William and Mary; Agricultural History Materials and Their Collection, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, University of North Carolina; Materials for Research in the Agricultural History of the Confederacy, Charles W. Ramsdall, University of Texas.

GERRARD HALL, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

2 p. m. Business meeting.

THE UNION, SOUTH CAMPUS, DUKE UNIVERSITY

4.30–5.30 p. m. TEA FOR MEMEBERS OF ALL THE ASSOCIATIONS. (Courtesy of the Department of History, Duke University.)

ASSEMBLY ROOM, WASHINGTON DUKE HOTEL

6.30 p. m. DINNER OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.—Presiding, James Harvey Robinson, president of the American Historical Association. The Rehabilitation of a Rural Commonwealth. Robert D. W. Connor, University of North Carolina.

BALL ROOM, WASHINGTON DUKE HOTEL

8.30 p. m. GENERAL SESSION. THE SOUTH, RECENT AND CONTEMPORARY.—Chairman, Dumas Malone, Dictionary of American Biography, Washington. The Iron Industry in the New South, Lester J. Cappon, University of Virginia; Social Aspects of Prohibition, C. Chilton Pearson, Wake Forest College; Economic Progress of the Negro; Monroe Work, Tuskegee Institute. Discussion, led by Holland Thompson, College of the City of New York.

Wednesday, January 1

DUKE UNIVERSITY, NORTH CAMPUS

LECTURE HALL, SCIENCE BUILDING

10 a. m. JOINT MEETING WITH THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE SOCIETY.—Chairman, Lynn Thorndike, Columbia University. A Phase of the History of Mathematics in the United States, Lao G. Simons, Hunter College; The Popularization of Science in the Revolutionary Era, Evarts B. Greene, Columbia University; A Century of American Geodesy, Florian Cajori, University of California. Discussion led by L. C. Karpinski, University of Michigan.

ROOM 209, EAST DUKE

10 a. m. MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY—DIPLOMATIC EPISODES OF THE LATER ERA.—Chairman, Arthur J. May, University of Rochester; The Fashoda Incident and the Failure of French Foreign Policy, M. B. Giffen, Tarkio, Mo.; The Rôle of the French Press in the First Moroccan Crisis, Oron J. Hale, University of Virginia; French Public Opinion during the Balkan Crisis, 1912–13, E. Malcolm Carroll, Duke University. Discussion, led by William L. Langer, Harvard University.

ROOM 204, EAST DUKE

10 a. m. RECENT AND CONTEMPORARY CIVILIZATION.—Chairman, Bernadotte E. Schmitt, University of Chicago. The Industrial Revolution in the

Twentieth Century, William E. Lingelbach, University of Pennsylvania; Labor and Nationalism, Charles A. Beard, New York City; The League of Nations, F. Lee Benns, University of Indiana. Discussion led by Carlton J. H. Hayes, Columbia University.

ROOM 201, EAST DUKE

10 a. m. JOINT SESSION WITH MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.—Chairman, Carl Wittke, Ohio State University. British Administration of the Southern Indian Department, Helen Louise Shaw, Ogontz School; The Great Plains and the American Frontier, W. P. Webb, University of Texas; Recent Industrial Growth and Politics in the Southern Appalachian Region, John D. Barnhart, West Virginia University. Discussion led by Charles H. Ambler, West Virginia University.

ROOM 107, EAST DUKE

10 a. m. AMERICAN COLONIAL HISTORY.—Chairman, Herman V. Ames, University of Pennsylvania. English Administration Methods and Policy, 1689–1715, Gertrude A. Jacobsen, Hunter College; Imperial Unity, 1760–1777, Clarence E. Carter, Miami University; British Opinions of the American Revolution, Dora Mae Clark, Wilson College. Discussion led by Charles M. Andrews, Yale University.

UNION, LEFT DINING ROOM

12.30 p. m. LUNCHEON CONFERENCE ON THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE. (Courtesy of Duke University.)—Chairman, H. W. Tyler, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Medical Practice in the Ante-bellum South, Richard H. Shryock, Duke University.

UNION, RIGHT DINING ROOM

12.30 p. m. LUNCHEON CONFERENCE ON SOUTHERN HISTORY. (Courtesy of Duke University.—Chairman, William E. Dodd, University of Chicago. Discussion led by E. Merton Coulter, visiting professor, University of Texas; Herman C. Nixon, Tulane University.

UNION, FACULTY DINING ROOM

12.30 p. m. LUNCHEON CONFERENCE OF EDITORS OF HISTORICAL PERIODICALS. (Courtesy of Duke University.)—Limited to the editorial staffs and boards of the American Historical Review, Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Speculum, Hispanic American Historical Review, Historical Outlook, Catholic Historical Review, Journal of Modern History, Journal of Agricultural History, and Isis. Chairman, J. Franklin Jameson, Library of Congress.

UNION, SECOND FLOOR DINING ROOM

12.30 p. m. LUNCHEON CONFERENCE OF THE PROGRAM COMMITTEE OF 1929 AND 1930. (Courtesy of Duke University.)

ROOM 207, EAST DUKE

2 p. m. THE FAR EAST.—Chairman, Kenneth S. Latourette, Yale University. The So-called Nestorianism in the T'sang Dynasty, William Hung, Harvard University; The Chinese Tradition of Fu-sang, Berthold Laufer, Field Museum, Chicago; Chinese Historical Scholarship in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, Arthur W. Hummel, Library of Congress. Discussion led by Lewis H. Hodous, Hartford Seminary.

ROOM 201, EAST DUKE

2 p. m. RECENT RUSSIA.—Chairman, Ross H. McLean, Emory University. The Straits Question, 1915–1923, Robert J. Kerner, University of California; The Communist Party, Samuel N. Harper, University of Chicago; The Place of Bolshevism in the History of Russian Socialism, M. Karpovich, Harvard University. Discussion, led by Bruce Hopper, Cambridge, Mass.

ROOM 204, EAST DUKE

2 p. m. AGRICULTURAL HISTORY.—Chairman, Marcus W. Jernegan, University of Chicago. Aspects of the French Contribution to American Agriculture Before 1776, Arthur H. Hirsch, visiting professor, University of Michigan; Economic Efficiency and Comparative Advantage in Competition of Slavery under the Plantation System, L. C. Gray, United States Department of Agriculture; Commercial Fertilizers in the South, R. H. Taylor, Furman University. Discussion led by Oscar C. Stine, United States Department of Agriculture.

DUKE UNIVERSITY, NORTH CAMPUS

2 p. m. MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE SOCIETY.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION HELD IN GERRARD HALL, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA, DECEMBER 31, 1929

In the absence of the president and first vice-president, Dr. J. Franklin Jameson called the meeting to order. The secretary presented his report. The report is appended.[1]

It was voted to accept the report and place it on file.

In behalf of the treasurer, the secretary presented the treasurer's report. The report is appended.[2]

It was voted to accept the report and place it on file.

Prof. E. P. Cheyney addressed the meeting on behalf of the committee on the revolving fund, urging particularly wider publicity for the work of the fund.

Prof. Harry J. Carman addressed the meeting with regard to the work of the endowment committee.

Prof. R. J. Kerner summarized for the meeting the work of the Pacific Coast Branch of the association.

The secretary presented three resolutions approved by the Council for the consideration of the association. The resolutions were as follows:

In view of the increased responsibilities of the association and the multiplicity of tasks in which it is engaged and in view of the special report of the committee on policy,[3] it is, in the opinion of the council, highly desirable that the association make provision for the establishment of a permanent secretariat and that the council be authorized to take such steps toward that end as may be practicable.

The council recommends to the association to meet in Minneapolis in 1931.

The American Historical Association expresses its great satisfaction at the measures which have been taken by the Public Buildings Commission and the Congress to provide a suitable respository for the archives of the United States. With deep appreciation of the desirability and the necessity of careful study in the planning of such a national archive building and in the administration of its priceless contents, the association authorizes and instructs its executive council

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[1] See pp. 55 ff. [2] See pp. 61 ff. [3] See pp. 89 ff.

to designate a suitable committee to wait upon the President of the United States to assure him of the interest of the association and to invite his consideration of the appointment of a special committee to consider the questions involved in the preservation and administration of the national archives.

The resolutions were adopted.

It was voted that the next annual meeting of the association should be held in Boston and Cambridge on December 29, 30, 31, 1930.

The secretary made announcement of the committees of the association.[4]

The association then proceeded to the election of officers. The ballot contained no name for the treasurership. Prof. L. B. Packard nominated Mr. Charles Moore. The association proceeded to ballot and the presiding official announced the result as follows:

President, Evarts B. Greene, Columbia University, New York City.
First Vice President, Ephraim Douglass Adams, Stanford University, Calif.[5]
Second Vice President, Carl Becker, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
Secretary, Dexter Perkins, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.
Treasurer, Charles Moore, Washington, D. C.
Executive council: Payson J. Treat, Stanford University, Calif.; William L. Clements, Bay City, Mich.; Samuel E. Morison, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; Winfred T. Root, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa; Elizabeth Donnan, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.; Joseph G. de Roulhac Hamilton, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.; Dixon R. Fox, Columbia University, New York City; Ulrich B. Phillips, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
Nominating committee: E. Merton Coulter, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga., chairman; Louise Phelps Kellogg, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wis.; James F. Willard, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo.; Frederick Merk, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; Chester P. Higby, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

The meeting adjourned at 4 p. m.

Report of the Secretary of the American Historical Association

The past year has been one of great importance in the history of the association. As I reported to you at the last annual meeting, our organization was confronted with a situation of peculiar significance in connection with the future of the Review. Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, so intimately identified with the editorship, resigned that office in July, 1928, on his transfer from the Carnegie Institution to the Library of Congress. He was succeeded by Prof. D. C. Munro, who, however, on assuming the duties of editor, signified that it was his desire to serve for only one year. The association was faced, therefore, during the past year, with the duty of making more permanent provision for the editorship. This duty has now been discharged, and discharged, it is confidently believed, in a manner peculiarly fortunate for the interests of our body. Prof. Henry E. Bourne, adviser to the Library of Congress in the field of European history, has consented to accept the editorship and has been appointed for a period of three years.

The association faces another change in its personnel to which the most careful consideration must be given. Mr. Charles Moore, who has for more than 10 years given such self-sacrificing and helpful service to the association, not only in the administration of its finances but also as a wise counselor in its technical affairs, has signified his desire to lay down the office of treasurer. Acting on this intimation, the nominating committee put forward the name of Mr. Fairfax Harrison, the president of the Southern Railroad. Mr. Harrison's acceptance was obtained and, as the membership is aware, the report of the nominating committee went forth with his name upon it. Since then, however, Mr. Harrison has signified, to his own great regret, that the pressure of duties which he could

[4] See pp. 17 ff.

[5] Died Sept. 1, 1930.

not forsee two months ago will compel him to renounce the treasurership. The chairman of the nominating committee will, in the course of this meeting, make recommendation for such action as may be necessary in the existing circumstances. It should be said, however, that Mr. Moore, with his accustomed generosity, has signified his willingness to serve until the question of a successor can be fully and wisely determined.

In speaking of the finances of the association, I desire to call your attention to a vote of the council taken at the November meeting [6] approving the association of a trust company with the treasurer and the treasurer to be appointed in the management of the funds of the association. The resources of the association are becoming very considerable. Wise as has been the management in the past (and of this there can be not the slightest question), it was felt the direct association with the treasurer of those having technical and expert knowledge of the investment problem was highly desirable.

It is proper to mention, as not unrelated to the financial problems of the association, the recent transference of our Washington offices. The quarters occupied in the Woodward Building were, of course, rented by the Carnegie Institution, and the association enjoyed the use of them by virtue of the relationship existing between the institution and the Review. On the severance of this relation, the institution was generous enough to offer the use of the same quarters for a limited period, rent free. Such a situation, perhaps not very dignified at best, was necessarily terminated by the institution's moving to the Tower Building in the fall of this year. The association and the Review, therefore, have sought new quarters and have found these at 40 B Street SW., conveniently located to the Library of Congress. These quarters are simple but not inadequate. Having in mind, however, the possibilities of improving the situation in this regard, the council has constituted a committee on more permanent quarters, under the chairmanship of Mr. H. E. Bourne, to consider the matter of future arrangements.

I turn to the question of our endowment. On this subject you will doubtless hear directly from the secretary of our endowment committee. It is sufficient for me to say here that about $20,000 has been raised in new subscriptions since the last report to the council, and that the total of individual subscriptions, in cash and unpaid pledges, is $238,698.45. It is felt, however, that the time has come for a reconsideration of the general problems raised by an endowment campaign. Acting upon this conviction, the council has discharged the large committee on endowment and has constituted a small committee of six members to formulate a policy for the future.

It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of what has been done through our endowment campaign. The association's resources have been increased from some $42,000 in 1924 to nearly $280,000 in 1929. What we should have done without these increased funds, in view of the special situation created by the severance of the relations between the Carnegie Institution and the Review, and the consequent necessity of providing some $7,000 more than before in our annual budget, it would be difficult to say. The action of the association in deciding to embark upon its endowment campaign was little short of providential.

Nor is it merely that we have been able to meet a change in our financial situation without embarrassment. On the contrary, we dispose of special funds to the amount of $125,000 for the promotion of encouragement of historical investigation and historical writing in the field of American history. The Griswold Fund of $25,000 and the Beveridge Fund, which will eventually attain $100,000, give us resources of very great importance and the wise handling of which is a matter of profound significance to the association.

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[6] See p. 86.

The council has not been unaware of its obligations in this respect. This committee reported to the council at the November session. A year ago it constituted a committee on policy, under the chairmanship of Prof. D. R. Fox, to make recommendations. This committee reported to the council in November.[7] Provision has now been made for the use of both these funds, along lines helpful to the interests of American historical scholarship at large. The Griswold Fund is to be devoted to the preparation of materials illustrative of the legal history of the United States in the colonial period. The implications of this project are far-reaching. It should be of great interest alike to the social, to the political, and to the legal historian. Much encouragement has been given it by eminent representatives of the legal profession. It is under the direction of Prof. E. B. Greene, which constitutes a guaranty of the scholarship which will be brought to its realization.

The Beveridge Fund, by vote of the council, is to be devoted to the preparation of one or more volumes illustrative of the state of public opinion in the United States before the Civil War, and is to be under the direction of a committee of three members, composed of Profs. Ulrich B. Phillips, Roy F. Nichols, and A. C. Cole, of which the first named is chairman. Such a use of the resources provided so largely through the energy and generosity of the biographer of Abraham Lincoln seems to have a particular appropriateness.

In making these announcements to the membership of the association, the occasion may be deemed proper for once more signalizing the very deep appreciation which we all must feel at the generous and sustained interest in the work of our body which has prompted such gifts and made such work possible.

Turning to other aspects of the work of the association, I may first touch upon the administration of our revolving fund, of which you will also hear, I hope, directly from Professor Cheyney, the chairman of the committee charged with its administration. A larger number of works than in any previous year have been submitted to the committee for publication. At the same time the quality of these works has not been all that might have been expected. The fund is not intended to be used for the publication of theses for the doctorate but for works of mature scholarship. It is surprising that no more works of this type have been submitted. I take this occasion to renew for our membership the recollection of the existence of this important aid to publication, and to request that it be given the widest possible publicity.

The committee on bibliography, which has so long had in charge the Guide to Historical Literature, reports that this project is advancing toward completion. The page proof of the whole work is early expected. The following year should see its publication. It is hoped that, by the utilization of a special grant, the Bibliography of Travel may also be speedily advanced toward final form.

Striking progress has been made in advancing the publication of the Annual Reports and of the Writings in American History. These have been somewhat in arrears. Professor Stock reports that everything but the Writings for 1928 is now in type, either galley or page-proof, and that the goal of bringing these reports down to date, if not actually attained, is at least coming into sight. To expedite action with regard to the Annual Report for 1929, the council has recommended to the chairman of the committee on publications that it contain merely the proceedings and reports of committees, along with the Calhoun Papers edited by Prof. Chauncey S. Boucher and Prof. Robert P. Brooks, and supplementing the collection edited in 1899 by Doctor Jameson. The printing of papers read at the meeting, or of abstracts of the same, has been abandoned.

[7] See pp. 89 ff.

The places of publication of such papers are, however, henceforth to be indicated in the annual reports.

One of the most important projects of the association, I need hardly remark, is the work of the commission on social studies in the schools, the grant for the work of which I announced last year, and which has been renewed and increased for the coming year. The commission itself is a supervisory body and has erected three advisory committees—on objectives, on public relations, and on tests—to aid it in its work. The actual conduct of the investigation is in the hands of an executive committee, of which Prof. A. C. Krey, the director of the investigation, is chairman, and of which the other two members are Messrs. C. E. Merriam and J. H. Newlon. A permanent working personnel is being developed, and much preliminary work has been accomplished. Thus, for example, fairly comprehensive data have been collected on the present programs, and analytical studies of some of this material have been made to aid in the preparation of tests. Check lists of institutions, the development of which should be emphasized in the teaching of the social studies, have been prepared, as also check lists of methods of teaching procedure and teaching devices. The work will be pressed forward vigorously in the coming year, and the association is fortunate in the fact that Professor Krey will, for the next nine months, be enabled to devote his whole time to the task. The service required of him is exacting, and demands much sacrifice. I am sure that I interpret the sentiment of our members in expressing the warmest appreciation of his efforts and the earnest hope that he will be able to see the project through to a satisfactory conclusion. No greater service to American historical activity could be imagined.

The variety of the activities of the association, as indicated by the ground just traversed, has deepened the conviction already held by many members of the council that the effectiveness of our organization would be immensely increased through the establishment of a permanent secretariat. Such an officer could maintain a much more effective and continuous contact with the committees of the association and give much more consideration to the wise expansion and selection of its activities than can a secretary who has primary obligations as a member of a college faculty. The late Professor Bassett, who served with such devotion in the office which I now hold, was strongly of the opinion that a permanent secretariat was necessary to the continued progress of the association. The choice of such an officer will not be an easy one, but it is the thought of the council that the association should go on record with regard to the matter, and I shall, later in this meeting, present for your consideration and, I hope, your approval, a resolution in this regard.

Before passing to certain projects of a cooperative character in which the association is interested, I must say a word with regard to our membership. There has been a very satisfactory increase during the past year. We have acquired 368 new members, as against 289 in the corresponding period of 1928. The number of members lost to the association, through resignation or nonpayment of dues, is smaller than it was a year ago. The total figure is to-day 3,589. I must incorporate here a word of appreciation to Prof. Roy F. Nichols, who retires as chairman of this committee. The reorganization which it underwent under his direction has undoubtedly been productive of excellent results.

The association has a part in the work of those two important federative agencies, the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council.

In connection with the first of these bodies, it is worth while to call attention to the liberal program of grants-in-aid just inaugurated. As a result of a delimitation of functions agreed upon between the American Council of Learned Societies

and the Social Science Research Council, historical research of an exclusively economic or political character will fall within the province of the latter. Intellectual and cultural history, on the other hand, falls within the domain of the former. The members of our profession may hope to some degree to participate in the advantages of the new system of grants-in-aid to which I have just called attention. Provision is also made for a special number of research fellowships of the postdoctoral type.

Many of the projects of the American Council of Learned Societies are of particular interest to historians. I may note, for example, the study of the linguistic and national stocks in the population of the United States, the preparation of a *corpus* of Latin manuscripts to 800 A. D., a catalogue of classical and medieval manuscripts in American depositaries and collections, a check list of the serial publications of foreign governments since 1815, the history of Greek thought in preparation by Prof. William E. Heidel, of Wesleyan University, and the preparation of a definitive text of the Historia Trojana. I hardly need to remind our members that the Dictionary of American Biography is also a project of the Council of Learned Societies. The progress of that work is known to all of us, I am sure, and from the study of the volumes already published we derive the strongest conviction of its scholarship and utility.

In the work of the Social Science Research Council mention is particularly to be made of the appearance during the past year of Social Science Abstracts. This monumental venture deserves, and appears to be receiving, wide support. In the numbers of the abstracts which have already appeared, 2,600 periodicals have been examined, and 5,886 abstracts prepared. The editor reports the cooperation of European scholars, and a very favorable response in the way of subscriptions at home.

The Encyclopædia of the Social Sciences, another project of the Social Science Research Council, is progressing, and the first volume will be published in the coming month.

The Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies combined have appointed a joint committee to consider the general problem of preserving and making more available materials of all sorts that serve as sources for research in the humanistic and social sciences. The formation of this committee directs attention to one of the great activities marked out for cooperative scholarship. I shall hope to report further with regard to it at our next meeting.

There are certain projects belonging neither to the association nor to the federated bodies just alluded to, which are none the less of interest to our members, and to which it is proper to allude. One of these is the collection of materials scattered through the Washington archives which illustrate the history of the Territories of the United States. This project was entrusted to the Department of State but has lapsed for lack of funds. Legislation authorizing the continuance of this project has already been enacted, however, and appropriations are expected to be made which will permit the resumption of the work at the beginning of the next fiscal year.

The Department of State is, however, naturally much more concerned with the publication of the two series of volumes on Foreign Relations, that which relates to the diplomacy attendant upon the World War and that which includes the other diplomatic material of the same period. These volumes are under the editorial care of Dr. Tyler Dennett, historical adviser of the Department of State, and Dr. Joseph V. Fuller, members of our association. The department has also begun work on the new edition of the Treaties of the United States, to be edited by Mr. David Hunter Miller.

The twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh volumes of the Journals of the Continental Congress, covering the transactions of the year 1784, have lately been published by the Government Printing Office. Through the generosity of Mr. William E. Benjamin, it has been made possible for the editorial work of the ensuing years, 1885–1888, to be performed by the ideally competent hands of Dr. John C. Fitzpatrick. This work will undoubtedly be finished, and the volumes completing the series will be ready for publication, by June, 1930.

The monumental project of the Library of Congress for the collection of materials in foreign archives illustrating the diplomatic history of the United States proceeds rapidly under the supervision of Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, the chief of the manuscript division, and the energetic impulse given to it by Dr. Samuel F. Bemis. In the course of the year ending August 31, 1929, more than 400,000 pages of such correspondence were filmed or photostated. No project of so large a scale and of far-reaching value has ever been executed in this particular field.

In the field of collecting materials, I wish to call attention to the activities of the young Business Historical Society, which has, by the way, accepted the invitation to meet with our association in 1930. This society is collecting in the Baker Library at Soldiers Field, Cambridge, materials of very great value for the study of the development of private enterprise, especially in the United States. Its activities deserve to be called to the attention of our membership, and its executive secretary, Mr. Frank C. Ayres, would, I am sure, be willing to furnish fuller information upon request.

I need add but little to what I had to say a year ago with regard to "the state of history in the Nation." The popular interest in history continues, as attested by the most widely read publications of the year. If there be any one point which deserves to be underlined and emphasized, it is the extraordinary change that has been and is taking place with regard to the promotion of historical scholarship. The financial historical aids to research were meager five years ago; to-day they are really quite numerous. While much remains to be done, it is confidently believed that at no time in the history of American historical science has it been easier for a meritorious piece of research to receive financial support than at present. Coordinate with this development goes another, the working out of large projects which require the cooperation of a considerable number of individuals. Such projects, the Dictionary of American Biography, the Encyclopædia of the Social Sciences, the work of our commission on the social studies in the schools, and Social Science Abstracts, to name only a few examples, rarely offer any very glittering reward to those who participate in them. They have, however, a value fully as great as works of individual scholarship. I urge upon the members of the association, teachers and students of social development, that they exhibit the true social spirit in connection with these and other enterprises. I urge the same spirit of cooperation in the work of the association. In its long and honorable history this body has performed no inconsiderable services to American scholarship. Its opportunities were never greater than they are to-day. Its burdens should be borne, and its activities stimulated and carried on, not by a few self-sacrificing and devoted scholars, who have cherished it for many years, but by the rank and file of its membership. There is no one, I am sure, in the governing body of the association who does not nourish this ideal. It rests with you who are assembled here to-day to see that that it is realized.

DEXTER PERKINS, *Secretary.*

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER, NOVEMBER 2, 1928, TO NOVEMBER 30, 1929

AUDITOR'S EXHIBIT A.—*Receipts and disbursements—General—From November 2, 1928, to November 30, 1929*

Receipts:		
Annual dues		$16,560.04
Endowment fund contributions, including life membership dues		34,569.66
Profit in exchange of bonds		243.92
Refund by endowment committee on petty cash account		75.00
Registration fees		240.98
Royalties		38.66
Andrew D. White fund—Royalties		1.25
Carnegie revolving publication fund—		
Royalties	$388.40	
From sale of bonds	5,000.00	
		5,388.40
Publications—		
Prize essays	2.00	
Papers and annual reports	28.00	
Writings on American history	39.25	
		69.25
Grant from Carnegie Corporation of New York for Committee on history and other social studies in the schools		55,000.00
Grant from Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial for the International Committee of Historial Sciences		8,000.00
Miscellaneous		5.00
Interest—		
Unrestricted funds	$5,289.58	
Andrew D. White fund	65.00	
George L. Beer prize fund	325.00	
Carnegie revolving publication fund	1,146.00	
John H. Dunning prize fund	108.34	
Albert J. Beveridge fund	3,520.83	
Littleton-Griswold fund	1,354.17	
Bank deposits	625.05	
		12,433.97
		132,626.13
Cash on deposit, Union Trust Co., Nov. 2, 1928		44,611.52
		177,237.65
Disbursements:		
Secretary and treasurer		6,898.32
Pacific Coast branch		500.00
Committees of management—		
Nominations	$103.92	
Membership	81.25	
Program	622.88	
Local arrangements	150.00	
Executive council	761.85	
Endowment	3,884.42	
Treasurer's contingent fund	216.75	
		5,821.07
Historical Activities:		
Committee on bibliography	166.36	
Committee on publications	819.10	
Public archives commission	75.00	
Conference of historical societies	25.00	
Writings on American history	400.00	
American Council of Learned Societies	191.87	
International Committee of Historical Sciences	225.00	
Committee on Carnegie publication fund	7,191.55	
Committee on bibliography of travel	172.38	
Albert J. Beveridge memorial fund	2,500.00	
		11,766.26
Special funds administered by the American Historical Association:		
American Council of Learned Socicties—John D. Rockefeller, jr., grant		1,066.50
Committee on history and other social studies in the schools—Carnegie Corporation grant		20,943.16
International Committee of Historical Sciences—Laura Spelman Rockefeller memorial grant		9,000.00
Justin Winsor prize 1928		200.00
American Historical Review (copies supplied to members)		9,217.81
American Historical Review fund (editorial expenses)		4,439.77
Endowment fund investments		55,600.00
Transferred to savings account		50,000.00
Interest on bonds to date of purchase		228.27
		175,631.16
Cash on deposit, Union Trust Co., Nov. 30, 1929		1,556.49
		177,237.65

AUDITOR'S EXHIBIT B.—*American Historical Review*

Receipts:		
The Macmillan Co., per contract		$2,600.00
Interest on bank deposits		14.62
Profit for year ending July 15, 1929, received from Macmillan Co		1,919.49
Sale of reprints		.25
		4,534.36
Cash on deposit, Union Trust Co., Nov. 2, 1928		1,461.71
		5,996.07
Disbursements:		
Office of managing editor—		
Managing editor's salary	$624.99	
Other salaries	840.00	
Petty cash account	194.36	
		1,659.35
Stationery, printing, and supplies		173.75
Binding		3.60
Publications		9.15
Traveling expenses		212.96
Contributors to the Review:		
January number	$459.75	
April number	495.00	
July number	506.00	
October number	521.00	
		1,981.75
Subscriptions to Review for European libraries		40.00
		4,080.56
Cash on deposit, Union Trust Co., Nov. 30, 1929		1,915.51
		5,996.07

Securities owned by the American Historical Association, November 30, 1929, Union Trust Co., Washington, D. C., custodian

	Par value
American Car & Foundry Co., preferred stock	$10,000
American Gas & Electric Co., 5's, 2028	5,000
Associated Gas & Electric Co., 5's, 1968	5,500
Associated Gas & Electric Co., 4½'s, 1949	5,000
Baltimore & Ohio R. R. Co., 5's, 2000	5,000
Bethlehem Steel Corporation, 5's, 1930	2,000
By-Products Coke Corporation, series A, 5½'s, 1945	6,000
Canadian National Ry. Co., 5's 1969	5,000
Capital Traction Co., 5's, 1947	5,000
Central Arkansas Public Service Corporation, 5's, 1948	5,000
Chicago Gas Light & Coke Co., 5's, 1937	3,000
Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul & Pacific R. R. Co., 4½'s, 1989, series E	5,000
Columbia Gas & Electric Corporation, 5's, 1952	6,000
Commonwealth of Australia, 4½'s, 1956	5,000
Consolidated Gas, Electric Light & Power Co. of Baltimore, 4¾'s, 1969, sories G	5,000
Detroit Edison Co., 5's, 1949	3,000
Eastern Connecticut Power Co., 5's, 1948	5,000
Florida Power & Light Co. 5's, 1954	5,000
Gatineau Power Co., 5's, 1956	2,000
Great Western Power Co., 5's, 1946	5,000
Gulf Oil Corporation, 5's, 1947	5,000
Inland Steel Co., 4½'s, 1978, series A	5,000
International Match Corporation, 5's, 1947	3,000
International Paper Co., 6's, 1955	3,000
Kansas City Southern Ry. Co., 3's, 1950	5,000
Kingdom of Denmark, 4½'s, 1962	10,000
Lorain Telephone Co., 5's, 1958, series A	4,000
Massachusetts Utilities Associates, 5's, 1949	5,000
Missouri Pacific R. R. Co., 5's, 1978, series G	5,000
Mobile & Birmingham R. R. Co., 4's, 1945	5,000
Montana Power Co., 5's, 1962	3,000
W. B. Moses & Sons (Inc.), real-estate notes, 5 years, 6 per cent	5,000
George J. Moss, real-estate notes, 3 years, 6 per cent	5,000
New England Gas & Electric Co., 5's, 1948	5,000
New York, Chicago & St. Louis R. R. Co., 5½'s, 1974	6,000
Pennsylvania R. R. Co., 5's, 1968	2,000
Pennsylvania-Ohio Power & Light Co., 5½'s, 1954	6,000
Potomac Electric Power Co., 6's, 1953	400
Puget Sound Power & Light Co., 5½'s, 1949	6,000
Railway Express Agency (Inc.), 5's, 1949, series A	5,000
Remington Arms Co., (Inc.), 1st mortgage, 6 per cent, 1937, series A	3,000
St. Louis, San Francisco Ry. Co., 4½'s, 1978	5,000
Shell Pipe Line Corporation 5's, 1952	8,000
Shell Union Oil Corporation, 5's, 1947	6,000
Solvay American Investment Corporation, 5's, 1942	10,000
Super Power Co. of Illinois, 4½'s, 1968	5,000
Vamma Water Power Co., 5½'s, 1957	3,000
Washington Gas Light Co., 5's, 1960	5,000
Wheeling Steel Corporation, 5½'s, 1948	5,000
Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co., 5's, 1978	5,000
	245,900

Report of F. W. Lafrentz & Co.

December 13, 1929.

The American Historical Association,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs: We have audited your accounts and records from November 2, 1928, to November 30, 1929, inclusive.

Our report, including two exhibits, is as follows:

Exhibit A.—Statement of receipts and disbursements—General.

Exhibit B.—Statement of receipts and disbursements—American Historical Review.

We verified the cash receipts, as shown by the records, and the cash disbursements were compared with canceled checks and vouchers on file. They are in agreement with the treasurer's report.

The cash called for by the records of the funds, was reconciled with the bank statements.[8]

We inspected the securities of the association, $245,900 par value, as called for by the records.

Respectfully submitted.

F. W. Lafrentz & Co.,
Certified Public Accountants.

Endowment fund, November 30, 1929

Special funds and grants:	Receipts	Disbursements	Amount available
Andrew D. White fund (principal, $1,200)—			
Cash balance Nov. 1, 1928	$502.08		
Royalties	1.25		
Interest	65.00		
	568.33		
Balance available			$568.33
George Louis Beer prize fund (principal, $6,000)—			
Cash balance Nov. 1, 1928	1,041.25		
Interest	325.00		
	1,366.25		
Bonds purchased		$1,000.00	
Balance available			366.25
Carnegie revolving publication fund (principal, $25,000)—			
Cash balance Nov. 1, 1928	2,560.00		
Interest	1,146.00		
Royalties	388.40		
From sale of bonds	5,000.00		
	9,094.40		
Cost of printing—			
Ragatz volume		2,612.39	
Lonn volume		1,267.54	
Heidel volume		3,024.37	
Free copies sent		13.55	
Advertising		120.00	
Committee expenses		153.70	
		7,191.55	
Balance available			1,902.85
John H. Dunning prize fund (principal, $2,000)—			
Cash balance Nov. 1, 1928	150.00		
Interest	108.34		
	258.34		
Balance available			258.34
Albert J. Beveridge memorial fund (principal, $65,000)—			
Cash balance Nov. 1, 1928	1,040.00		
Interest	3,520.83		
	4,560.83		
Grant to R. H. Shryock		2,500.00	
Balance available			2,060.83

[8] The Union Trust Co., Washington, D. C., holds the securities owned by the association and collects the interest thereon. This company also does the general banking business of the association.

	Receipts	Disbursements	Amount available
Special funds and grants—Continued.			
Littleton-Griswold fund (principal, $25,000)—			
Cash balance Nov. 1, 1928	$225.00		
Interest	1,354.17		
	1,579.17		
Balance available			$1,579.17
			6,735.77
Grants from Carnegie Corporation of New York for committee on history and other social studies in the schools—			
Cash balance Nov. 1, 1928, on $15,000 grant	3,879.76		
Final payment on $15,000 grant	5,000.00		
Grant made in 1929	50,000.00		
	58,879.76		
Committee expenses		$20,943.16	
Balance available			37,936.60
Grant from John D. Rockefeller, jr., for International Committee of Historical Sciences—			
Cash balance Nov. 1, 1928	1,209.10		
Expenditures for "Study of linguistic origins"		1,066.50	
Balance available			142.60
Grant from Laura Spelman Rockefeller memorial for the American Council of Learned Societies—			
Cash balance Nov. 1, 1928	1,000.00		
Received on grant in 1929	8,000.00		
	9,000.00		
Expenditures, 1929		9,000.00	
Balance available			
Unrestricted funds:			
William A. Dunning fund (principal, $5,000); American Historical Review fund (principal, $8,500); J. F. Jameson fund (principal, 3,000); Harriet Beecher Stowe fund (principal $200); Winsor, Adams, and Jusserand prizes and for general expenses (principal, $110,000)—			
Cash balance Nov. 1, 1928	33,004.33		
General expenses	22,828.56	29,151.68	
Endowment fund	34,888.58		
	90,721.47		
Investments		54,828.27	
		83,979.85	
Balance available			6,741.57
			51,556.49
Interest on savings account			187.00
			51,743.49
Funds on hand Dec. 1, 1928:			
Checking account	1,556.49		
Savings account	50,187.00		
			51,743.49

Budget for 1930 (as submitted by the council, November 29, 1929)

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Estimated receipts:	
Annual dues	$15,000
Interest on endowment and on bank balances	13,000
Royalties	50
Carnegie revolving publication fund	1,000
Publications	50
Registration fees	200
Government appropriation for printing annual report	7,000
	36,300
Disbursements:	
Office of secretary and treasurer	7,000
Pacific coast branch	500
Committees of management—	
Committee on nominations	100
Committee on membership	75
Committee on program	700
Committee on local arrangements	150
Executive council	700
Committee on endowment fund	-----
Treasurer's contingent fund	200
Historical activities—	
Committee on bibliography	500
Committee on bibliography of modern British history	500
Committee on publications	700
Printing annual report	7,000
Conference of historical societies	25
Public Archives Commission	100

Disbursements—Continued.		
Historical activities—Continued.		
Writings on American history		$700
American Council of Learned Societies		75
Committee on historical research in colleges		50
Committee on history		----
International Committee of Historical Sciences		225
Committee on Carnegie revolving publication fund		----
Committee on bibliography of travel		500
International Year Book of Historical Bibliography		200
Prizes—		
Herbert Baxter Adams prize, 1929		200
George Louis Beer prize, 1929		250
American Historical Review (copies supplied to members)		9,300
American Historical Review fund (salaries of managing editor and assistant)		5,540
		35,290

AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

Estimated receipts:		
The Macmillan Co. for editorial expenses	$2,400	
Bank balances, interest	15	
Review's share of profit	1,800	
		$4,215
Disbursements:		
Managing editor's office—		
Salaries	900	
Petty cash account	200	
Printing, stationery, supplies	200	
Binding	50	
Publications	10	
Travel	225	
Payments to contributors to Review—		
January number	500	
April number	500	
July number	500	
October number	500	
Subscriptions to Review for European libraries	40	
		3,625
Balance		590

Respectfully submitted.

CHARLES MOORE, *Treasurer.*

DECEMBER 17, 1929.

PRIZES AND SPECIAL FUNDS

The Justin Winsor prize of $200, awarded in successive even-numbered years, for an essay based on independent, original investigation in American history. The Winsor prize was established in 1895 by the association in recognition of Justin Winsor's contribution to American historical study.

The Herbert Baxter Adams prize of $200, awarded in successive odd-numbered years, for an essay based on independent, original work in the history of the Eastern Hemisphere. The Adams prize was founded in 1902 by the association to commemorate Professor Adams's services to historical study and his bequest of $5,000 to the association.

The George Louis Beer prize of $250, awarded annually according to the terms of the bequest of $5,000 made by Professor Beer, for the best work upon any phase of European international history since 1895.

The Jusserand prize medal.—This medal is awarded, as occasion arises, for a published work of distinction on any phase involving the history of the intellectual relations between the United States and any foreign country, whether such work be written by an American citizen or by a citizen of a foreign country.

John H. Dunning prize fund.—Bequest from Miss Mathilde M. Dunning. The income from this fund to be used in accordance with the terms of the bequest as follows: "I give and bequeath the following sum: To the American Historical Association of Washington, D. C., two thousand dollars ($2,000); the income I direct to be used as a prize known as the John H. Dunning prize and to be offered for the best historical essay by a member of the association, conditions and subjects to be arranged by the authorities of the association. I suggest that; for a

time at least, the subjects cover historical matter connected with the Southern States during the reconstruction period, material in which my father, John H. Dunning, and my brother, William A. Dunning, a former president of the association, were deeply interested."

The Andrew D. White fund, established by the National Board for Historical Service from royalties on publications in connection with World War work, amounts to $1,200. The income is used for historical undertakings of an international character.

The William A. Dunning fund.—Professor William A. Dunning, of Columbia University, bequeathed to the association $5,000, the income to be used without restriction.

American Historieal Review fund.—From the profits of the American Historical Review the board of editors has paid to the American Historical Association the following amounts: 1912, $300; 1913, $300; 1914, $300; 1915, $400; 1921, $500; 1922, $500; 1924, $1,000; 1925, $2,000; 1926, $2,000; 1927, $1,500; bonds turned over to American Historical Association, $1,200; total, $10,000.

Carnegie revolving publieation fund.—Grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York to be used as a publication fund, in accordance with the following resolution: "That the sum of $25,000 be, and it hereby is, appropriated to the American Historical Association, Washington, D. C., for the purpose of providing a revolving fund for publications."

The Albert J. Beveridge fund.—Established by Mrs. Beveridge as a memorial to her husband, the income to be used for historical research.

The Littleton-Griswold fund.—Established by Mrs. Griswold as a memorial to her father, William E. Littleton, and her husband, Frank Tracy Griswold, the income to be used for research work in American history.

The J. Franklin Jameson fund.—Established by the executive council of the American Historical Association in honor of J. Franklin Jameson.

The Harriet Beecher Stowe fund.—Established by the Connecticut Committee on the Endowment Fund in memory of Harriet Beecher Stowe.

Carnegie Corporation of New York grant, made to the association for the use of the committee on history and the other social studies in the schools.

Laura Spelman Roekefeller memorial grant, made to the association for the work of the International Committee of Historical Sciences.

John D. Roekefeller, jr., grant, made to the association for the use of the American Council of Learned Societies in the "Study of racial and linguistic origins."

Report of the Nominating Committee

November 15, 1929.

To the Members of the American Historieal Association:

Your committee on nominations in compliance with the requirements of the by-laws report the following nominations for the elective offices and committee memberships of the association for the ensuing year, 1929–30:

President, Evarts B. Greene, Columbia University, New York City.
First vice president, Ephraim Douglass Adams,[5] Stanford University, Calif.
Second vice president, Carl L. Becker, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
Secretary, Dexter Perkins, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.
Treasurer, Fairfax Harrison, Washington, D. C.

Executive council: Payson J. Treat, Stanford University, Calif.; William L. Clements, Bay City, Mich.; Samuel E. Morison, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; Winfred T. Root, State University of Iowa City, Iowa; Elizabeth Donnan, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.; Joseph G. de Roulhac Hamilton, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.; Dixon R. Fox, Columbia

[5] Died Sept. 1, 1930.

University, New York City; Ulrich B. Phillips, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

Nominating committee: E. Merton Coulter, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga., chairman; Louise Phelps Kellogg, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wis.; James F. Willard, University of Colorado, Boulder Colo.; Frederick Merk, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; Chester P. Higby, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

Respectfully submitted.

LAURENCE B. PACKARD, *Chairman.*
RANDOLPH G. ADAMS.
E. MERTON COULTER.
LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG.
JAMES F. WILLARD.

REPORT OF THE DELEGATES TO THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

The annual meeting of the council was held in Washington on January 26, 1926. A full report respecting the Council and its activities in 1928 may be read in its Bulletin No. 9, prepared by Dr. W. G. Leland, its permanent secretary. Its Bulletin No. 10, is devoted to the special subject of the promotion of Chinese studies, on which the council organized a special committee whose proceedings in a meeting of February 16 and 17 are there recorded. Bulletin No. 11 reports in full the proceedings of the annual meeting of January 26, and the proceedings of the executive committee prior to June.

By joint action of the executive committees of this council and of the Social Science Research Council, a limitation of functions in respect to history has been effected in such terms that all matters of history fall within the field of the latter body with the exception of "intellectual and cultural history," which continue in the domain of the American Council of Learned Societies.

The council was represented by Doctor Leland, with Mr. G. Lacombe as adjunct member in the tenth annual session of the Union Académique Internationale, held at Brussels, May 13–15, 1929. A report upon that session is printed in Bulletin No. 11 of the council.

The publication of the first volume of the Dictionary of American Biography in November, 1928, was followed in April, 1929, by that of the second volume. The third is, at the date of this report, daily expected.

Respectfully submitted.

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON,
CHARLES H. HASKINS,
Delegates.

NOVEMBER 2, 1929.

REPORT AS REPRESENTATIVE IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL JOURNAL OF ABSTRACTS

My report as representative of the American Historical Association in the Social Science Research Council Journal of Abstracts is brief. We have given Professor Chapin, the general editor of the Abstracts advice on matters of arrangement and contributors to the Abstracts and on some other topics. Several numbers of the Abstracts have already appeared, speak for themselves, and seem to meet with very general satisfaction.

Sincerely yours,

SIDNEY B. FAY, *Representative.*

OCTOBER 22, 1929.

Report of the Representatives of the International Committee of Historical Sciences

As one of the delegates of the association in the International Committee of Historical Sciences, I beg to submit the following report:

I attended the meeting of the International Committee of Historical Sciences held in Venice during the early part of May, 1929. Unfortunately, the other delegate of the association, Dr. Paul Van Dyke, was unable to be present. So far as possible, I also attended the meetings of all subcommittees on which Americans had been appointed, namely, the committee on a list of constitutions, the committee on history teaching, and the committee on a bibliography of the newspaper press.

I recommend that the association make a contribution to the general expenses of the international committee in 1930 of $100. The normal dues of the various countries are $50, but the larger countries, such as Germany, France, and some others, usually make contributions of $100.

The next meeting of the international committee will be held in Cambridge, England, on April 28, 1930, and the following days. If Doctor Van Dyke is unable to be present, I recommend that the association appoint as one of the delegates to the committee meeting some American scholar who will be at that time in England, and that it make an appropriation of $25 for his expenses.

A more detailed report of the activities of the committee will be presented before the annual meeting of the association.

Respectfully submitted.

Waldo G. Leland, *Delegate.*

November 6, 1929.

Report of the Board of Editors of the American Historical Review

During the year reported upon, the board of editors has had two meetings, one at Indianapolis on December 29, 1928, on the occasion of the meeting of the American Historical Association at that place, and one at Branford, Conn., on September 14, 1929.

The matter of most importance in the history of the Review during the past 12 months was the choice of a managing editor to succeed Prof. Dana C. Munro, who had agreed to hold that office temporarily from July 1, 1928, to July 1, 1929. The choice of his successor had been committed to a special committee on the future of the Review but, in the end, when efforts made by them in various ways to solve the problem had brought about no success and the time when a solution must be effected was closely approaching, they committed the matter for speedier action to the ad interim committee, their chairman reporting, however, to that committee the various efforts they had made and the information they had received. Unexpectedly, but very fortunately, at a meeting of the ad interim committee held in Washington on March 15, a solution of the problem was effected without removal of the office from Washington and from the headquarters of the American Historical Association, by joint invitations to Prof. Henry E. Bourne, of Western Reserve University, from the representatives of the association and from the Librarian of Congress, the Librarian inviting Mr. Bourne to serve for the next three years in the newly created position of consultant in European history and the ad interim committee inviting him to serve for the same period as managing editor of the American Historical Review. These invitations were accepted by Mr. Bourne, and on July 1, 1929, he took office. At the meeting of the board of editors on September 14, he resigned the chairmanship of the board and Dr. J. Franklin Jameson was elected as chairman.

Miss Marguerite M. McKee, who for four years had been assistant to the managing editor, left that position in September to become assistant professor of history in Wells College, and was succeeded by Miss Janet Woodburn.

Since the separation of the Review from its official relations with the department of historical research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, the Review and the association had, by invitation of the latter institution, continued in the rooms in the Woodward Building, which they had previously occupied. In the middle of October, however, the department of historical research moved to new quarters, which did not admit of such continuance. It therefore became necessary for the ad interim committee to make new arrangements for housing the offices of the managing editor and of the secretary and treasurer of the association. An apartment of three rooms at 40 B Street SW. was leased for one year from November 1, 1929, and on that day the managing editor and his assistant and the stenographer began occupancy of those quarters.

Respectfully submitted.

J. Franklin Jameson, *Chairman.*

November 4, 1929.

Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission

As chairman of the historical manuscripts commission, I submit the following report for the year 1929:

During the past year the commission has been mainly concerned with the task assigned it by the council at its meeting in November, 1928, expressed in the following words:

> While the general project suggested can not at present be taken up for want of means, it is suggested that the chairman and other members of the historical manuscripts commission make regional efforts to assemble and list published material on historical manuscripts in private hands or institutions other than public archives, with a view to a published report.

Inasmuch as only three members of the commission attended the Indianapolis meeting of the association and only one member besides the chairman attended the called meeting of the commission there, it became necessary for the chairman to formulate a plan for carrying the council's action into effect. This plan is sufficiently summed up in a copy of a letter to Professor Perkins and an annexed set of directions which are included as an appendix to this report.

The commission was, of course, handicapped in one field by the absence of Prof. Randolph G. Adams in Europe, despite the fact that he offered the services of his staff at the Clements Library. In general, the work has progressed rather slowly. It necessarily calls for a great deal of hard routine labor and several of the members of the commission have been too much occupied with their regular duties to give much attention to it. The chairman has been able to give much attention to his special field only because of being able to put a research assistant at the task. If the work is to be completed with any speed, it seems necessary to put at the disposal of those members of the commission who have no research assistants funds which will be sufficient to employ needed help. The sum of $100 appropriated for the purposes of the commission is, as yet, untouched, and I would suggest that an additional sum of $150 be appropriated to supply research assistants to those members of the commission who need them and will be able to make use of them at a good advantage. Miss Donnan has requested the appointment of Miss Marguerite Appleton as an adjunct member of the commission to assist her. The appointment of two or three additional members of the commission might make it possible to divide up the fields a little and to hasten progress.

The question has been raised as to the necessary procedure in a general survey of all manuscript materials and a construction of a centralized filing list for them. On this point I might quote from a recent letter to the secretary of the association:

As far as the survey of manuscript materials is concerned, I would be inclined to say that an expenditure of $8,000 per year for 10 years would carry the project close to completion. In making this estimate, I am assuming that the chairman of the historical manuscripts committee would serve without compensation in the direction of the task, and that a thoroughly competent young scholar would be retained at a salary of four or five thousand dollars a year, the remaining sum being amply sufficient to cover necessary clerical work and traveling expenses. Once the field had been gone over in this fashion, a much smaller appropriation would be sufficient to trace the migration of manuscript materials and to list new materials that came to light.

The really difficult problems in a survey of this sort are the following: First, to find some criterion for determining what manuscript materials should be listed. As a sample of the problem involved here, you might take the question as to whether materials for literary history should be included. Possibly some agreement with the Modern Language Association might be important at this point. Another problem which really resolves itself into the judgment of the surveyor is as to the scope with which the materials are to be listed. A collection of Lincoln letters would, naturally, be listed piece by piece; whereas many collections with several hundreds or thousands of pieces could adequately be listed by a single card. The most serious problem of all is the problem of getting private historical societies and private collectors to allow their materials to be listed. Some persons and institutions object because they fear they will be bothered by historical students. Others find an aspect of secrecy casts a glamour over their treasures. Others have reason to doubt the validity of their titles, especially in the cases of material that has come from public archives by more or less legitimate routes. It will be necessary to inaugurate a careful campaign of education to overcome these difficulties as far as possible.

If the council wishes to make an experimental venture, it might consider an attack on materials in the possession of historical societies in some specific section of the country. The best way to make such an experimental essay would be to employ two or three able young men for the summer vacation, paying them perhaps $1,000 for three months plus traveling expenses. By persisting in this for two or three summers, the worth whileness of the project could be tested at no great expense.

One change in the personnel of the commission should be announced. Dr. Morgan P. Robinson offered his resignation in March of 1929, and was replaced in June by the appointment of Prof. Dumas Malone.

Respectfully submitted.

THEODORE PEASE, *Chairman.*

OCTOBER 15, 1929.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS PRIZE

The committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize has voted to award the prize to H. S. Commager's Struensee and the Reform Movement in Denmark.

The committee had read eight essays and the members' comments indicate that most of them were of excellent quality.

Respectfully submitted.

FREDERIC DUNCALF, *Chairman.*

DECEMBER 12, 1929.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE GEORGE LOUIS BEER PRIZE

The committee on the George Louis Beer prize voted to award the prize of 1929 to Dr. Morrison B. Giffen for his essay, Fashoda; the Incident and Its Diplomatic Setting.

The committee also voted to award the prize of 1928 to Dr. Sidney B. Fay for his book, The Origins of the World War.

ALBERT H. LYBYER, *Chairman.*

December 30, 1929.

Report of the Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize

Acting for Professor Fleming because of his incapacitation, I report that the committee on the John H. Dunning prize recommends that it be awarded to Haywood J. Pearce, jr., for his monograph, Benjamin H. Hill: Secession and Reconstruction, published by the University of Chicago Press, 1928.

Cordially yours,

Ulrich B. Phillips, *Acting Chairman.*

April 9, 1929.

Report of the Committee on the Jusserand Medal

I have to report that no work suitable for the Jusserand medal has come to my attention or to that of either of my colleagues on the committee during the past year.

Yours sincerely,

G. C. Sellery, *Chairman.*

November 2, 1929.

Report of the Committee on Publications, November 1, 1929

To the Secretary and Members of the Ad Interim Committee of the Council of the American Historical Association.

Gentlemen: The committee on publications respectfully submits the following report for the 10 months of the current year ending October 31.

Publications.—So far this year, Annual Reports for the years 1923 and 1924 have been distributed to members.

Final page proofs of the Report for 1925 have been returned to the printer and it may reasonably be expected that this volume also will be ready for distribution before the end of the year. With it should issue Writings on American History for 1925, which is also in page proof.

Writings on American History for 1926 is also in page proof and that for 1927 in galley proof.

The Annual Report for 1926 is in galley proof as are also the Reports for 1927 and 1928 (both to be printed in a single volume).

Everything, therefore, with the exception of Writings for 1928, is in type.

While your committee can not point with pride to the size or contents of these Reports, he does feel that some progress has been made in carrying out the desire of the council to have them brought down to date as soon as possible. It was this desideratum which prompted the council to give consent to your chairman's proposal that the Reports to 1929 be stripped of everything but the bare proceedings and committee reports.

With this goal in sight—of having these publications out of the way during the first half of the coming year—the time is appropriate for giving some consideration to the content of the Annual Report for 1929.

Three suggestions are offered:

1. To have the volume contain, besides the formal reports, a selection of the best papers so far unprinted, that were read since 1922, including some of those prepared for the 1929 meeting.

2. To follow the early policy and print the 1929 papers, not elsewhere placed.

3. To print in a single volume, with the customary reports, the Calhoun Papers edited by Profs. Chauncey S. Boucher and Robert P. Brooks and supplementing the collection edited in 1899 by Doctor Jameson.

To your committee the last of these suggestions seems best. With all the facilities of publication now open to writers of papers (there are over 60 historical journals, not to mention those in the allied fields of political science, economics,

etc.), the question may properly be raised whether there will remain many contributions to the programs which will not have elsewhere been placed by the time the Report goes to press.

In determining the make-up of the Reports it might be well to consider, other things being equal, what might made the greater appeal to Congress. As your treasurer can inform you, and as the following statement will itself show, there is a present need of securing a larger appropriation for printing, even if nothing more is desired in a programme of publication beyond the Writings and a 1-volume Report of larger content than the recent slender volumes.

State of appropriations.—The following account, furnished by Mr. Boyd, the editor, will show the present state of the appropriations as nearly as can at this time be estimated. The statement shows an approximate balance of $2,200 available for the Report for 1929.

Fiscal year 1928—Appropriation		$7,000.00
Report for 1924	$1,653.43	
Author's copies Austin Papers	34.83	
Writings for 1925 (estimate)	3,132.55	
Reprints from 1922 report	22.67	
Report for 1925 (estimated)	1,702.47	
Writings for 1926	454.05	
		7,000.00
Fiscal year 1929—Appropriation		7,000.00
Report for 1923 (final charge)	$117.29	
Writings for 1926	1,884.97	
Report for 1926 (estimated)	1,909.14	
Report for 1927–28 (estimated)	2,205.35	
Writings for 1927 (estimated)	2,619.00	
		8,735.75
Fiscal year 1930—Appropriation		7,000.00
1929 expenditures (overdrawn)	$1,735.75	
Writings for 1928 (estimated)	3,000.00	
		4,735.75
Balance for Report for 1929		2,264.25

As there may be outstanding bills and as the estimates may be less or more than here stated, the total balance is in no way definite.

Conclusions.—The ad interim committee is therefore asked to consider:

1. The present status of the work of the committee on publications, and to offer such suggestions or give such directions as may seem pertinent to the question of unfinished or future publication.

2. The nature of the Report for 1929, so that immediately after the annual meeting of this year attention may be given to the assembling of the materials for this volume.

3. Ways and means of increasing the printing appropriation.

Respectfully submitted.

(Signed) Leo F. Stock, *Chairman.*

Report of the Committee on Membership

Statistics of membership

	Sept. 28, 1928	Oct. 1, 1929
Total membership	3,393	3,589
New members	289	368
Total loss	367	316
Deaths	33	22
Resignations	51	66
Dropped	283	228
Net gain or loss	−76	52
Total number of elections	278	283
Elected members not heard from	92	90

Your committee takes pleasure in submitting the above statisties which show that the year has produced a deeidedly more favorable membership eondition. Not only has the number whieh it has been neeessary to drop been considerably smaller but also the number of new members is quite appreciably larger.

The reorganization of the membership eommittee, as sanctioned at the last annual meeting, has permitted us to rearrange our aetivities. The eommittee, reduced to five, undertook to survey eonditions in the area of each and report plans for reorganization. As the 1929 eonvention was to be held in the South, particular attention was given by our southern member to the organization of aetivities looking to an increased membership in preparation for the meeting. Each State was made a unit and a ehairman was appointed to take eharge of canvassing college and university faculties, graduate students, and libraries. The result has been a very pleasing increase in membership in that seetion. Our member from the Middle West appointed membership aides in each one of the universities within his jurisdiction and similar aetivity was promoted in the far West. In general, it has been our policy to have a representative of the eommittee at work in each of the universities and where possible to seeure eooperation of some one to act as State ehairman. A list of representatives appointed is appended.

Our work in Canada has been going on prosperously. Professor Trotter organized a committee to aid him throughout the Dominion and results there have been pleasing.

We have used the funds placed at our disposal to invite members of faculties of high sehools to beeome affiliated with the organization. We tried experimentally the Central States as a field for sueh invitation and sent out 1,000 letters, but have not found results of suffieient importanee to warrant further expenditure of money.

We feel that the reorganization sehcme presents a more effieient and workable method of eonsidering the problems of our membership and reeommend that the experiment be eontinued.

THE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE.
By ROY F. NICHOLS, *Chairman.*

NOVEMBER 1, 1929.

SOUTHERN STATE CHAIRMEN

Alabama	Prof. THOMAS P. ABERNETHY, University.
Arkansas	Prof. DAVID Y. THOMAS, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville.
Georgia	Prof. T. H. JACK, Emory University.
Kentucky	Prof. CHARLES M. KNAPP, University of Kentueky, Lexington.
Louisiana	Prof. L. C. MACKINNEY, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.
North Carolina	A. R. NEWSOME, State Historieal Commission, Raleigh.
Oklahoma	Prof. E. E. DALE, University of Oklahoma, Norman.
South Carolina	Prof. P. S. FLIPPIN, Coker College, Hartsville.
Tennessee	Prof. P. M. HAMER, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.
West Virginia	Prof. JOHN M. CALLAHAN, West Virginia University, Morgantown.

UNIVERSITY REPRESENTATIVES

BAXTER, JAMES P.	Harvard University.
BRAND, CARL F.	Stanford University.
CHRISTOL, CARL	University of South Dakota.
CLARK, DAN C.	University of Oregon.
CREER, L. H.	University of Washington.
DUNAWAY, W. F.	Penn State.
DUNHAM, A. L.	University of Michigan.
GREY, GLENN W.	University of Nebraska.
HUTCHINSON, WILLIAM T.	Chicago University.
KNAPLUND, PAUL	University of Wisconsin.
KROUT, JOHN A.	Columbia University.
LIBBY, O. G.	University of North Dakota.
MALIN, JAMES C.	University of Kansas.
MAY, A. J.	University of Rochester.
MUSSER, JOHN	New York University.
NOYES, A. H.	Ohio State University.
OLIVER, JOHN W.	University of Pittsburgh.
PALM, FRANKLIN C.	University of California at Berkeley.
PRATT, J. W.	University of Buffalo.
RUSSELL, NELSON VANCE	University of California at Los Angeles.
SONTAG, RAYMOND J.	Princeton University.
STEPHENSON, GEORGE M.	University of Minnesota.
SWAIN, J. E.	University of Illinois.
TOWNSEND, P. W.	Indiana University.
TROTTER, R. G.	Queen's University.

This is the list as far as appointed.

CANADIAN COMMITTEE

Prof. REGINALD G. TROTTER, Chairman

Maritime Provinces.—Prof. G. E. WILSON, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Quebec.—Prof. E. R. ADAIR, McGill University, Montreal.

Ontario.—Dr. J. F. KENNEY, Public Archives, Ottawa; Prof. G. W. BROWN, University of Toronto, Prof. FRED LANDON, University of Western Ontario, London; Prof. R. G. TROTTER, Queen's University, Kingston.

Prairie Provinces.—Prof. C. MARTIN, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg. (His successor upon the committee after his removal to Toronto will be secured later.)

British Columbia.—Prof. W. N. SAGE, University of British Columbia, Vancouver.

DEATHS REPORTED IN THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 15, 1929

THOMAS WILLING BALCH (June 9, 1927), Philadelphia, Pa. *Life member.*
EDWARD BRECK (May 13, 1929), Washington, D. C.
SIDNEY DAVID BRUMMER (March 16, 1929), New York, N. Y.
CHARLES FRANCIS BRUSH (June 15, 1929), Cleveland, Ohio.
FRANK ALFRED GOLDER (January 7, 1929), Stanford University, Calif.
HARVEY DANFORTH GOULDER (June 1, 1928), Cleveland, Ohio.
AZEL WASHBURN HAZEN (July, 1928), Middletown, Conn.
BRECKINRIDGE JONES (November 21, 1928), St. Louis, Mo.
NINA LEA (August 26, 1927), Philadelphia, Pa. *Life member.*
WALTER IRENAEUS LOWE (July 22, 1928), Hamilton, N. Y.
WILLIAM P. LYONS (August 20, 1928), Chicago, Ill.

OLIVER McKEE (August, 1928), Pleasantville, N. Y.
CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS (February 19, 1929), Worcester, Mass. *Life member.*
LOUIS JOHN PAETOW (December 22, 1928), Berkeley, Calif. *Life member.*
EDWIN BREWINGTON PARKER (October 30, 1929), Washington, D. C. *Life member.*
A. C. PRESCOTT (November, 1927), Sheboygan, Wis.
MRS. HENRY CLAY PURMORT (date unknown), Chicago, Ill. *Life member.*
FRANKLIN LAFAYETTE RILEY (November 10, 1929), Lexington, Va.
CHARLES A. SEIDERS (July 11, 1929), Tolodo, Ohio.
ALLEN DUDLEY SEVERANCE (May 19, 1929), Cleveland, Ohio. *Life member.*
JAMES DALLAS STEELE (December 6, 1928), Rutherford, N. J.
JAMES BENJAMIN WILBUR (April 28, 1929), New York, N. Y. *Life member.*
ROBERT WILD (October 9, 1928), Milwaukee, Wis.
THEODORE SALISBURY WOOLSEY (April 24, 1929), New Haven, Conn.
EPHRAIM DOUGLASS ADAMS (September 1, 1930), Stanford University, Calif.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Congress has authorized a building to house the national archieves. This structure will be included in the triangle scheme now under construction. The plans for the structure have been arranged satisfactorily to this association's committee on national archives, but the elevation of the building is not satisfactory to the National Commission of Fine Arts.

When the building shall be put under construction the time will be ripe to formulate and secure legislation providing for the administration of the archives. A tentative plan has been prepared and has been discussed with Representative Robert Luce, chairman of the House Committee on the Library. Mr. Luce is sympathetic but does not care to undertake legislation so far in advance of the completion of the building.

Cordially yours,

CHARLES MOORE, *Chairman.*

OCTOBER 1, 1929.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON BIBLIOGRAPHY

The committee on bibliography of the American Historical Association is able to make a more favorable report to the executive council of the association than it has been able to do in former years.

All the chapters of the proposed Guide to Historical Literature with the exception of two, which will be sent to the Macmillan Co. in a very short time, are in the publisher's hands. Of the 20 chapters which have been in galley proof for about two years and which it has been necessary for us to revise and bring up to date, 10 have been in the printer's hands since July, and have been returned to us in a second galley proof. Another (France) has just been received in first (and final) galley proof. The page proof of the whole book should be in our hands by December 15 but we can not promise that the volume will be ready for delivery until the spring of 1930.

It is probable that some work—for example, the preparation of the index—will not be completed until after the 1st of January next. For that reason we hope that the council will feel able to meet bills which will not come in to the treasurer until after that date. It is impossible to estimate at present the full cost of this necessary clerical work; it will be not over $500. Since January 1, 1929, our expenses have been moderate—$139.18 at the date of writing. No doubt a few small bills will come in before the end of the year.

Very truly yours,

HENRY R. SHIPMAN, *Chairman.*

OCTOBER 25, 1929.

Report of the Committee on Bibilography of Modern British History

The committee on a bibliography of modern British history reports as follows:

Slow but real progress has been made during the past year. Five of the eight sections of the book are now practically ready for the press. Two of the others are well on toward completion. A calculation of the proportionate length of these parts has reassured the committee that the size of the book will not be greater than was originally contemplated. The committee again refrains from asking for any appropriation for next year (although its members habitually go to some personal expense as well as labor), as they will probably find it necessary to appeal to the association for a subvention when the time comes to publish the volume, and they wish their credit with the council and the association to be good.

Respectfully submitted.

E. P. Cheyney, *Chairman.*

November 18, 1929.

Report of the Committee on Historical Research in Colleges

Our committee on research in colleges held a meeting in Indianapolis last year and discussed certain general policies. I made a report last spring, embodying some of our suggestions. Since that time the committee has done nothing further. It is my intention to have another meeting at Durham.

Under the circumstances, you will see I have no particular report to make at this time.

Sincerely yours,

E. M. Coulter, *Chairman.*

September 28, 1929.

American Historical Association Committee on Endowment

The endowment committee has very little to report for the past year. I was absent on sabbatical leave from February on. Mr. Lee, the chairman of the committee, expected to get a good deal of work under way last winter, but so pressing were his other obligations that he apparently found it quite impossible to give the endowment the time and effort it deserved.

In spite of these handicaps, the results have not been entirely negligible. In general, the work of our State and district committees has terminated, although the Connecticut and Indiana committees have shown some activity during the period under review. A dinner was given in May in New Haven by Dr. George C. F. Williams, chairman of the Connecticut committee. Among the speakers were President James R. Angell and Prof. Charles M. Andrews, of Yale. Mr. Lee's office was represented by his assistant, Mr. Gilbert Simons. A few additional subscriptions to the endowment came as a result of this meeting.

In Indiana the State committee last spring completed its quota of $50,000, exclusive of the $50,000 Beveridge fund. All the larger subscriptions received since our last report to the council have come from Indiana. They include one of $2,000, two of $1,000, and contributions of $3,280 each from Mrs. Beveridge and Mrs. Fesler, to make up the balance of the State quota.

The following table will summarize the present status of the endowment fund:

Financial results by State and district (to October 8, 1929)

State or district	Quota suggested	Total amount raised to date
Alabama	$6,000	----------
Arizona	1,000	----------
Arkansas	3,000	$10.00
California	50,000	2,181.00
Colorado	10,000	5.00
Connecticut	25,000	6,904.00
Delaware	3,000	5.00
District of Columbia	20,000	3,646.28
Florida	5,000	202.00
Georgia	10,000	170.00
Idaho	2,000	50.00
Illinois:		
State	100,000	1,183.25
Chicago district		4,651.88
Indiana	50,000	100,000.00
Iowa	10,000	975.00
Kansas	7,000	22.25
Kentucky	7,000	633.00
Louisiana	5,000	15.00
Maine	5,000	1,035.00
Maryland	15,000	3,675.36
Massachusetts:		
Eastern district	75,000	8,630.00
Western district		1,134.00
Michigan	50,000	3,220.00
Minnesota	20,000	2,836.00
Mississippi	3,000	55.00
Missouri	25,000	192.00
Montana	3,000	25.00
Nebraska	5,000	15.00
Nevada	1,000	----------
New Hampshire	5,000	621.00
New Jersey	30,000	1,898.00
New Mexico	1,000	----------
New York City:		
General	500,000	37,529.16
Columbia		5,876.35
Academic (other than Columbia)		240.00
New York State:		
Albany district	$10,000	$1,292.50
Buffalo district	10,000	265.00
Central district	10,000	820.00
Rochester district	10,000	232.00
Southern district	10,000	869.00
North Carolina	15,000	1,110.00
North Dakota	3,000	106.00
Ohio:		
Cincinnati district	80,000	865.00
Cleveland district		1,360.00
Columbus district		661.42
Oklahoma	6,000	5.00
Oregon	7,000	----------
Pennsylvania:		
Eastern district	125,000	28,866.50
Western district		351.25
Rhode Island	7,000	2,230.00
South Carolina	5,000	35.00
South Dakota	3,000	405.00
Tennessee	7,000	143.00
Texas	25,000	155.00
Utah	1,000	10.00
Vermont	3,000	6,305.00
Virginia	15,000	335.75
Washington	10,000	45.00
West Virginia	7,000	130.00
Wisconsin	25,000	913.00
Wyoming	1,000	----------
Outside United States	----------	452.50
Unknown source	----------	100.00
Total	1,447,000	235,698.45

The total of the individual subscriptions to the endowment fund in cash and unpaid pledges is therefore $235,698.45 to date. It may be desired to subtract from this the $10,000 gift raised by the efforts of the endowment committee, but devoted specifically to the expenses of the campaign.

Of this total, $20,102.75 has been raised in new subscriptions since the endowment committee's 1928 report was made to the council.

Certain other funds, which though not a part of the actual permanent endowment are nevertheless closely allied to it and at present administered by the association, are the $25,000 Carnegie revolving publication fund and the recent $50,000 grant from the Carnegie Corporation for the work of the commission on the investigation of history and the other social studies in the schools.

The following is a statement of expenditures of the endowment fund office since the last report to the council. Incidentally, at the meeting of the executive council in December, 1928, it was agreed that funds up to $10,000 might be expended from endowment collections to finance the further activities of the endowment committee during the ensuing year. As this report indicates, however, it was necessary to draw only $213.21 from those funds, the difference between the balance available September 29, 1928, from amounts previously appropriated by the executive council and the total of the endowment committee's expenditures through September 28, 1929.

Financial report, October 8, 1929

Balance available Sept. 29, 1928	$4,216.54
Paid to Sept. 28, 1929:	
Executive secretary	1,250.00
Publicity	1,280.95
Secretarial service[9]	1,483.90
Traveling expenses	75.72
Postage	48.47
Office expenses	85.26
Printing and stationery	198.20
Services (multigraphing)	7.25
Total	4,429.75

Mr. Grady's work for the endowment ceased with the month of January, as Mr. Lee had expressed his desire to assume responsibility for the publicity. Since that date whatever news items have been sent to the press have gone out from his office.

The executive council has now before it the problem of the future of the endowment work. It seems to me that we have reached a time in the history of the association when perhaps it would be well for the executive council of the association to appraise the work of the endowment committee with a view to determining what should be the future character of our efforts to further the work of the association and to place the association on a more secure financial basis.

Although the total results of our endowment efforts are not as much as we at one time hoped they might be, it is a fact, nevertheless, that the endowment has been substantially increased since the reorganized endowment committee began its work at the beginning of 1925. In December, 1924, the invested funds of the association totaled $42,400 and in the past five years the endowment committee has raised some $230,000 in addition. In other words, if our million dollar goal has not yet been attained, we have at present, at any rate, an endowment of more than the amount originally set for an endowment, namely, a quarter of a million.

HARRY J. CARMAN, *Executive Secretary.*

NOVEMBER 29, 1929.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE DOCUMENTARY HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

The project of Government publication, on which the committee has in recent years expended most effort, is that begun by the late Senator Ralston's Act of March 3, 1925, for collecting and making available to historical students those papers, scattered through the various Washington archives, which illustrate the history of the Territories of the United States down to the date when they, respectively, became organized as States or down to 1873, when the administration of the Territories was transferred from the Department of State to the Department of the Interior. The legislation necessary for authorizing the continuance of expenditure on this project by the Department of State, to the completion of the volumes in print, was secured during the last session of Congress, but not in season for the obtaining of appropriations. The lapse in the work therefore continues until the 1st of July, 1930. It is, however, considered certain

[9] Since April, 1929, half of Miss Ackerley's time has been given to the commission on the investigation of history and other social studies in the schools, and accordingly half of her salary since then has been paid by that committee.

that the necessary appropriations for the fiscal year then beginning will be secured during the approaching session of Congress.

Meantime, the chief piece of historical work carried on by the Department of State continues to be the two series of volumes of Foreign Relations, that which relates to the diplomacy attendant upon the World War and that which includes the other diplomatic material of the same period. These volumes are under the editorial care of Dr. Tyler Dennett, historical adviser of the Department of State, and Dr. Joseph V. Fuller. The Department of State has begun work on the proposed new edition of the Treaties of the United States, to be edited by Mr. David Hunter Miller.

The bill sponsored by the Washington Bicentennial Commission for making a new edition of the Writings of George Washington passed the Senate in the concluding days of the last session of the Seventieth Congress, but not in season for any action by the House of Representatives. It is expected that the measure, in modified form, will be introduced early in the approaching session of the Seventy-first Congress and that this committee will be able to give it useful support.

Volumes XXVI and XXVII of the Journals of the Continental Congress, covering the transactions of the year 1784, have lately been published from the Government Printing Office. By the generosity of Mr. William E. Benjamin, it has been made possible for the editorial work upon the ensuing years, 1785–1788, to be performed by the ideally competent hands of Dr. John C. Fitzpatrick. This work will undoubtedly be finished, and the volumes completing the series will be ready for publication by the end of June, 1930.

On April 26 the committee was represented by three of its members, Mr. Learned, Mr. Warren, and Mr. Jameson, in a conference on the enlargement of the scope of publications of the Department of State, to which representatives of several other societies had been invited. The conference appointed a committee—Messrs. Manley O. Hudson, Raymond L. Buell, and Henry Barrett Learned—to study the whole question of a program for the publications of the Department of State, and to report its recommendations to a similar joint meeting to be held in the future.

Respectfully submitted.

J. F. Jameson, *Chairman.*

October 30, 1929.

Report of the Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund Publications

The committee on the Carnegie revolving fund for publications make the following report:

More manuscripts have been submitted to us during this year than in any previous year, five new works having been sent in and one resubmitted, in addition to two still under consideration at the beginning of the year. Their quality, however, has not been so satisfactory. Several are obviously Ph. D. theses and not of such great merit as to distinguish them from other productions of that class, which it has not been the policy of the committee to publish. Good literary style and skill in construction have also been largely lacking; nor have we been impressed with the significance of the subjects dealt with. The committee has therefore felt compelled to reject most of the works submitted. The record since the establishment of the fund has been as follows: Manuscripts submitted, 15, of which 3 have been printed, 1 is in the hands of the printer at the present time, 1 has been accepted and is now undergoing revision by the author, 1 has been tentatively accepted, 2 are under advisement with but little probability of their acceptance, 2 are under consideration without any judgment so far arrived at, and 5 have been rejected.

Expenditures from the fund, so far as they have been approved by the committee, have amounted to a total of $7,014.80. No returns have yet been made by the Century Co., our publication agents, as a full year has not yet elapsed since the publication of the first volume of the series.

It has been a matter of disappointment and some surprise to the committee that a larger number of historical works of higher merit has not been submitted to them. It had been believed that there was a considerable number of works finished or approaching completion, of serious historical value and mature in treatment, which could not be published except at too great an expense to the author or publishers. This opportunity offered by the association has as yet disclosed but few such works. It may be well either to take further steps to secure publicity for the fund or to reconsider the present plans of publication.

Lastly, the committee wishes again to bring to the attention of the council and the association the desirability of putting the administrative work of this committee into the hands of a paid official of the association. The work of receiving and acknowledging manuscripts, circulating them among the members of the committee, finding outside readers who are specialists in the various subjects, obtaining and circulating their reports among the members of the committee, and, finally, either returning rejected manuscripts to their authors or arranging for their printing and publication, is a serious labor and can only be satisfactorily carried out from some central office and by some one with more time at his disposal and more used to business methods than the present chairman of the committee. The members of the committee have shown the greatest devotion to their task but their experience none the less serves as a strong argument for a paid executive secretary of the association, who could take over this service along with his other duties.

Respectfully submitted.

E. P. Cheyney, *Chairman.*

November 18, 1929.

Report of the Committee on International Cooperation

As chairman of the committee on international relations, I beg to present the following preliminary report:

Such members of the committee as were present at Indianapolis held a brief meeting at that time and discussed certain general questions. The committee has held no meeting since then, nor has there been any correspondence among its members.

One duty of the committee is to consider ways and means of American participation in the enterprises of the international committee. As chairman of the committee, I make the following recommendations:

1. That the association make an appropriation of $75 for the expenses of the American committee on a list of constitutions.

2. That the association seek an appropriation from the Social Science Research Council to enable it to prepare a list of the diplomatic representatives of the United States, as a part of the international list of diplomatic representatives undertaken by the international committee.

3. That the expenses of American participation in the committee on historical teaching be met out of the funds of the association's committee on history teaching.

4. That the association secure a subvention of $300, by application to the Social Science Research Council or some other source, for assistance in the preparation of a descriptive list of the American newspapers that have been influential in the formation of public opinion, to be expended under the direction

of Prof. E. B. Carroll, of Duke University, American member of the international subcommittee on the press.

5. That the council appoint an American member, to be selected preferably from among students of the Middle Ages, to the international subcommittee on chronology.

I do not think it will be necessary to make any appropriation for the general expenses of your committee on international relations.

A final report, approved by all the members of the committee, will be presented before the annual meeting of the association.

Respectfully submitted.

WALDO G. LELAND, *Chairman.*

NOVEMBER 6, 1929.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE AD INTERIM COMMITTEE HELD IN THE OFFICES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, 1140 WOODWARD BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C., ON JANUARY 24, 1929 AT 3 P. M.

Present: E. B. Greene, chairman; Dana C. Munro, J. Franklin Jameson, Charles Moore, and the secretary.

The minutes of the meetings of the council at Indianapolis, December 27 and 29, 1928, and of the annual business meeting December 29, 1928, were read and, after minor corrections, approved.

It was voted that the chairman of the historical manuscripts commission be granted a sum of $100 for the carrying on of the work of the commission.

It was voted that the chairman of the public archives commission be granted a sum of $150 to be added to the budget in addition to the $100 already provided for.

It was voted that Prof. Albert Howe Lybyer should act as chairman of the committee on the revision of the announcement of prizes provided for by vote of the council at its meeting November 23, 1928.

It was voted that Miss Mary W. Williams be appointed as secretary of the Hispano-American conference.

It was voted that the following be added to the committee on documentary historical publications of the United States: S. F. Bemis, St. George Leakin Sioussat, Henry Barrett Learned, Charles Warren, Mark Sullivan.

It was voted that the committee on documentary historical publications in the United States be requested to cooperate with the appropriate agencies of the American Political Science Association and the American Society of International Law with regard to the publication of the diplomatic documents of the United States.

It was voted to constitute the committee on history and other social studies in the schools as follows: A. C. Krey, chairman, F. W. Ballou, C. A. Beard, Isaiah Bowman, Ada Comstock, George S. Counts, E. E. Day, G. S. Ford, E. B. Greene, Ernest Horn, Henry Johnson, W. E. Lingelbach, L. C. Marshall, C. E. Merriam, Jesse H. Newlon, J. F. Steiner.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned at 5 p. m.

DEXTER PERKINS, *Secretary.*

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE AD INTERIM COMMITTEE HELD IN THE OFFICES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, 1140 WOODWARD BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C., ON MARCH 15, 1929, AT 3 P. M.

Members present: E. B. Greene, chairman; J. Franklin Jameson, D. C. Munro, Charles Moore, and the secretary. Prof. H. E. Bourne, chairman of the committee on future arrangements for the Review also attended the meeting.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The secretary reported to the committee that he had sent a letter to the general education board applying for an annual subvention of $10,000, and had received an acknowledgment of his communication.

Professor Bourne reported for the committee on the future of the Review and read letters from various members of the committee. The general tenor of his report was to the effect that the committee would willingly place the selection of an editor either in the hands of a smaller committee or in the hands of the ad interim committee. The report was accepted and placed on file and the committee discharged from further consideration of the question of the Review.

It was then voted unanimously that Prof. H. E. Bourne, of Western Reserve University, be selected as editor of the Review for a period of three years beginning July 1, 1929, and that his compensation be fixed at $3,500 per annum.

It was voted that Miss Marguerite McKee be granted an additional allowance of $100 for the quarter July to October, 1929.

It was voted that Prof. D. R. Fox, as chairman, and Prof. R. G. Albion, and Mr. Conyers Read be requested to serve as a committee on special research funds, to recommend to the council and to oversee on behalf of the council, grants made or to be made for the purposes of research.

The secretary was instructed to write Mrs. A. J. Beveridge and Mrs. F. T. Griswold informing them of this decision.

It was voted to appropriate the sum of $185 for the purchase of a typewriter and adding machine for the offices of the association.

It was voted that Prof. E. B. Greene be named a delegate to the meeting of the American Academy of Arts and Letters.

Before the meeting was adjourned, Mr. W. G. Leland addressed the committee, indicating the possibility of financial aid to certain long-standing projects of the association, especially to the bibliography of travel. He also discussed the possibility of a conference of the various constituent societies of the American Council of Learned Societies to discuss programs of research in general, this conference to be held next January.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned at 5.30 o'clock.

DEXTER PERKINS, *Secretary.*

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE AD INTERIM COMMITTEE HELD IN THE OFFICES OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES, 907 FIFTEENTH STREET, WASHINGTON, D. C., ON OCTOBER 12, 1929, AT 10 A. M.

Present: E. B. Greene, chairman; J. Franklin Jameson, Charles Moore, and the secretary. Messrs. H. E. Bourne, W. G. Leland, and Miss Patty W. Washington also attended the meeting.

It was explained by the chairman that the meeting had been called to consider the situation created by the vacating of the quarters at 1140 Woodward Building by the department of historical research of the Carnegie Institution, certain rooms in those quarters having been occupied by the association. Mr. Le-

land explained in behalf of the institution that it would be possible for the association to have the use of two rooms in the Tower Building, to which the department was moving, until the end of the year 1930, but in all probabliity not beyond that date. The committee visited the rooms proffered it by the institution and also other quarters previously viewed by Miss Washington and Mr. Bourne. After further discussion, it was voted that the Association lease the apartment on the ground floor at 40 B Street SW. as the headquarters of the association, at a rental of $54.50 per month, dating from November 1, 1929. It was also voted that the committee recommend to the council the constitution of the committee on more permanent quarters.

The meeting adjourned at 2 p. m.

DEXTER PERKINS, *Secretary.*

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE AD INTERIM COMMITTEE HELD AT THE CENTURY CLUB, 5 EAST FORTY-THIRD STREET, NEW YORK CITY, ON NOVEMBER 8, 1929, AT 10 A. M.

Present: E. B. Greene, chairman; J. Franklin Jameson, D. C. Munro, Charles Moore, and the secretary.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The secretary read a letter from Miss Marguerite McKee of her appreciation of the $100 in addition to her salary voted to her as editorial assistant of the American Historical Review.

It was voted to recommend to the council of the association that it extend a vote of thanks to the Carnegie Institution for the use of quarters at 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

It was voted to recommend to the council that the association extend to the Business Historical Society a cordial invitation to meet at the same time and place as the association in 1930.

It was voted that the secretary extend an invitation to the following persons to attend the meeting of the council on the 29th of November, 1929, in addition to the regular members: Carlton J. H. Hayes, A. M. Schlesinger, D. R. Fox, H. J. Carman, E. P. Cheyney, H. E. Bourne.

It was voted to express to Mr. Leo F. Stock the appreciation of the committee for his efficient labors as chairman of the committee on publications.

It was also voted to recommend to the council that the Annual Report for 1929 should consist of the secretary's and treasurer's reports and reports of committees and the Calhoun Papers edited by Profs. Chauncey S. Boucher and Robert P. Brooks, supplementing a collection edited by Dr. Jameson in 1899.

It was voted to recommend to the council that Mr. Stock be appointed editor of the Annual Report.

It was voted to recommend to the council that the treasurer's bills when sent out in 1930 should have the following form:

Dues for 1930	$5
Writings on American History	1 (or any larger sum)[10]
	6

The committee adjourned for luncheon at 12.30 p. m.

When the committee reconvened at 2 p. m., it was briefly addressed by Mr. Stewart Mims on the organization of the endowment committee. After Mr. Mims's withdrawing, it was voted to recommend to the council that in place of the present committee on endowment, there be constituted a small committee

[10] Any such addition is entirely voluntary, but additional funds for cost of compilation are necessary if the annual bibliography is to continue.

of not more than five members to consider the future policy which should be pursued with regard to the endowment problem.

It was voted to recommend to the council that the name of the "committee on history and other social studies in the schools" be changed to the "commission on the social studies in the schools."

The committee discussed the use that should be made of the Griswold and Beveridge funds. Without formal vote, it was agreed that Mr. Greene should consult with Mrs. Griswold as to the use of the first of these funds for the publication of materials in legal history of the United States and that Doctor Jameson should present to Mrs. Beveridge the possibility of using the Beveridge fund to assist Professor Ramsdell in the publication of an economic history of the Confederacy or in the publication of a study of Mormon migration from Great Britain. The possibility of inviting applications for the use of the fund was also discussed.

The committee adjourned at 5 p. m.

DEXTER PERKINS, *Secretary.*

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION HELD IN THE TOWN HALL CLUB, 123 FORTY-THIRD STREET, NEW YORK CITY, ON NOVEMBER 29 AND 30, 1929

The council assembled on November 29 at 10 a. m.

Present: President J. H. Robinson, Vice President F. B. Greene, J. F. Jameson, D. C. Munro, Winfred T. Root, Elizabeth Donnan, James G. de Roulhac Hamilton, and S. E. Morison. H. E. Bourne, A. M. Schlesinger, Waldo G. Leland, and Harry J. Carman also attended the meeting on the invitation of the council.

The minutes of the meetings of the ad interim committee for 1929 were approved.

The secretary briefly summarized reports from certain committees of the association which did not require legislative action.

The treasurer reported briefly on the finances of the association. Some discussion followed, particularly with regard to the cost of publication of the Review, and it was voted that the question of the cost of publishing it be referred to the board of editors for consideration and report. It was also voted to accept the provisional budget submitted by the treasurer.

It was voted that a vote of thanks be extended to the Carnegie Institution for the use of its quarters during the period July 1, 1928, to November 1, 1929, and that the secretary be requested to write the appropriate authorities accordingly.

It was voted that the name of the "committee on history and other social studies in the schools" should be changed to the "commission on the social studies in the schools."

The council proceeded to discuss the recommendation of the ad interim committee that authority be given to the treasurer to make an appeal to the membership for support of the Writings on American History. After some discussion, it was voted, in lieu of the recommendation above mentioned, to increase the appropriation for the "Writings" for the year 1930 from $400 to $700.

It was voted that the chairman of the committee on publications, in preparing the Annual Report for 1929, utilize the report for printing the Calhoun Papers edited by Profs. Chauncey S. Boucher and Robert P. Brooks and supplementing the collection edited in 1899 by Doctor Jameson.

It was also voted that it be recommended to the chairman of the committee on publications that he place in the Annual Report such data as might be available with regard to papers read in the meetings of the association and later published.

It was voted that the appointment of an editor be referred to the ad interim committee, which should report back to the council at the December meeting.

The council proceeded to discuss certain recommendations of the chairman of the committee on international relations to the effect that the association seek an appropriation from the Social Science Research Council to enable it to prepare a list of the diplomatic representatives of the United States as a part of the international list of diplomats undertaken by the international committee, and that the association also secure a subvention of $300 by application to the Social Science Research Council or some other source for assistance in the preparation of a descriptive list of the American newspapers that have been influential in the formation of public opinion, to be expended under the direction of Prof. E. B. Carroll, of Duke University, American member of the International Subcommittee on the Press.

It was voted that the chairman of the committee on international relations be requested to formulate these projects in more detail and present them to the council at its December meeting.

It was voted, at the request of the chairman of the committee on international cooperation, that the matter of an American member being appointed to the international subcommittee on chronology be referred to the committee on appointments.

It was voted to defer action on the request of the chairman of the committee on international relations that the committee on history and other social studies in the schools be authorized to pay the expenses of American participation in the international committee on historical teaching.

It was voted to extend an invitation to the Business Historical Society to meet with the association in 1930.

It was voted to authorize the creation of a committee on more permanent quarters and to request the committee on appointments to bring in nominations for such committee.

It was voted to constitute a committee on historical inscriptions and monuments, to be composed of not more than nine members, and whose function should be to give advice as to the accuracy and appropriateness of proposed inscriptions and monuments.

The council adjourned at 12.45 p. m.

The council reassembled at 2 p. m.

Professor Krey addressed the council with regard to the work of the committee on history and other social studies in the schools. Some discussion followed, in which the president of the association stressed the desirability of emphasizing in the work of the commission views other than the strictly conventional ones often held in regard to social institutions.

It was voted to refer to the chairman of the commission of social studies in schools, with power, the request of the chairman of the committee on international relations, that the commission on social studies in the schools be authorized to pay the expenses of American participation in the international committee of historical teaching.

It was voted that, in the opinion of the council, expenditures for clerical assistance in the administration of the revolving fund should be made from the revenues of that fund.

It was voted that the council recommend to the association that the next annual meeting of the association be held in Cambridge, the dates to be later determined.

Professor Fox reported for the committee on policy. His report is appended in full.[11]

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[11] See pp. 89 ff.

After some discussion, it was voted that the question of discontinuing payment for articles and reviews in the American Historical Review (a step recommended by Professor Fox's committee) be referred to the board of editors for consideration and report.

It was voted to adopt a project for the publication of source materials illustrating the early legal history of the United States.[12] Professor Greene was appointed to determine the scope of this investigation with power to appoint others.

It was voted to approve the association of a trust company with the treasurer and the treasurer designate of the association in the administration of the funds of the association.

The council adjourned at 4.45 p. m.

The council reassembled on the morning of November 30 at 10 a. m. Mr. E. V. Greene presided in the absence of the chairman. Present: E. V. Greene, D. C. Munro, J. F. Jameson, W. T. Root, Elizabeth Donnan, James G. De R. Hamilton. A. M. Schlesinger, H. E. Bourne, and Harry J. Carman were also present on the invitation of the council.

It was voted that an appropriate portion of the Beveridge fund should be devoted to the preparation of one or more volumes on materials illustrative of the state of public opinion in the United States before the Civil War, and that the preparation and supervision of this work should be entrusted to a committee of three, composed of Profs. Ulrich B. Phillips, chairman, A. C. Cole, and R. F. Nichols. It was voted that, in the temporary absence of Professor Phillips, Professor Nichols should act as chairman, and that the proportion of the income of the Beveridge fund to be devoted to this work should be determined by the committee just named. It was also voted that the first vice president should communicate these plans to Mrs. Beveridge and should have authority to make suitable arrangements as to personnel.

It was voted to authorize an appropriation not to exceed $300 from the Griswold fund for preliminary conferences in connection with the project of a study of materials in legal history.

It was voted that the income derived from any fund of the association when not expended should be added to capital, unless the council directs to the contrary.

It was voted that the question of cooperating in the search for a publication of materials relating to the life of Gen. Casimir Pulaski, as requested by Mr. Francis Pulaski, be referred to Professor Morison for consideration and recommendation to the council, and that Mr. Pulaski be informed of the action taken.

It was voted, in accordance with the recommendation of the ad interim committee, that the committee on endowments as at present formed be dissolved and that a new committee, not to exceed six members, be appointed to consider the situation in regard to the endowment of the association and the steps which it would be desirable to take in the future for the increase thereof.

The council proceeded to discuss appointments to the committees of the association.

Professor Root presented the recommendations of the committee on appointments. These recommendations were discussed in relation to each committee, and provisional action taken. After the conclusion of Professor Root's report, general action was taken confirming the previous decisions arrived at. The following committees are therefore appointed for the year 1930:

I. *Editorial board of American Historical Review.*—H. E. Bourne, managing editor, and member of board ex officio. Six members of the board as follows: Arthur C. Cole, Verner W. Crane, Sidney B. Fay, J. F. Jameson, James Westfall Thompson, and Tenney Frank.

[12] See pp. 93 ff.

II. *Ad interim committee.*—To be composed as follows: President, secretary, and treasurer of the association; and Dixon R. Fox, J. Franklin Jameson, and S. E. Morison.

III. *Committee on national archives.*—Charles Moore, chairman; Tyler Dennett, J. F. Jameson, W. G. Leland, Eben Putnam, and W. F. Willoughby. (James B. Wilbur is dead and W. F. Willoughby is appointed to take his place.)

IV. *Committee on documentary historical publications of the United States Government.*—J. F. Jameson, chairman; C. M. Andrews, S. F. Bemis, H. B. Learned, J. B. McMaster, Charles Moore, S. G. L. Sioussat, Mark Sullivan, Charles Warren, Dumas Malone (Washington), W. K. Boyd (Duke), and Joseph Schafer (Wisconsin Historical Society). (Malone and Boyd and Schafer are new members to take the places of A. C. McLaughlin, F. J. Turner, and W. C. Ford.)

V. *Committee on endowment.*—The old committee of large membership was discontinued and the following committee of five takes its place: J. P. Baxter, 3d, Harvard, chairman; C. B. Coleman, Harry J. Carman, Conyers Read, and the treasurer of the association.

VI. *Historical manuscripts committee.*—T. C. Pease, chairman; R. G. Adams, Elizabeth Donnan, R. C. McGrane, N. D. Mereness, J. C. Parish (University of California at Los Angeles), Wayne Stevens (Dartmouth), and J. G. de R. Hamilton (University of North Carolina). (New members are Parish, Stevens, and Hamilton, while P. C. Phillips and M. P. Robinson, of the old committee, are left off.)

VII. *Public archives committee.*—C. W. Ramsdell, University of Texas, chairman; J. H. Edmonds, T. M. Marshall, J. G. Randall, and J. B. Hedges (of Clark). (G. S. Goddard, chairman of the former committee, left off, and Ramsdell is made chairman. J. B. Hedges takes the place of Goddard.)

VIII. *Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools.*—The commission as now constituted is as follows: A. C. Krey, chairman; Frank W. Ballou, Charles A. Beard, Isaiah Bowman, Ada Comstock, George S. Counts, Edmund E. Day, Guy S. Ford, Ernest Horn, Henry Johnson, Leon C. Marshall, C. E. Merriam, Jesse Newlon, Jesse F. Steiner, and Carlton J. H. Hayes. (Carlton J. H. Hayes is appointed to take the place of W. E. Lingelbach. Evarts B. Greene is left off the list, and upon the recommendation of Krey, chairman, the appointment of someone to take Greene's place is deferred to the December meeting of the council to give time to Krey to think over the matter.)

IX. *Committee on membership of the American Historical Association.*—Laurence B. Packard, Amherst, chairman; G. G. Andrews (Iowa), Julian Bretz (Cornell), E. Merton Coulter (Georgia), Waldemar Westergaard (University of California at Los Angeles), and Alexander J. Wall, New York. (Packard takes the chairmanship in place of Nichols, who resigns. Coulter takes the place of Dumas Malone. Westergaard takes the place of Nichols. Alexander J. Wall is added to the committee to take care of membership from the historical societies.)

X. *Committee on the Carnegie fund for publications.*—E. P. Cheyney, chairman; Waldo G. Leland, Evarts B. Greene, Violet Barbour (Vassar), and Marcus W. Jernegan (Chicago). (Jernegan takes the place of Jameson; Greene, as incoming president, takes the place of Robinson, outgoing president, and Violet Barbour takes the place of Shipman.)

XI. *Jusserand medal committee.*—Carl L. Becker, chairman; Merle E. Curti (Smith College), and Crane Brinton (Harvard). (These three replace entirely the old committee of three, which consisted of G. C. Sellery, chairman, E. M. Carroll, and C. D. Hazen.)

XII. *George L. Beer prize committee.*—W. L. Langer (Harvard), chairman; Parker T. Moon, T. W. Riker, P. W. Slosson, and Charles E. Fryer (McGill). (The old committee remains the same, except that Langer takes the chairmanship in place of Lybyer, who is left off, and Fryer is given the place of Palm.)

XIII. *John H. Dunning prize committee.*—Ulrich B. Phillips, chairman; A. O. Craven (Chicago), and J. G. de R. Hamilton (University of North Carolina). (Hamilton and Craven take the places of Walter Fleming and Earl G. Swem of the old committee.)

XIV. *Herbert Baxter Adams prize committee.*—Louis Gottschalk, chairman; Judith Williams (Wellesley). Eugene N. Curtis (Goucher), Paul B. Jones, and Preserved Smith. (Frederick Duncalf, Vera L. Brown, and William Langer of the old committee are left off and the places taken by Gottschalk, Williams, and Curtis.)

XV. *Committee on international cooperation.*—Waldo G. Leland, chairman; Eloise Ellery, Carl R. Fish, J. F. Jameson, Bernadotte Schmitt, Herbert I.

Priestley (University of California), and Frederick B. Artz (Oberlin.) (Priestley and Artz are new members who take the places of Sidney B. Fay and Charles Moore.)

XVI. *Delegates to the American Council of Learned Societies.*—C. H. Haskins, and J. F. Jameson. (There was a question whether Mr. Haskins wished to serve further but it was the feeling of the council that he should be continued if he so desired. It was proposed that nothing be done in the matter until the December meeting of the council and meanwhile that Mr. Haskins be sounded out about the matter.)

XVII. *Committee on historical research in colleges.*—Fred A. Shannon, Kansas State Agricultural College, chairman; Troyer Anderson (Swarthmore), Alfred H. Sweet (Washington and Jefferson), C. C. Pearson (Wake Forest), Bertha H. Putnam (Mount Holyoke), and Clarence E. Carter (Miami.) (E. M. Coulter, W. E. Lunt, and Henry W. Wriston are left off, and the new members are Anderson, Sweet, Pearson, and Carter.)

XVIII. *Committee on program for the forty-sixth annual meeting.*—Richard A. Newhall, Williams College, chairman; S. E. Morrison (Harvard), Laura A. White (University of Wyoming), Edgar E. Robinson (Stanford), Albert Hyma (Michigan), W. L. Westerman (Columbia), Godfrey Davies (Chicago), W. K. Boyd (Duke), and Reginald G. Trotter (Queens University, Kingston, Canada). In addition three members ex officio, C. B. Coleman, Dexter Perkins, and Oscar C. Stine.

XIX. *Justin Winsor prize committee.*—This committee stands as it is, as it does not discharge its duties until next year. The committee is as follows: Thomas M. Marshall, chairman; Kathleen Bruce, Allan Nevins, William S. Robertson, and Wayne E. Stevens.

XX. *Committee on bibliography.*—This committee stands as it is: Henry R. Shipman, chairman, William Allison, Solon J. Buck, Sidney B. Fay, Augustus H. Shearer, with the addition of Grace G. Griffin.

XXI. *Committee on International Yearbook of Historical Bibliography.*—Discontinued and Miss Griffin, of that committee, in charge of the international yearbook, is made a member of the committee on bibliography.

XXII. *Committee on bibliography of modern British history.*—Committee stands as it is, composed of E. P. Cheyney, chairman; Arthur L. Cross, Godfrey Davis, Roger B. Merriman, Wallace Notestein, Conyers Read, and Caroline F. Ware.

XXIII. *Committee on publications.*—Leo F. Stock, Washington, constitutes the sole member of this committee.

XXIV. *Conference of historical societies.*—Stands as it is: Albert R. Newsome, president; C. B. Coleman, secretary.

XXV. *Representatives in the International Committee of Historical Sciences.*—Waldo G. Leland. (Paul Van Dyke, of Princeton, is left off as he has returned to this country, and the council decided to leave it to the ad interim committee to appoint someone to his place at a later date.)

XXVI. *Representatives in the committee for the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences.*—This committee stands as it is: Carl Becker, Clarence H. Haring, and Carlton J. H. Hayes.

XXVII. *Delegates in the Social Science Research Council.*—Guy S. Ford, Carlton J. H. Hayes, and Arthur M. Schlesinger.

XXVIII. *Committee on the bibliography of travel.*—Solon J. Buck.

XXIX. *Representatives for the Social Science Research Council's Journal of Abstracts.*—Sidney B. Fay, William L. Langer, and Viola Barnes (Mt. Holyoke). (Miss Barnes takes the place of Joseph C. Green of the old committee. It was understood that the chairman of the appointment committee should consult with Mr. Chapin with regard to the membership of this committee.)

The following new committees were created and the members appointed as follows:

International subcommittee on chronology.—Eugene H. Byrne, Wisconsin.

Committee on permanent quarters.—The treasurer-to-be, the secretary, Charles Moore, and H. E. Bourne.

Committee on historical inscriptions.—C. B. Coleman, chairman; D. R. Fox, S. E. Morison, Charles Moore, Joseph Schafer, R. D. W. Connor, and Edmond S. Meany.

It was voted that the secretary formulate a word of greeting to be sent by wire to Prof. C. H. Haskins.

It was voted that the appointment of a delegate to a meeting of the International Committee of Historical Sciences be referred to the ad interim committee with power.

It was voted that the secretary and Mr. Morison be requested to bring in a list of names for the committee on local arrangements for 1930.

It was voted to appropriate $100 additional for the expenses of the committee on local arrangements for 1929.

The meeting adjourned at 12.45 p. m.

DEXTER PERKINS, *Secretary.*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON POLICY

To one who observes from the outside, the American Historical Association seems to be administered by a continuous miracle. It has a record of distinguished achievement carried through for the most part by such occasional voluntary service as busy men and women, here and there, could afford to give. The exceptional devotion of a few like Doctor Jameson, Professor Haskins, and the late Professor Bassett, a devotion and sacrifice upon which in right or prudence no organization should count, has given consistency and energy to policy, but there has been no one who could make the multiform work of the association his main concern. The Royal Historical Society and the Historical Association in England have each their paid secretary, though, in the opinion of the present writer, the scale and scope of neither enterprise is as great as that of the American Historical Association.

Much excellent work has been done by our special committees, but it must be admitted that many, if not most committees have failed to realize their full purpose, probably for want of that prodding stimulus which a full-time secretary could and would give. But he would do much more than merely rally the energies of such committees. He could aid them in getting information, especially in statistical inquiries. He could give publicity to their needs and finally to their findings. Through his wide contacts, he would accumulate for the Review many more news notes of interest to historians than could possibly come otherwise to the attention of the editor. Until we find it possible to support a full-time editor, the secretary might well take over the task of insuring a high and continuous standard of printer's style, rules of citation, etc., in the books published by means of the association's revolving fund.

There is much uncertainty as to the desirability of a large increase in membership in this association. To be one of 3,000 on our roll can not be called an honor and we have done well to abandon the farce of solemnly considering names proposed for membership before issuing an invitation, but, nevertheless, membership in this company of 3,000 or so does imply a considerable scholarly interest. If we increased the roll to 20,000 (about the enrollment of the American Association for the Advancement of Science), it may well be doubted if that implication would be fair. The Review might conceivably decline in scholarly credit as it sought to satisfy the marginal thousands who might not be expected to relish the austere diet that has been developed by Doctor Jameson and his successors. We do not wish to see the Review become "popular" at the sacrifice of its quality. But it seems to this committee that, by assiduous promotion, enough Americans really affected with a concern for history might be found to triple our present membership. The cause of historical interests could be better served throughout the country with a constituency of this size. The responsibility for such increase would rest upon, or rather would agitate, the secretary during the first few years of his incumbency. There would be, incidentally, a very substantial increase in income due to this increased membership.

The number of funds and foundations has multiplied in this country in the last 10 years. Though not yet an overwhelming fashion, there has been a growing tendency so to endow research. Under a real conviction that history is good for people, we wish that historical research might receive a proper share of such opportunities. But it requires a special acquaintance and constant vigilance to see that some of such support is allotted to really able historians who have projects under way and, conversely, that individual historians have effectively called to their attention the opportunities of this kind which might otherwise pass by the most appropriate scholars quite unnoticed. It must be remembered that it is the sole business of these foundations to spend money wisely for the public good. We believe that many of our enterprises are richly deserving of such aid. But the presentation of their claims may frequently require the time, attention, and physical presence of a man thoroughly acquainted with the personnel of the association and the various projects under way. Only a full-time secretary could do this work of critical importance. The secretary's office would be a service station for members of the association arriving in Washington to undertake research. He could furnish letters of introduction, hold mail for members, advise as to the practical possibilities of work, point out overlaps in research enterprises and, out of his local experience, even give counsel on such matters as board and lodging. We think that a good man would, by thought and energy, create his own sphere of usefulness.

A capital sum of at least $200,000 would be required to secure, house, and adequately assist such a secretary. An effort should certainly be made to interest some philanthropist or philanthropic foundation in this opportunity, at first, perhaps, upon a trial basis. The great asset of the association has been the lively interest and cooperation of its members. The appointment of a full-time secretary would not, in the opinion of this committee, kill this amateur spirit, but rather guide it to far more substantial results. If, by some chance, a person could be found who had the rare combination of talents fitting him to be both editor and secretary, we might make such an arrangement with somewhat less funds.

In the correspondence and interviews which this committee has conducted, one general agreement emerges, that the *American Historical Review* should have prior claim on the attention and financial support of the association. To most members, correctly observes one correspondent, it is the association. In the present condition of funds, any proposal involving an increased expenditure may have only an academic interest, yet the committee believes the result of their inquiry and consideration might interest the council.

No one has reported any considerable dissatisfaction with the quality of the Review nor suggested the discontinuance of any of its present departments. Most of our informants would desire its enlargement, not by larger bulk in each number, but by more frequent appearance. The prevailing sentiment favors a bimonthly, if it could be financed. One member doubted if there were enough really first-class articles to furnish six numbers, but no such misgiving was expressed elsewhere. We suggest, in addition to the kinds of articles which have been printed, that shortly after the death of a really distinguished historian, especially if an American, some one be designated to prepare a biographical and critical article estimating, as nearly as may be possible at the time, the significance of his work. The appearance of new periodicals like the *Journal of Modern History*, the *Hispanic-American Historical Review*, etc., it is felt, in no way affects the Review; it should take a larger part, not a smaller, in this growing trend of periodical publication.

Most of our correspondents spoke of the book reviews as the most valuable feature, and wished they might be increased in number. Some wished that more European publications were discussed. The committee believes it would be an

excellent innovation to have, as often as possible, review articles where a competent author, in considering six or eight books which deal with similar or related subjects, could comment upon any tendencies which he may discern in the treatment of a field. A member of this council, Professor Treat, suggested to the committee that the Review in its present form be published bimonthly, with a bulletin appearing in the intervening months except August. The latter would be considerably smaller than the Review and would contain the notes and news and the items chronologically arranged which now are printed in the Review and also as many short reviews as possible. Instead of four articles, each number of the Review itself might print six, together with more long reviews. One of the articles in each number might be a review article of the kind described above. This would make 36 articles rather than the present 16. Obviously, any such enlargement of the Review awaits a considerable enlargement of funds. A full-time editor would be necessary, though he might, as has before been indicated, expect some aid from the secretary in the preparation of the bulletin. The added printing cost might be met, at least in part, by a change of policy.

During the two years 1927 and 1928, the Review spent $3,736.50 in payment to contributors. The sums paid to the individual writers are really not enough to constitute an inducement; at least one State magazine pays considerably more. Two or three of our correspondents suggested that the Review pay a more nearly adequate return. It is the recommendation of this committee, however, that it pay nothing at all. That is, for example, the policy of the English Historical Review. It is a professional distinction to appear in our Review. There is no historian in this country but is proud to be asked to contribute or to have an offering accepted. In other words, the money scheduled to be paid plays little or no part in determining the purpose of the writers to contribute to the Review. Some, at least, never get over a certain surprise, albeit pleasant, at getting a check a few weeks after a contribution has been published. This committee would be pleased to have the council at least consider the saving of nearly $2,000 a year on this item on the Review as at present constituted. If the Review were enlarged, this saving would be the more important.

Before leaving the subject of the Review, it is pleasant to make a recommendation that involves very little cost, a recommendation made on the suggestion of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler. In a country as large as ours, where personal contacts and acquaintance are less possible, it would aid in identifying a contributor if, beside his name, there were printed that of the institution or the place with which he is associated.

Scholarship, the discovery of new truth, seldom pays its own way; especially is this true in the humanities. Once a side line of the clergy or the hobby of wealthy aristocrates, it has been secularized and democratized along with the schools and universities. Generally speaking, those who have the taste, capacity, and training for scholarship must give all their time and energy for teaching for a living. Not only does society at large miss their contributions, but their teaching itself without the nourishment of personal harvests in new fields becomes a dry routine.

For many years historians, as well as others, have wished that some means might be found to overcome the economic obstacles to continuing the adventure of research for those who, by taking their last degree, had passed out of the status of pupil. Had the American Historical Association been in possession of funds 15 years ago, it might reasonably have devoted a large proportion of them to grants in aid of young scholars in the journeyman period, that is, doctors of philosophy between the ages of 25 and 35. But in that interim foundations have been set up that make more and more provision for the younger scholars of well-proved capacity who have definite and practicable projects in hand. In the

sixty-odd awards made annually by the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation, history has had its share; in the 20 fellowships of the Social Science Research Council, year after year, it has enjoyed a considerably larger proportion; and there have been a number of appointments in this field from the American Council of Learned Societies. It would be extravagant to say that financial aid is at hand for all really able scholars whose capacities for research make certain that they could use a free year to great advantage. Nevertheless, the hard-driven young Ph. D. who yearns for scholarly opportunities, is in a better position to-day than he was.

Many scholars, however, survive the age of 35. They fall into four classes: First, those who were not so scholarly after all and who, though they may prove excellent fathers, very agreeable companions, and effective citizens, are content to let others write the books, and think vacation is a time to rest from academic labor; second, those who win their way to production by the zealous use of the summer interval and otherwise; third, those who, because of heavy teaching schedules and perhaps equally heavy committee assignments, find the summer their only season of scholarly opportunity, but whose geographical isolation unrelieved by financial surplus makes impossible the work in great libraries or special collections which they are both anxious and competent to do; fourth, the really distinguished scholars who can give a large amount of their time to their important projects but who find this time sadly insufficient to accomplish the myriad details of notetaking which are essential in rounding out the material for an extensive standard work.

No slur is cast upon the first class—many an academic community is richer for their presence—but they need not concern us here. The second class, by energy oftentimes helped by good fortune and perhaps some prudence in choosing tasks well adapted to their circumstances, apparently need no one's aid. The third and fourth classes, however, may well have our attention.

Let us begin with the last named. We all know men of outstanding ability deeply engaged in great tasks which they are likely never to finish for want of secretarial help. Such a man may be well paid as academic salaries go and yet be quite unable to hire a research assistant. Such a subvention should be given only to a scholar who has demonstrated great capacity for his extensive work, possibly through the publication of several volumes of it. His quality would be well known to this council or to any committee, so that a mistaken choice would be very unlikely. A subvention would be more than a mere grant in aid, but would have the character of a grand prize. An assignment of $2,000 might be made annually for this purpose from the Beveridge fund. The Beveridge Award would be a great distinction, something that the recipient would be glad to have prominently mentioned in his biographical sketch in Who's Who. The implication would be that he was carrying on his work in the spirit of the late Senator Beveridge himself.

The third class mentioned above is numerous. College presidents and association committees harp upon the need for research during the summer vacation, but there are many teachers in small colleges whose family budgets could not possibly be so conjured as to allow them a two months' sojourn in Washington or Madison or Cambridge or New York, to say nothing of London or Paris. A Guggenheim or a Social Science Research Council fellow might be expected to produce a book as the fruit of his year's research. The beneficiary we here contemplate might produce an article for a scholarly publication or a paper for a professional meeting. Even if in some cases nothing found its way to print, the experience might be of immense benefit to his teaching. His mind fertilized by contact with original sources, his self-respect increased by the sense of personal discoveries, he could speak as one having authority, perhaps to the astonishment

as well as the inspiration of his classes. A man whose doctoral dissertation lay 10 years behind him, years unmarked by notable contribution, might, by such an experience, be brought back into active scholarly life again. It is suggested that 10 summer research awards, each of $300, be made from the Beveridge fund. Each applicant should be able to state a worthy project appropriate for two months' intensive study at a designated center. Each recipient should file a report with the committee on award setting forth what has been accomplished. There is no doubting that donors are attracted by well-defined and personal enterprises. It may very well be that the number of such awards could be increased to 20 by finding 10 persons who would give $6,000 each, by bequest or otherwise, especially if the awards were denominated fellowships and each bore the name of the benefactor.

If we are to attract the favorable attention of prospective donors, it seems to this committee that we must make our financial administration more obviously safe and effective. There is no doubt in the minds of this committee that the administration under our treasurer has been both. But two factors have to be considered: (1) We have much more invested funds on hand than formerly, and (2) we are perhaps more concerned with outside opinion, and therefore with superficial appearance as well as fact. It has been brought to our attention that, to some business men who might be helpful to our cause, our practice seems too casual. This committee recommends the retention of the office of treasurer as a receiver of dues, but suggests that constitutional changes be made, if necessary, to permit the appointment of a trust company as cotrustee with the treasurer, no investment to be made without the consent of both. The impersonality of a trust company, its likelihood of perpetuity and reputation for competency would, we think, reassure donors. We have so much to care for now that it might well prove difficult to obtain a man who, as treasurer, would take full responsibility for looking after all these investments. Something would be saved in the cost of bonding; something might be gained by more lucrative investment as managed by a professional agency. But the chief gain would come in the appearance of solidarity to donors and prospective donors. This would, in the opinion of the committee, be worth the cost. The trust company should be selected in conference with the treasurer and the contract should not cover more than three years.

Respectfully submitted.

DIXON RYAN FOX, *Chairman.*

NOVEMBER 15, 1929.

PROJECT FOR THE PUBLICATION OF THE SOURCES OF EARLY AMERICAN LEGAL HISTORY

OBJECT

In planning a program for the publication of the sources of early American legal history, the sponsors might very well be guided by the policy of the Selden Society in England. The object of such a series of publications would be to encourage the study and advance the knowledge of the history of American law. This object would be carried into effect mainly by collecting and editing in a convenient form materials for students to work upon in their own way.

Large quantities of material of the most valuable kind, illustrative of the growth of American law in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, lie buried, often unindexed and uncalendared, in State and local archives and among court records. In fact, the absence of abridgments of the reported cases render the principal source material more inaccessible than the year books. Much of this material consists of official law reports.

LOCATION OF MATERIAL

While it is desirable to have the entire field thoroughly investigated, it might prove expedient to confine early manuscript research to Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and Maryland, as all these jurisdictions were established before the middle of the seventeenth century, and, in all, valuable unpublished material is accessible. Useful guides to this material include:

Massachusetts:
Carroll D. Wright, Report on the Custody and Condition of the Public Records (Boston, 1889), pp. 316–332.
Catalogue of Records and Files in the Office of the Clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court, revised, 1896; Boston, 1897.

New York:
I. N. Phelps Stokes, Iconography of Manhattan Island, VI, 185–223.
Greene and Morris, A Guide to the Principal Sources for Early American History, pp. 208—212.

Connecticut:
L. M. Hubbard and C. J. Hoadley, Report of the Secretary of State and State Librarian on Ancient Court Records (1889).
A. C. Bates, Report on the Public Archives, Amer. Hist. Assn., Annual Report, 1900, II, 26–36.

Maryland:
Mrs. H. D. Richardson, Report, Amer. Hist. Assn., Annual Report, 1905, I, 367 et sec.
Catalogue of MSS. and Printed Matter in the Court of Appeals, Annapolis, Md. (November, 1926).

Preliminary investigations might first be made in the office of the clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court for the County of Suffolk, Boston; in the State Library, Hartford, Conn.; in the Hall of Records, New York City; and in the Court of Appeals, Annapolis, Md.

Valuable official law reports are often in the hands of private institutions (see e. g., Greene and Morris, Guide, pp. 212–228, for New York; also the Athenæum, Boston, which has county records); and such material should be included in the investigation with a view to printing.

GENERAL PLAN OF PUBLICATION

1. First in importance would be the publication of significant law reports of the superior and general courts for the seventeenth century, and the elimination by this process of lacunæ. Since the published Records of the Court of Assistants of Massachusetts cover the period adequately (1630–1692), attention might well be devoted to Connecticut, New York, and Maryland. In Connecticut the Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut (1636–1776) include the brief minutes of general court sessions; but in the supplementary unprinted papers are found the arguments of counsel and the judgments, from which may be derived the *ratio decidendi* and the available precedents. This same criticism may be made of the Maryland Archives. While the judicial records for New Netherlands in print are plentiful, little has been published for New York under English rule in the seventeenth century. Such a publication as the Minutes of the Superior Court of Judicature, 1693–1701, in New York Historical Society Collections, 1912 (pp. 39–214), contains merely the skeleton minutes, of little value without the file papers. A collection of the important cases which came before the superior court might be published which would include pertinent extracts from the file papers among cases now filed in current litigation in the county clerk's office, New York.

2. By analogy to the Selden Society's publication of extracts from the Eyre and Assize Rolls and of county and town material in medieval England, a volume of selected extracts from the records of representative county courts in the

American colonies in the seventeenth century would prove most profitable, due to the interesting character of this local litigation. The Records and Files of Quarterly Courts of Essex County Mass. (1638–1683, 8 vols.; Salem, 1911–1921), might serve as a model wherein intelligent use was made of the file papers. Since seventeenth-century Massachusetts and Pennsylvania are well represented by such publications (the latter by Chester County Court Records, 1681–1697; and Upland Court Records, 1676–1681; in Pennsylvania Historical Society Memoirs, VII, 9–203), profitable material might be published for Connecticut, New York, and either Maryland or Virginia, where the county records which Bruce used advantageously appear to offer much of value for the student of social and economic as well as legal history.

3. Aside from the publication of a few pages relating to the manorial courts of Maryland (Johnson, Old Maryland Manors, in Johns Hopkins Studies), the rôle of the manor in the judicial system in such colonies as New York and Maryland has never been revealed. An investigation of the sources of these manorial court records might profitably be conducted.

4. The development of the courts of chancery and the activities of the governor's council in dispensing equitable relief in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries might be developed in extracts from unpublished material of representative colonies. The judicial activities of the governor and council in matters relating to domestic relations and divorce law would be of further interest to the legal historian. For instance, a folio volume of court records, bound as Divorce, 1760–1786, in the office of the clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court for the County of Suffolk, Boston, might justify publication in part or in entirety. The question of domestic relations could be developed further in a special volume dealing with the disciplinary activities of the colonial churches; Massachusetts and Virginia could be selected as representative colonies in which to study the subject. In this way source material relating to the "canon-law" phase of colonial legal history would be placed before the scholar.

5. The eighteenth-century problem demands special attention. While Virginia is represented by the Reports of Randolph and Barradall of Decisions of the General Court of Virginia (1728–1741, 2 vols.; and by Jefferson, 1730–1740, 1768–1772), other colonies have not fared as well. Dallas for Pennsylvania, Quincy for Massachusetts, and Harris and McHenry for Maryland comprise virtually all that has been published from 1700 down to the Revolution. Since the field is a vast one, much might be gained by concentrating on one jurisdiction. Probably the most suitable for publication are the records of the Superior Court of Judicature of Massachusetts (33 fol. vols., 1693–1780). Selected cases might profitably be published, supplemented by pertinent file papers which are in great abundance (900 fol. vols.) and carefully indexed in the office of the clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court for the County of Suffolk, Boston, Mass.

6. Materials illustrating the education, training, practice, and legal concepts of the colonial and postrevolutionary attorney could likewise be included in the project. Selections might be made from such items as the Abridgment of Judge Roger Mompesson, the Form Book of Joseph Murray, both in the Columbia University Law Library; from the briefs of John Read, of New England, and of John Tabor Kempe (attorney general of New York, 1752–1777), in the New York Historical Society; from the correspondence of American attorneys at the Inns of Courts, such as Joseph Reed, of New Jersey (New York Historical Society); and critical comments and extracts might be published of manuscript law treatises, which should be carefully edited and compared with the contemporary English works.

All volumes in the project should contain a full legal subject index, a complete index of names and of all persons and places, and a critical introduction.

7. In conclusion, a further object of such a project might be to serve as a clearing house of information of legal materials in course of publication throughout the country; to advise law libraries and historical societies, that might avail themselves of such services, of means of building up working collections of imprints, statutes, and court records; and to encourage the publication of guides to local manuscript and printed legal material, and of regional calendars.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION HELD IN THE WASHINGTON DUKE HOTEL, DURHAM, N. C., ON DECEMBER 29, 1929

Present: The president, the first vice president, the second vice president, J. Franklin Jameson, Payson J. Treat, Elizabeth Donnan, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, and the secretary. Prof. R. J. Kerner also attended the meeting as a representative of the Pacific Coast Branch.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and, with minor corrections, were approved.

The secretary of the association presented to the council invitations from Harvard University and Radcliffe College to hold the annual meeting of the association in 1930 in Cambridge. It was voted to accept these invitations and to extend the thanks of the association to the institutions proffering them. The secretary also presented an invitation from the University of Minnesota to the association to hold its annual meeting in Minneapolis in 1931. A motion was made to accept this invitation, and it was then laid on the table to be discussed at the next session of the council. Invitations were also transmitted to the council from numberous bodies at Detroit to meet in that city in 1931. On these no action was taken.

It was voted that a proposal formulated by Dr. J. Franklin Jameson with regard to the international project for a list of diplomats, requesting an appropriation of $1,000 from the Social Science Research Council, be approved and submitted to the proper representative of that body.

It was voted to elect Mr. Lowell Joseph Ragatz as editor of the association, the appointment to date from April 1, 1930.

It was voted to defer action on the report of the committee on prizes and to request Mr. Louis Gottschalk, chairman of the committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize, to serve with the chairman of the other prize committees as chairman of a committee on the administration of prizes and to report to the council at its November meeting in 1930.

It was voted to adopt a resolution presented by the chairman of the committee on documentary historical publications in the United States, memorializing the members of the proper committees in the Congress of the United States with regard to the preparation of a bicentennial edition of the writings of George Washington. The resolution is appended.[13]

It was voted to adopt the following report of a special committee of one (Mr. S. E. Morison), constituted to report on the proposal of Count François Pulaski for cooperation between the association and the Polish Academy for the publication of papers relating to Gen. Casimir Pulaski. The report is as follows:

The council of the American Historical Association has carefully considered the interesting proposal made by M. François Pulaski respecting cooperation with the Polish Academy in collecting material for the life of Gen. Casimir Pulaski. The council considers this work to be of high importance, not only for the history of the American Revolution, but also to strengthen the bonds of Polish-American amity. Unfortunately, they have neither the organization nor the resources

[13] See p. 98.

to perform the American share of such a task. They feel that the work of collecting material could best be done by some interested individual or group, possibly a graduate student in history in one of our universities, who should examine all the repositories of historical manuscripts in America in search of documents by or relating to General Pulaski.

The secretary laid before the council a request from Professor Seligman, editor in chief of the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, that the traveling expenses of the members of the association for the joint committee to a meeting in New York City on January 31 should be defrayed by the association. It was voted to instruct the secretary to reply to Professor Seligman that it was the sense of the council that such expenses should be paid by the body to which the services of the association's representatives had been proffered.

The Secretary laid before the council an inquiry from Mr. W. John Cooper as to the intention of the association to appoint delegates to a meeting of the Third International Congress of Spanish-American Geography and History, which is to be held at Seville, Spain. It was voted to instruct the secretary to communicate with Prof. Isaiah Bowman with regard to the matter.

It was voted that Prof. E. B. Greene be appointed to participate with the secretary in the conference of secretaries called by the American Council of Learned Societies to meet in New York City on January 30, 1930.

The secretary presented certain communications with regard to the American Historical Society, a purely commercial organization engaged in the business of raising money from various persons by publishing articles and portraits of their prominent relatives and not infreqeuently confused with the association. After some discussion it was voted to instruct the secretary to write to Mr. B. F. Lewis, the representative of this society in New York, requesting him to do what he could to make clear the distinction between the society and the association.

The meeting adjourned to meet for luncheon and reassembled at 2 p. m.

In the absence of the treasurer, the secretary submitted the budget. After some discussion it was approved provisionally, subject to later amendment. Professor Greene reported with regard to the progress made upon the projects voted by the council for the use of the Griswold and Beveridge funds. In the case of the former, he indicated that the project adopted by the council had been favorably received by Mrs. Griswold and that a conference of those particularly qualified in legal history would be held in New York in the course of the ensuing month. With regard to the Beveridge project, no reply had been received from Mrs. Beveridge, but communications had been established with Professor Nichols, of the special committee appointed to carry out the project. It was voted that the ad interim committee be given power to act upon such recommendations as might be made with regard to expenditures from the Griswold and Beveridge funds.

The council then proceeded to discuss Professor Fox's report from the committee on policy. It was voted to recommend the following resolution for passage at the business meeting.

In view of the increased responsibilities of the association and the multiplicity of tasks in which it is engaged and in view of the special report of the committee on policy, it is, in the opinion of the council, highly desirable that the association make provision for the establishment of a permanent secretariat and the council be authorized to take such steps toward that end as may be practicable.

It was then voted to accept the report of Professor Fox's committee and to place it on file.

It was voted that the annual meeting of the association for 1930 should be held on December 29, 30, 31.

The council then adjourned to meet on Monday, December 30, at 2 p. m.

116926—30——7

Memorial to Congress from the Executive Council of the American Historical Association

The council of the American Historical Association begs leave to press most earnestly upon the attention of Congress the desirability of making provision in the present session for a comprehensive edition of the Writings of George Washington as an element in the celebration of the two-hundredth anniversary of his birth. The Bicentennial Commission has recommended this as one of the chief portions of its program for such celebration. The existing editions of the Writings of Washington, one of them published 90 years ago, the other more than 40, are long since out of print. Copies of either are procurable at secondhand only at a very high cost, prohibitive to most individuals and libraries.

Yet these "writings" are an historical source of incalculable value, a precious legacy from the chief founder of the Republic, whose letters and other writings, full of serene wisdom, unselfish patriotism, and noble feeling, ought to be accessible to every serious reader. If we as a Nation are to mark our celebration by any appreciation of our foremost character, to whom more than to any other we owe the gaining of our independence and the establishing of our national security, that purpose can never be so effectually served by any material construction as by laying before all readers those writings which exhibit the man himself, his wise and prudent directions in warfare, his lofty and sagacious counsels as President in time of peace.

The materials for the proposed edition are in the possession of Congress, the most cherished possession of its Library. The plan of the Bicentennial Commission contemplates their editing by the most accomplished student of Washington manuscripts, Dr. John C. Fitzpatrick, whose name guarantees to the edition workmanship of the highest order. A bill providing for such a compilation passed the Senate in the closing days of the Seventieth Congress. The council of the American Historical Association earnestly hopes that legislation securing this most appropriate commemoration of Washington may be passed as early as is possible in the present session of Congress.

[Voted: That copies of the above memorial be sent to the Members of the respective committees of the Senate and House of Representatives on the Library, on Printing, and on Appropriations, and to the Members of the Commission for the Celebration of the Bicentennial Anniversary of the Birth of George Washington.]

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION HELD AT THE WASHINGTON DUKE HOTEL, DURHAM, N. C., DECEMBER 30, 1929, AT 2 P. M.

Present: The president, the first vice president, the second vice president, J. Franklin Jameson, Elizabeth Donnan, Payson J. Treat, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, and. the secretary. Prof. H. E. Bourne, R. J. Kerner, T. C. Pease, L. B. Packard, and E. C. Carroll also attended the meeting.

Professor Carroll addressed the committee with regard to a project sponsored by the International Committee of Historical Sciences for the preparation of a list of newspapers influential in the formation of public opinion. After some discussion, it was voted to constitute a committee of two, composed of Prof. Allan Nevins and Professor Carroll, to report further with regard to this project to the ad interim committee before March 1, 1930.

Dr. J. Franklin Jameson reported for the board of editors with regard to the expediency of paying for articles and reviews in the journal of the association.

He indicated that the board of editors was unanimously opposed to the abolishing of payment for articles and reviews. On motion of Prof. E. B. Greene, Doctor Jameson's report was accepted.

Prof. T. C. Pease reported for the Historical Manuscripts Commission with regard to the project of a guide to manuscript materials in American history in public archives. It was voted, in view of the constitution of a special committee to consider this problem by the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies, to request Professor Pease to confer with Prof. A. M. Schlesinger and Mr. W. G. Leland with regard to this project.

It was voted that the council recommend to the association that it meet at Minneapolis in 1931.

Prof. L. B. Packard addressed the council briefly with regard to the treasurership situation. Mr. Fairfax Harrison having been named by the nominating committee and having later signified his inability to serve, it was informally agreed with Professor Packard to present the name of Mr. Charles Moore as treasurer at the business meeting for regular election to that office.

The secretary laid before the council declinations of certain members to serve upon committees to which they had been appointed.

The council then proceeded to make appointments as follows: Delegate to the American Council of Learned Societies, Mr. E. P. Cheyney; committee on arrangements for the Cambridge meeting of the American Historical Association, Francis R. Hart, chairman; J. P. Baxter, 3d, Charles F. D. Belden, Charles K. Bolton, W. C. Endicott, William S. Ferguson, William L. Langer, S. E. Morison, Francis Parkman, Edward M. Pickman, Mrs. Barrett Wendell; committee on appointments, Winfred T. Root, Elizabeth Donnan, U. B. Phillips, and the secretary; committee on more permanent quarters, H. E. Bourne, chairman; H. Barrett Learned, Fairfax Harrison, Charles Moore, and the secretary; committee on program, R. H. Gabriel, chairman; committee on endowment, Christopher B. Coleman, chairman; S. J. Buck; committee on documentary historical publications of the United States, S. F. Bemis, chairman; A. M. Schlesinger; public archives commission, Margaret C. Norton.

It was voted to leave to the ad interim committee, with power, the selection of a chairman for the membership committee and the selection of a member of the commission of the social studies in the schools in place of Prof. E. B. Greene.

It was voted to adopt the following resolution presented by Payson J. Treat.

The council recommends to the association the passage of the following resolution: The American Historical Association expresses its great satisfaction at the measures which have been taken by the Public Buildings Commission and the Congress to provide a suitable repository for the archives of the United States. With a deep appreciation of the desirability and necessity of careful study in the planning of such a national archive building and in the administration of its priceless contents, the association authorizes and instructs its executive council to designate a suitable committee to wait upon the President of the United States to assure him of the interest of the association, and to invite his consideration of the appointment of a special committee to consider the question involved in the preservation and administration of the national archives.

It was voted to instruct the secretary to extend the thanks of the association to those responsible for the conduct of the meeting of the association in Durham and Chapel Hill.

REGISTER OF ATTENDANCE AT THE FORTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING AT DURHAM AND CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

A

Abernethy, Thomas P.
Achorn, Erik.
Adair, E. R.
Adams, E. D.
Adams, Randolph G.
Aderholdt, V. V.
Aiton, Arthur Scott.
Ambler, C. H.
Ames, Herman V.
Anderson, Dice Robins.
Anderson, Mrs. Dice Robins.
Anderson, Frank Maloy.
Anderson, Russell H.
Anderson, Troyer S.
Andrews, Charles M.
Arnett, Alex M.
Arnold, B. W., jr.
Artz, F. B.
Anscombe, Mrs. F. C.
Anscombe, Francis C.

B

Bacon, Elizabeth M.
Bainton, Roland H.
Baldwin, Alice M.
Barker, Corinne M.
Barker, Eugene C.
Barnes, James A.
Barnes, Sherman B.
Barnes, Viola F.
Barnhart, John D.
Bartlett, Ruhl J.
Beale, Howard K.
Bemis, Samuel Flagg
Benns, F. Lee.
Benton, Elbert J.
Bernstein, Judith.
Bond, Beverley W., jr.
Bieber, Ralph P.
Bigelow, Bruce, III.
Bigelow, Lois Armstrong.
Binkley, Robert C.
Binkley, W. C.
Black, J. William.
Blake, Nelson M.
Boak, A. E. R.
Bosworth, Mary White.
Bourne, Henry E.
Bourne, Mrs. Henry E.
Bowden, Witt.
Boyce, Gray C.
Boyd, Julian P.
Boyd, William K.
Brandon, William P.
Brasch, Frederick E.
Brebner, J. B.
Breckenridge, Elizabeth.
Broadway, Blanche.
Brook, Elizabeth.
Brown, George W.
Brown, J. Franklin.
Brown, Louise Fargo.
Brown, Marshall W.
Brown, Samuel H.
Bruce, Kathleen.
Buchanan, James S.
Buck, Solon J.
Buckner, C. E.
Burnett, Edmund C.
Burns, Edward M.
Burr, George L.
Butcher, Borton.
Buthman, W. C.

C

Cajori, Florian.
Caldwell, Robert G.
Caldwell, Wallace E.
Callcott, W. H.
Campbell, Carlyle.
Campbell, Leslie H.
Cappon, Lester J.
Carey, Mary Virginia.
Carman, Harry J.
Carr, Isaac N.
Carroll, E. M.
Carstarphon, B. B.
Carter, Clarence E.
Carter, Harvey L.
Carter, Ruth.
Catterall, Mrs. Ralph C. H.
Cauthen, Charles E.
Cazeau, Theodore C.
Chaffin, Nora.
Chapman, Berlin B.
Chase, Lew Allen.
Cheyney, Edward P.
Childs, Mrs. Arney R.
Christie, Francis A.
Church, Alfred M.
Clark, Dan E.
Clark, David T.
Clark, Dora Mae.
Clark, Evan S.
Clark, Thomas D.
Clarke, Mary Patterson.
Coates, W. H.
Cole, Arthur Charles.
Coleman, Christopher B.
Collier, Mrs. John A.
Collier, Katharine B.
Collier, Theodore.
Connor, R. D. W.
Corrigan, Raymond.
Couch, W. T.
Coulter, E. M.
Cox, Isaac J.
Cox, Mrs. Isaac J.
Crane, Verner W.
Craven, Avery O.
Craven, W. Frank.
Crofts, F. S.
Crothers, Hayes Baker.
Cruttenden, Florence B.
Currie, Archibald.
Curtis, Eugene N.
Curtis, Mrs. Eugene N.
Curtis, Grace E.
Curtis, Ruth E.
Cushman, Milton S.

D

Dale, Edward Everett.
Dalgliesh, Betty Rhodes.
Dalgliesh, W. Harold.
Daniel, J. W. W.
Darvall, Frank O.
Davidson, Elizabeth.
Davidson, Philip.
Davis, Stanton Ling.
Dawes, Norman H.
Dawson, Edgar.
Dawson, Mrs. Edgar.
Debevoise, Neilson C.
Demaree, A. J.
Dennett, Tyler.
Denton, William C.
Devers, Nancy O.
De Witt, Elsie Van Dyck.
Dexter, Elizabeth A.
Dexter, Robert C.
Dickerson, O. M.

d'Irsay, Dr. Stephen.
Dixon, Evalyn.
Dodd, William E., jr.
Dodge, Charlotte P.
Donnan, Elizabeth.
Dorrance, Frances.
Drane, Rev. Robert B.
Draper, Bernice Evelyn.
Dumond, Dwight L.
Duncalf, Frederick.
Dunham, Arthur L.
Duniway, C. A.

E

Easterby, J. H.
Ecker, Joseph T.
Eddy, William W.
Edsall, Preston W.
Edwards, Everett E.
Edwards, Mattie Erma.
Eliason, Mrs. Minnie H.
Ellery, Eloise.
Ellis, Lewis Ethan.
Elsbree, Olivr W.
Epting, Carl L., jr.
Evans, Anna L.
Evans, Austin P.

F

Falk, Minna R.
Farmer, Hallie.
Farwell, Helen M.
Ferguson, Isabel.
Ferguson, Wallace K.
Ferrell, C. M.
Ferris, Eleanor.
Flanders, R. B.
Fletcher, Mona.
Flick, A. C.
Flick, Hugh.
Flippin, Percy Scott.
Flournoy, Francis R.
Folmsbee, Stanley J.
Fortenbaugh, Robert.
Foster, Mary Louise.
Fox, Dixon Ryan.
Frank, A. D.
Franklin, W. Neil.
Fraser, Jessie Melville.
Fryer, C. E.
Fuller, Joseph V.
Funderburk, R. S.
Funkhauser, P. M.

G

Gabriel, Ralph H.
Galbreath, C. B.
Galdames, Luis.
Galpin, W. F.
Ganoe, John T.
Garber, Paul N.
Garner, George Lee.
Garraghan, Gilbert J.
Garrett, M. B.
Geise, John J.
George, Robert H.
Gewehr, Wesley M.
Gholson, Mrs. Belle C.
Gibbons, Lois Oliphant.
Gibbs, Evelyn.
Giffen, M. B.
Gilbert, Amy M.
Gillespie, Frances E.
Gillespie, James E.
Gilpatrick, D. H.
Godard, George S.
Gotwald, William K.
Gough, John W.
Gough, Mrs. J. W.
Gould, Clarence P.
Graves, Mortimer.
Gray, Lewis C.
Green, Fletcher M.
Greene, Evarts B.
Greer, James K.
Gregorie, Anne King.
Grose, Clyde L.
Grubbs, W. M.
Guernsey, G. Madeleine.
Guilday, Rev. Peter.

H

Hackett, Roger C.
Hackett, Mrs. R. C.
Hagan, Charles B.
Hagerty, Leroy W.
Haines, C. G.
Hale, Oron James.
Hamer, Marguerite B.
Hamer, Philip M.
Hamilton, J. G. de R.
Hamilton, Milton W.
Hamilton, Mrs. Milton W.
Hamilton, Raphael N.
Hamlin, C. H.
Hansen, Marcus L.
Haring, C. H.
Harper, Samuel N.
Harrington, Virginia D.
Harris, David.
Harvey, Edna Pope.
Hasbrouck, Alfred.
Hayes, Carlton J. H.
Heald, Mark M.
Heath, Phoebe A.
Hedrick, C. E.
Henderson, Archibald.
Henry, H. M.
Herndon, Nettie Southworth.
Herrick, Cheesman A.
Hesseltine, W. B.
Hickman, Emily.
Hicks, John D.
Higby, C. P.
Higgins, Ruth L.
Hill, J. W.
Hirsch, Arthur H.
Hodgdon, Frederick C.
Hodous, Lewis.
Holliman, Jennie.
Holmes, Alester G.
Hopper, Bruce C.
Holt, Edgar A.
Horn, Mary A.
Hoskins, Halford L.
Hovde, B. J.
Howard, Laura E.
Hubbard, Clifford Chesley.
Hubbart, H. C.
Hulme, Edward M.
Hummel, Arthur W.
Hung, William.
Hunter, Louis C.
Hussey, Roland D.
Huttman, Maude A.
Hyma, Albert.
Hyslop, Beatrice F.

J

Jack, Theodore H.
Jacobson, Gertrude Ann.
Jackson, W. C.
James, James Alton.
James, Reginald I.
Jameson, J. Franklin.
Jameson, Mrs. J. F.

Jenkins, W. S.
Jenks, Leland H.
Jernegan, Marcus Wilson.
Johns, C. D.
Johnson, T. Cary, jr.
Jones, B. H.
Jones, Leonard Chester.
Jordan, Henry D.
Joyner, Fred B.

K

Karpinski, Louis C.
Karpovich, Michael.
Keith, Alice.
Kellar, Herbert A.
Kendall, C. D.
Kendrick, B. B.
Kerner, Robert J.
Ketchin, Priscilla.
Ketring, Ruth A.
Kimball, Elisabeth G.
Kimmel, W. G.
Kirkland, Edward C.
Kissick, W. P.
Kissick, Mrs. W. P.
Klein, Frederic S.
Klein, Philip G.
Kline, Allen M.
Knappen, M. M.
Knowlton, Daniel C.
Koch, G. Adolf.
Kohler, Max J.
Kraus, Michael.
Krey, A. C.

L

Lafferty, Oma Clare.
Langer, William L.
Lanning, John Tate.
Laprade, W. T.
Largent, Vera.
Larsen, J. A. O.
Latourette, K. S.
Latta, Maurice C.
Lauer, Ernest.
Lawson, Leonard A.
Learned, H. Barrett.
Leavitt, Charles T.
Lee, Dwight E.
Lee, Ralph M.
Lee, Mrs. Ralph M.
Lefler, Hugh T.
Lewinson, Paul.
Liggett, Vivian.
Lindley, Harlow.
Lingelbach, William E.
Lingelbach, Mrs. William E.
Lingle, Thomas W.
Lombard, Mildred E.
Lonn, Ella.
Loomis, Louise R.
Lough, Susan M.
Lybyer, Albert Howe.
Lynch, William O.
Lyon, E. Wilson.

M

Mabry, W. A.
McBrien, Dean Depew.
McClendon, R. Earl.
McClure, William H.
McConnell, J. Moore.
McCutchen, S. P.
McDanel, Ralph C.
MacDermot, T. W. L.
Macdonald, Norman.
Mace, William H.
McEntegart, Catherine J.
McEwan, Calvin W.
Mackay, Dorothy Louise.
McKee, Marguerite M.
McKinley, John L.
MacKinney, L. C.
McLean, R. H.
McMillan, Montague.
McMurry, Donald L.
McNeal, Edgar H.
McNiff, William J.
Magill, Sadie.
Malone, Dumas.
Manchester, Alan K.
Manhart, George B.
Marcham, F. G.
Marks, Genevieve.
Martin, Ethyl E.
Martin, Thomas Powderly.
Matheny, John W.
Matthews, Maxine.
May, Arthur J.
Mayer, Joseph.
Meade, Robert D.
Meador, May M.
Mendenhall, Marjorie.
Mereness, Newton D.
Meriwether, R. L.
Metzger, Charles H.
Meyer, Jacob C.
Miller, Frederic K.
Mitchell, S. C.
Moore, Albert B.
Moore, G. H.
Moore, Ross H.
Morrey, William T.
Morris, Richard B.
Mosely, Philip E.
Moss, C. G. Gordon.
Muhlfeld, Helen.
Musser, John.
Muzzey, David S.
Myers, Denys P.
Myers, Florence C.

N

Nelson, Ernest W.
Nettles, H. Edward.
New, Chester W.
Newsome, A. R.
Nixon, Herman C.
Norton, Margaret C.
Noyes, Arthur H.

O

Oakes, George W. Ochs.
O'Brien, William F.
O'Connor, Lucile.
Offutt, Milton.
Oliver, John W.
Olmstead, A. T.
Ott, Mary C.
Owsley, F. L.

P

Packard, Laurence B.
Paltsits, Victor H.
Parks, E. T.
Patterson, David L.
Patterson, John C.
Patton, James W.
Paullin, C. O.
Pearlstine, Hanna.
Pease, Theodore Calvin.
Peeling, James H.
Pegg, C. H.
Perkins, Dexter.
Perkins, Ernest Ralph.
Perkins, Wilma Lord.
Pierce, Bessie Louise.
Pierson, William Whatley.
Poage, George R.

Prentiss, Henry M.
Priddy, Mrs. Bessie Leach.
Puig, Louise M.
Putnam, Bertha Haven.
Putnam, Herbert E.

Q

Quaife, M. M.
Queener, Verton M.

R

Ragatz, Lowell Joseph.
Ramsdell, Charles W.
Rankin, Jessie.
Rankin, W. W.
Raymond, Neill.
Read, Conyers.
Reynolds, Alfred Wade.
Reynolds, Beatrice.
Rezneck, Samuel.
Riker, T. W.
Rivera, R. O.
Roberts, A. Sellew.
Roberts, Margaret K.
Roberts, Ruth N. H.
Robertson, James Alexander.
Robertson, William Spence.
Robinson, Howard.
Robinson, James Harvey.
Robinson, Morgan P.
Robinson, William M., jr.
Robinson, Mrs. William M., jr.
Robson, Charles B.
Rogers, Elizabeth Frances.
Rogers, W. F.
Ross, Earle D.
Ross, W. D.
Roth, Laurence V.
Roubik, Joseph.
Rowe, Frances Eleanor.
Ruble, E. Frank.
Russel, Robert R.
Russell, N. V.
Ryden, George H.

S

St. John, James H.
Sanford, Eva M.
Schafer, Joseph.
Schieber, Clara E.
Schmitt, Bernadotte E.
Schneider, John S.
Schwiebert, Ernest George.
Schwiebert, Mary W.
Scramuzza, Vincent M.
Sears, Louis M.
Sellers, James Lee.
Shanks, Mrs. Caroline.
Shanks, H. T.
Shannon, Fred A.
Shaw, Helen Louise.
Shear, C. L.
Shear, Mrs. C. L.
Shearer, Augustus H.
Shippee, Lester Burrell.
Siebert, Wilbur H.
Simkins, Francis Butler.
Simons, Lao Genevra.
Sioussat, St. George L.
Slifer, Walter L.
Smith, Alma Churchill.
Smith, Culver H.
Smith, Cyril E.
Smith, Donald V.
Smith, Eleanor D.
Smith, Emily B.
Smith, F. Harry.
Smith, Florence E.
Smith, Joe Patterson.
Smith, W. E.
Snowden, Yates.
Sontag, Raymond.
Staples, Thomas S.
Starling, Mrs. Homer.
Steele, Esther C. M.
Steiger, G. Nye.
Stevens, Neil E.
Stevens, Mrs. Neil E.
Stevens, Wayne E.
Stevenson, E. H.
Stevenson, M. Lillian.
Stewart, John Hall.
Stewart, Watt.
Stine, O. C.
Stock, Leo F.
Stone, Mildred B.
Strakhovsky, Dr. Leonid.
Stratemeier, George B.
Sullivan, James.
Surratt, Edna May.
Sweet, A. H.

T

Taylor, George Edward.
Taylor, R. H.
Thomas, Charles M.
Thomas, D. Y.
Thomas, Mrs. C. M.
Thompson, C. Mildred.
Thompson, Frederic L.
Thompson, Holland.
Thomson, Edith E. B.
Thorndike, Lynn.
Thornton, Richard H.
Tilley, Nannie May.
Tirrell, Sarah R.
Townsend, Andrew J.
Townsend, Leah.
Treat, Payson J.
Trenholme, Mrs. Louise Irby.
Trotter, Reginald G.
Tschan, Francis J.
Tucker, Sarah B.

U

Ullrick, Laura F.

V

Volstorff, Vivian V.

W

Wagstaff, H. M.
Walker, Curtis H.
Walker, Heber Pervis.
Walker, Mrs. Heber P.
Walmsley, James Elliott.
Ware, Caroline F.
Watson, Elliott O.
Watts, Arthur Pryor.
Way, Royal Brunson.
Webb, W. P.
Webster, C. K.
Webster, Mrs. C. K.
Welch, William H.
Wertenbaker, T. J.
Whaley, Otis.
Whitaker, Arthur P.
White, Albert B.
White, Elizabeth B.
Whitfield, Theodore M.
Whitmore, Albert A.
Whitson, Agnes M.
Wiley, B. I.

Wilgus, A. Curtis.
Williams, Clarence R.
Wilson, Jean Strachan.
Wing, Herbert, jr.
Winters, Herbert D.
Wirth, Fremont P.
Wittke, Carl.
Wolff, Katherine.
Wood, R. G.
Woodburn, Janet M.
Woodfin, Maude Howlett.
Woodring, Warner F.
Woody, R. H.
Wynn, Mary.

Z

Zeliqzon, Dr. Maurice.

II. PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

EUGENE, OREG., DECEMBER 27–28, 1929

PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The twenty-fifth annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association was held at the University of Oregon, Eugene, Oreg., on Friday and Saturday, December 27–28, 1929. The program committee consisted of Profs. Paul B. Schaeffer, University of California, chairman; Reginald F. Arragon, Reed College; Walter C. Barnes, University of Oregon; and Louis K. Koontz, University of California at Los Angeles. The committee on arrangements consisted of Profs. Donald G. Barnes, University of Oregon, chairman; Andrew Fish, University of Oregon; and Ernest V. Vaughn, Oregon State Agricultural College.

Prof. Robert C. Clark, of the University of Oregon, presided over the Friday morning session, which was devoted to American history. The opening paper, read by Prof. F. H. Garver, of the University of Southern California, was entitled "Attendance at the First Continental Congress." The article was concerned with the correction of errors common in works on the congress. A study of the credentials of the delegates and the journal of the congress shows that 62 delegates were elected, of whom 44 were present on the first day and 12 arrived later, making a total attendance of 56. The correct opening date was September 5, 1774. The name of the secretary was Charles Thomson, and the place of meeting was Carpenters' Hall, both generally misspelled. The other paper of the morning was by Prof. E. L. Harvey, of Stanford University, entitled "Sir Howard Douglas and the Maine Boundary." It showed how Sir Howard Douglas, then Governor of New Brunswick, maintained the British position in the boundary dispute and, at a time when public opinion on both sides was highly inflamed, by tact and firmness succeeded in getting the matter submitted to the arbitration of the King of the Netherlands without a resort to arms.

The president of the Pacific Coast Branch, Prof. Herbert I. Priestley, of the University of California, presided over the Friday afternoon meeting, which was devoted to the history of the Pacific. In the first paper Prof. E. M. Gale, of the University of California, discussed Historical Evidences Relating to Early Chinese Public Finance. He reviewed critically the documentary sources employed in various studies of the fiscal systems of China from remote antiquity

to 25 A. D. According to such evidence, salt assumed an outstanding importance. The earliest trend was toward government monopoly, taking definitive form under the financial exigencies arising from Han Wu Ti's military policies (140–86 B. C.). The opposition of doctrinaire Confucianism, disclosed in Huan K'uan's redaction of the proceedings of the great debate before the throne in 81 B. C., failed to discredit the policy of state control. Salt, henceforth, became a recognized fiscal resource of the Chinese Empire.

The second paper of the session was by Prof. D. C. Baker, of the University of California, entitled "John, Archbishop of Khanbalu, A. D. 1307 to 1323." It was an account of the first Roman Catholic archbishop of Cathay in a short lived missionary effort. John of Montecorvino journeyed across Persia and India to China, where he met with some success in converting and organizing the first Roman Church at Peking. He was a good Sinologist, a diplomat, and a statesman, as well as a churchman, but his work did not survive the disastrous invasions that came soon after his death.

The third paper was by Prof. L. H. Creer, of the University of Washington, on Napoleonic Interests in India, 1800–1807. It dealt with Napoleon's ideal of a French Empire in the Orient and his efforts to strike at England in India. His first attempts were frustrated by Wellesley and his ultimate failure was due to the weakness of the French Navy in face of the British.

The fourth paper was by Prof. Joseph Ellison, of Oregon State Agricultural College, entitled "The Sentiment for a Pacific Republic, 1843–1862." He showed the existence of a separatist movement on the Pacific coast comparable with that in the trans-Appalachian region half a century earlier. It was manifest before annexation and persisted afterwards, because of geographical remoteness and a feeling of neglect at the hands of the Federal Government. In the California constitutional convention, independence had its advocates. After statehood was obtained the complaints were continued, and at the secession of the South there was some talk of the formation of a third republic in the West. The idea disappeared, however, in the consolidation of unionist sentiment during the Civil War.

The Saturday morning session, with President Priestley in the chair, was on European history. In "The Myth of an Eighteenth Century Whig Oligarchy," Prof. Donald G. Barnes, of the University of Oregon, questioned the idea popularized by Macaulay and Disraeli that about 70 Whig families, closely united by marriage, monopolized office, were the government, and ruled by corruption. He pointed out that the important offices were held not by those families but by successful commoners who rose by merit

and were admitted to the peerage. As to corrpution, the researches of L. B. Namier in the Newcastle Papers, prove that the supposed misuse of secret-service funds on a grand scale is mere gossip.

In "The Cult of Marat," Frederick E. Graham, of San José Teachers College, described the semireligious fêtes held in France in Marat's honor immediately after his assassination. He remained the foremost saint of the new religion of nationalism until the fall of the Jacobins and the revulsion against the Terror.

Prof. Vernon J. Puryear, of Albany College, read a paper entitled "New Light on the Causes of the Crimean War." The eastern question, he said, was poised for amicable solution through the Austro-Russian Convention of Münchengrätz of 1833 and a secret Anglo-Russian agreement of 1844. While the British statesmen agreed with the Czar on a pacific solution of their most difficult common problem through a partition of Turkey, should that State collapse, the actual terms of an arrangement were deferred. In 1853, Nicholas resumed the negotiations, but the activity of France in the Levant and her threatened invasion of Belgium forced Great Britain to abandon the understanding with Russia.

Prof. H. A. Hubbard, of the University of Arizona, closed the session with a paper entitled "The Dissolution of the British Liberal Party." He showed the difficulties faced by the Asquith government when returned in the elections of 1910, dependent upon Labor and Irish support. The real blow came with the war and the consequent split in the party. The peace found the strongest leader acting with the Conservatives. For the problems of reconstruction the party had no adequate program, so lost ground to Labor, and was reduced to a pitiful minority.

The Saturday afternoon session was on the history of the West. Although unable to be present, Prof. W. N. Sage, of the University of British Columbia, sent a paper on Simon Fraser, Fur Trader and Explorer. Simon Fraser, the son of an American loyalist of Highland Catholic stock, at the age of 16 joined the service of the North West Company, and for many years was a trader and founder of posts in the Northwest. He explored the upper waters of the Peace and in 1808 made the perilous descent of the river which bears his name. His work opened a vast region west of the Rockies to the fur trade and greatly strengthened the British hold on old Oregon.

Prof. H. J. Deutsch, of the State College of Washington traced the career of "Matt Carpenter: A Senator of the Seventies." Carpenter was a Republican Senator from Wisconsin and president *pro tem* during the Reconstruction period. He was a defender of States' rights, a champion of correct and legal procedure in reconstruction, and an opponent of the proscriptive tendencies of the

radical Republican group. Prof. G. P. Hammond, of the University of Southern California, read a paper on The Camp Grant Massacre: A Chapter in Apache History. It was the story of some 500 Apaches assembled near Camp Grant. They were unjustly accused of raids on St. Xavier and other posts and many of them, mostly women and children, were the victims of a massacre perpetrated by Americans, Mexicans, and Papagoes from the neighborhood of Tucson. Ultimately it led to the establishment of reservations and the settlement of the Apache problem.

A paper by Prof. R. G. Raymer, of the University of Redlands, on Popular Government in the Montana Mining Camps, dealt with the conditions existing there in the sixties. A reign of lawlessness necessitated the establishment of miners' courts and vigilance committees, whose drastic measures resulted in a peace for 20 years. The session concluded with a paper by Prof. Osgood Hardy, of Occidental College, on Agricultural Changes in California from 1860 to 1900. He discussed the early development of livestock and grain in the State and their subsequent decline, while fruit and other crops based on irrigation took their place.

The annual dinner was at 7 o'clock Saturday evening, at the Osburn Hotel, with Prof. Andrew Fish, of the University of Oregon, as toastmaster. The president's address was delivered by Prof. Herbert I. Priestley, of the University of California. In "The Knight and the Black Pawn," Professor Priestly said:

> The exploitative instinct in mankind is as ancient as organized society, older than history itself. It is by no means restricted to the dominant races. The old man of the tribe rose to his preeminence by the fact of his capacity to utilize the services of his peers and inferiors to enhance his prestige in the group about him. Thus from the dawn of civilization there have been those who belong to the group known as "tiger people," and those known as "lamb people." The exploitative instinct marked the evolution of the headship of the tribe into the formation of confederations, out of which grew the kingship, and out of the simple kingship the modern national state.
>
> Not only the political institutions, but those of more spiritual order; the development of religion, through man's concept of nature and his relation to it, saw the evolution of the priestcraft—a specialized order of astute ones, whose superiority of intelligence and continuity of organization made it inevitable that they should batten upon the credulity and fear of those less favored intellectually. There was nothing of the altruistic in it; it represents one of the earliest instances of the growth of a professional class dedicated to the exploitation of society. It was a long time before religion took upon itself the altruisitic character inherent in the teaching of moral concepts. So was it also a long time before the king and his national state changed, through the rise of definite elements in society, beyond the day of the enlightened despots, into our modern approaches to democracy and the spirit of representative government.
>
> Even the more intimate phases of human relationship manifested from the beginning and to a very late day a large element of the acquisitive and exploitative. The marriage relationship itself owes its origin, and its present justification in many societies, to the economic value of the woman to the man. Even in the world round about us, with its challenging emancipation of the so-called weaker sex, this old institution bears the imprint of an exploitation less real to-day merely because the tables have been turned, the exploiter having become, in the more highly developed societies, the exploited class.
>
> As society developed economic wants, there sprang up the institution of slavery and with it the varied forms of forced labor. In the growth of commerce the

mercantile business evolved an ancient system of guilds, running through the old Roman forms to those of medieval Europe; they shifted their bases of organization into the differentiations of the craft guild, the guild merchant, perhaps the municipality. Religious bodies evolved fraternities and sodalities dependent upon the same idea. Not to exhaust the search for illustations, it may be ventured that most of the important social institutions which come down to us have as their essence the domination of one group of society by another, each of them illustrating in turn a basic faith in the respectable declaration, "Unto him that hath shall be given."

On the other hand, the egoistic principle has been sharply met through the ages by the instinct of self-protection. The old man of the tribe found his power checked by the growth of custom, the development of taboos, the power and ambition of rivals within the tribe, and incessant conflict with external enemies. The kingship, on the long road toward absolutism, was often confounded by the jealousies of rival nobles and the acquisitive propensities of the church. The very growth itself of the kingly power demanded a division of functions whereby the strong hand of the monarch became cleft into the fingers which we call ministers and councils. Out of these emerged the parliamentary system, bringing the ideals of local or class representation, with some approach to the principles of democracy and, more recently, such diverse or contrasting systems as fascism and the rule of the proletariat.

Religion encounters a change in society not entirely unlike that shift from theocracy to the rule of science predicted by Auguste Comte. The national state is face to face with the broad internationalism of a widely ramifying complex economic world order which now begins to defy the ancient geographical boundaries. The lordly husband of yesteryear, who utilized femininity for the creation of agriculture and the duller phases of pastoral labor, finds the male ascendancy circumscribed by divorce laws, the suffrage movement, the newer economic independence of a wage-earning womankind.

Slavery and forced labor are met by the emancipation movement, the wider spread of the missionary spirit untrammeled with religiosity, the self-protective energies of trade-unionism and growing humanitarian ideals, international in scope. Commercial exploitation, utilized for centuries as a bulwark of dynastic preponderance, finds itself modified by revolts against monopoly, the doctrine of *laissez faire*, and the insistence of the free traders.

In each of these shifts of society he that hath not has been engaged in the perpetual struggle to emerge into the exploiting class himself. A long struggle, never to be ultimately decided, but rising anew with the passing generations. Yet we may safely say that the institutions we have been noticing have been profoundly modified by the enlightened self-interest of the exploiter, or even discarded entirely. And most of the changes just mentioned have been part and parcel of the interplay of interests evoked or accentuated during the progress of the movement called the expansion of Europe.

In order to speak with wisdom and authority on such a vast and interesting phase of history, one would require a passable familiarity with the literature of anthropology, national history, ancient and modern war and diplomacy, religion, and economics. Lest we grow weary in anticipation of so much unleashed wisdom, be assured that for the moment our thought will be directed toward certain obvious phases of the social history of the past 400 years.

The overseas migrations have often been celebrated for the momentous changes wrought in our knowledge, our thought and action, and our social organization. What is often lost sight of is that the men of Europe embarked upon their great transoceanic enterprises with precisely the same equipment of social concepts as they had evolved for the purposes of living in Europe. Often, indeed, for the sake of more perfect control of the newer society, there was a marked spirit of reversion to types of organization by no means assured of continuous use in the Old World; many of them were indeed obsolescent at the moment of the discovery. But in the wider expanses of *Outre Mer* the primitive instincts of mankind attained scope wider than the seven seas and, though the wilderness and the savage conditioned and determined the trend of life, New World society was long directed more completely by what it brought than by what it found. The means and methods of exploitation were intensified and widened in efficiency, so that Europe overseas remained socially European until the epoch of the eighteenth century revolutions.

The nationalistic state, evolved within the area of the littoral of the Atlantic, began a new struggle for aggrandizement in unknown stretches of the new continents, making a new step toward the hoped-for evolution into the self-

sufficing empire; in government the Colonies gave impulse toward our so-called majority rule and local responsibility. Kingly coffers, filled of a sudden with overseas treasure by cooperation between the two exploiters, monarch and merchant, were soon poured empty by wars of dynastic ambition for imperial expansion whose logical issue was the yet unended struggle for political and economic independence of new peoples. Commerce, begun with the trader's pack, the galley and the guild, launched upon the epoch of deep-sea navigation. Arising as the employment of kings in Portugal and Spain, it evolved the regulated voyages and the joint-stock companies which perfected the "mercantile system," a monopolistic device with its modern echo in trusts, cartels, international banks, and the fight for control over ever-widening areas of production of the essentials of modern living. In the field of transportation we go from the carrier's pack and the wooden wheel to the railroad, the steamboat, the internal-combustion motor in automobile and airplane; communications keeping wing with each advance, until the modern epoch is characterized by bewildering "speed and spread." The laborer passed from the cottage stage of production to the factory, from single-handed effort to organization based on Marxian theories of an eternal class warfare looking forward to the complete emancipation of labor in the ultimate domination of production and government.

While no human activity escaped modification by the advent of the white man upon the western continents and the commerce of the East, the outstanding features of the movement were, on the one hand, widened opportunity for white men to exploit white men by sending them overseas and, on the other hand, surprise, but most of all gratification, at finding vast continents of red and black men of primitive culture happily available for even harsher exploitation. The trading post expanded into the trading and agricultural colony. The modern institution of slavery, infinitely less humane than that of the classical period, began the curse of modern race prejudice engendered by an utterly new appreciation of difference in kind. Christianity, endeavoring to bridge the gap, ended by accentuating it. Renewed life was given to the decadent institutions of an outworn feudal régime; for the control of white labor the seigneury and the habitant, the planter and the *engagé*, the "thirty-six monther" and indentured servant; for the development of the metropole, the navigation acts, *l'exclusif*, and Old World parliaments and councils governing New World society. Slavery and forced labor created the great sugar plantations, wide-stretching tobacco fields, and the mineral wealth of the American plateaus, all sustained on the submissive shoulders of red and black men, who had felt no previous want of such blessings.

In the colonial societies, the spirit of exploitation by the home country was met by vehement expressions of the instinct of self-preservation. The whole colonial epoch was punctuated by remonstrances against the inherence assumptions of the system. The "thirty-six monther" and the indentured servant emerged as free men of property. Trade monopoly broke down before filibuster and contrabandist. Mercantilism became softened by Spanish grand pragmatics of free commerce and the French *exclusif mitigé*. The remonstrance of the American Revolution passed into its aftermath of assault upon the exclusive trade system of England. The doctrine of free trade found its widest expression with the rise of the school of Cobden. Within the colonies, political remonstrance was heralded by such monumental documents as the Representation of New Netherland and the Representation of New England, both echoed years later by the *representación* of the *hacendados* of Buenos Aires. These were indeed harbingers of the revolutionary epoch of the eighteenth century.

Following came the miraculous expansion of the United States into the West, where the development of a free-land policy gave new hope of economic independence to the masses of Europe, whose lives had been blighted by the malignant features of employment under the industrial revolution.

Out of the eighteenth century revolutions, then, came the proximate, if not the immediate, cessation of the policy of exploiting whites abroad by whites at home. In its historic stages, it was a movement marked largely by the evolution of the British Empire, and that evolution of the winner of the old colonial rivalry of prerevolutionary days was a nervous and apprehensive struggle to prevent disintegration such as had befallen Spain and France, by reluctant devolution of responsibility in local government, preventing the growing dominion from taking the irrevocable step which had in the United States been rewarded by independence.

But of necessity, the man of color, with less highly developed social characteristics, was left behind in the surge of this high wave of forced altruism. The

red man, on the farms and in the mines of the Spanish-American world, with only a theoretical political emancipation, continued to be the pawn of his more happily situated white brother. Humanitarianism in England found Samuel Johnson declaring that he "loved his nigger, Frank." French revolutionary declarations of equality gave to the blacks of the Caribbean that ill-considered liberty which resulted in the hideous massacre of 1791 and the acute labor problems which thereafter confronted the resuscitated French islands. The reimposition of slavery by Napoleon, a bid for insular and imperial prosperity, protected the peculiar institution for another half century. But during that time grew up the abolition movement, first of the trade, then of slavery itself in the British possessions, and a joint patrol of the slaving areas of the seas by the French and the British, who used the humanitarian outcry as a cloak under which each might annex new stretches of the African littoral. The haven for freed blacks in Sierra Leone began an enterprise foredoomed to imperfection if not failure, which did not deter American enthusiasts from developing the Liberian project for removal of all blacks, especially the dangerous and troubled freedmen, from the soil of the United States.

An accident of war policy and a bid for English sympathy brought about our emancipation proclamation; the legislation of the reconstruction period removed slavery as an institution from the American continent. With emancipation of the Russian serfs in the same decade, it seemed as though one of the greatest curses of society had definitely disappeared, although wide areas controlled by Moslem powers retained the ancient and reprehensible system. It is just possible that most of the modified forms of forced labor might have disappeared from areas under European control had it not been for that revival of mercantilism and imperialism which ensued upon the intensification and diversification of the industrial revolution after the advent of steam transportation on land and water. Improvement of machinery, the growth of factories, concentration of populations all joined to demand outside food supplies; this in turn called for new colonial areas to furnish new markets, new supplies, and new recruits for unskilled labor.

Coincident was the imposition of European commercial contacts with China and Japan. In Africa the conquest of the Tropics, begun under the guise of scientific exploration and the humanitarian pretenses of Leopold of Belgium and his international associates, led to astonishing avidity of rivals for vast areas, in which success depended upon wide extension of forced native labor. Horrifying atrocities in the Belgian and French Congos accompanied the quest for rubber and ivory. Accidents of evolution of government in Germany and Italy now brought those countries into competition as colonial powers with the Portuguese, Spanish, French, Dutch, and English. The aggressiveness of Germany was marked by a declaration of colonial policy hitherto unadmitted. In its purpose "to make niggers work" the Germans swept aside the hypocrisy of the French *mission civilitrice* and the unequal distribution of the English "white man's burden."

Practically coincident with the Spanish-American War and the late advent of the United States into the field of imperialism, came a renewed grab for Africa by competitors of the Germans and a prospective allotment of spheres in China, momentarily checked, as far as territorial acquisition was concerned, by the noteworthy reassertion of the open-door policy through the mouth of the astute John Hay. The same general period was marked by the emancipation of Japan from the shackles of extraterritorialism imposed at the time of her tardy entry into the European world of contacts. The astonishing capacity of the Japanese to absorb the spirit of western civilization and much of its form, including the will to participate in the colonial venture, had a marked repercussion throughout the Asiatic areas in which the white man had come to look upon himself as the arbiter of destiny. The dominated peoples of Asia were heartened to believe that their political and economic liberation was not far off.

While Japan thus held the center of the world's imagination came the vivid episodes which marked the latter stages of the partition of Africa; the Fashoda incident; the attempts upon Ethiopia; the agreements of France, Great Britain, and Germany concerning Egypt, Morocco, Madagascar; events directly premonitory of the conflict which broke as consequence of the murder of the Austrian archduke. Many minds and pens have been engaged since 1914 in academic and legalistic attempts to prove or disprove the Allied contention, embodied in the Versailles treaty, that Germany alone must bear the onus of the war guilt. Whatever may be demonstrable regarding the peculiar responsibilities of the nations in the nexus of events which immediately preceded the open

declaration of war, the ultimate judgment of history can not escape placing the burden upon the heads of each and all of the dominant nations who have for 400 years pursued bitter and relentless rivalry for political and economic advantages, especially in the non-European world. Colonialism, territorial or economic, is the basic cause of the recent war and the sure bringer of the next one. The exploitative instinct, unchecked by real considerations of humanity or by truly enlightened self-interest, precipitated the Great War. Morocco has often been pointed out as one of the proximate causes of the outburst, but Morocco was only one more, the most recent and near at hand, illustration of the determination of the powers to yield nothing in the great game of exploiting their incompetent, misgoverned inferiors. The same instinct has been demonstrated in the allotment of Egypt, Tunis, Tripoli, Algeria, and other parts of Africa to the aggressor nations in compromise of their mutual rivalries. The sequence of antecedent causes can be traced back through the whole series of the colonial wars to their beginnings in the conflicts of the Portuguese and Spaniards.

The war snatched away all the colonies of Germany and her economic advantages in the Levant and Orient; the charge of war guilt was propped up by accusations of inhumanity and colonial incompetence, as if any of the nations had a monopoly of those defects. As first result of this partly mistaken and partly hypocritical accusation came a reawakened conscience in France and England concerning the duties of the exploiting nations toward their wards. Even so, without the white-hot idealism of Woodrow Wilson and the resultant clamor of the new nationalism in a world-wide plea for self-determination, little would have been done to change the attitude of white men toward those of color.

In the mandate system the nations took upon themselves definite international responsibility for the well-being of dependent areas, responsibility only too unwelcome to the imperialistic diplomats who manipulated the peace settlement. This new international responsibility generalizes the assumption of trusteeship which, in theory, characterized the relations of the Spaniard, of the American Government with the red Indians, which had attracted wide attention during our reorganization of the Philippines and had been marked as the new British attitude in dealing with the dependent peoples. But there are two important defects in the system of mandatories, not to mention others; chief are first, that it selects merely the former dependencies of Germany (in the B and C mandates) while many similar areas under rival powers come under no form of international check to exploitation; second, the system is vague in provision for termination of the status. The nations which receive mandates now prove unwilling to relinquish their hold within any reckonable period and their strategy is to develop their tenure in such a way as to insure its continuity. This is particularly evident in East Africa.

It should be evident that the mandates serving only as a makeshift in specific areas, touch the problem of interracial conflict not at all in the parts of the world where trouble is most insistent, except perhaps in Syria. The interminable problems of India and Egypt, those of France and Italy in North Africa, those of our own veiled protectorates, problems arising in part from the detestable color bar, will be only indirectly touched by the mandate system as its principles become applied and are demanded by prospective beneficiaries.

It is nevertheless demonstrated that the mandates grow in influence through the work and the publications of the commission. Through these directive forces, and the attention commanded by numerous studies by scholars of the system in operation and in theory, the problem of the backward peoples now receives more public attention than ever before save in moments of intense excitement over notorious atrocities. Perhaps this is best demonstrated in the measures directed toward the elimination of forced labor for private employers and the careful scrutiny given to the remnant of the slavery problem. Even in the name of the public welfare, the demands of colonial governments for building railways, roads, and other public works, consideration is demanded of the present capacity of the dominated peoples to profit thereby. The weak races may, if this principle is observed, cease to be hustled through the stages of their development which separate them from us and have time for an intrinsic evolution which will no longer decimate them by the evils of porterage and work far from home.

In the military use of blacks to fight the battles of the whites there may yet come a pause. France has received such a drubbing for using Senegalese on the western front and in the Ruhr that others may show hesitation before employing the same disgraceful means of combatting of white rivals.

In the meantime, slavery and the trade have not yet disappeared; in vast areas the evil is susceptible of only very gradual elimination. Vicious practices of

recruiting forced labor prevail in many lands; forced laborers have 4,000,000 brothers in actual slavery.

A greater disadvantage of our colonialism is the transfer of the black populations for labor. No one ventures to predict what is to be the outcome of the problems involved in our 13,000,000 American blacks; on the horizon are the negroid peoples of the Caribbean, many of them under our own flag. Others in the French islands have so usurped the government that white planters refuse to assist in operating it. The whites in the Caribbean grow less and less influential, while the blacks rise only slowly from indigence and obstruction of the civilizing process. Nor is America alone in perplexity over this backwash of slavery, or of colonial exploitation. South Africa and Australia evolve the checkerboard of segregation or the closed door against the same black fear. East and West Africa meet variations of the same problem.

Add to these the contacts of the white man with the men of brown, red, and yellow, venturing into the perplexities of India, Egypt, China, and of our own forced assimilation of over 2,000,000 Mexicans, we should find too much meat for digestion. Wherever the white man has gone in quest of empire and trade, he is met by challenge of color and demand for release from the evils of imperialism, or threatened deterioration of his culture at the hands of those whom he has brought into close contact. And he is powerless to stop the circling of the problem about him. Where he is, he must govern; where he finds his rival, he demands adjustments. Where the exploited man meets him, he demands the well-nigh impossible.

Meantime the piling up of armaments continues, the self-sufficing empire glitters ever before the vision of the unsatisfied aspirant; the quest goes on.

A former American champion of the venerable and highly respectable game of chess, a pastime invented even before colonies existed, if we may credit tradition, Paul Morphy, of New Orleans, was wont to say, "Chess is a great game, but the chess players have spoiled it."

The business session followed the Saturday morning meeting. The secretary-treasurer, Prof. Carl F. Brand, of Stanford University, reported that membership in the Pacific Coast Branch had increased from 295 to 315 during the year and that an increase of the subvention from the American Historical Association from $400 to $500 would enable the branch to finance the enlarged volume of "Proceedings."

The committee on nominations, consisting of Profs. R. F. Arragon (chairman), D. C. Baker, F. H. Garver, and Osgood Hardy, reported the following nominations:

President, Frank W. Pitman, Pomona College.
Vice president, Dan E. Clark, University of Oregon.
Secretary-treasurer, Carl F. Brand, Stanford University.
The council: The above officers, and Osgood Hardy, Occidental College; H. A. Hubbard, University of Arizona; F. C. Palm, University of California; and E. S. McMahon, University of Washington.
Committee on publications: John C. Parish, chairman, University of California at Los Angeles; Dan E. Clark, University of Oregon; Owen C. Coy, University of Southern California; Percy A. Martin, Stanford University; Waldemar Westergaard, University of California at Los Angeles.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted and these nominees were declared elected for the ensuing year.

The committee on resolutions, consisting of Profs. H. A. Hubbard (chairman), F. C. Church, and V. J. Puryear, presented the following resolutions, which were adopted:

Resolved, That the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association in this, its twenty-fifth annual meeting, express its high appreciation of the generous hospitality and kindly reception offered by the University of Oregon.

Resolved, That we express to Monseigneur Joseph Gleason our gratitude for his thoughtful recognition of the meeting and our regret at his absence.

Resolved, That we express to the publications committee, and especially to the chairman, John C. Parish, our appreciation of the untiring efforts that have brought the "Proccedings" to its present position.

The following report from the committee on publications was read:

In rcsponse to the request of the branch at its meeting, December 28, 1928, for a report from the publication committee on the possibility of establishing a Pacific Coast Historical Revicw, the following report is submitted. The committee has assumed that it could best serve the purpose of the report by endeavoring to ascertain some feasible gcneral plan for thc support and conduct of such a periodical, and present its conclusions to the branch for consideration.

Correspondence and personal conversation with several editors of historical quarterlies and with others experienced in the conduct or financing of such magazines have brought a feeling that the project is possible, but that it should not be entered upon without complete preparation and a thoughtful consideration of the difficulties to be encountered.

With regard to the nature and scope of the publication, the committee would suggest a quarterly, one of whose four numbers would include the equivalent of our present "Proceedings," and would be distributed free of charge to the members of the branch, this being in recognition of the subsidy granted by the American Historical Association. The remaining three numbers would include contributed articles, documentary material, and the customary book reviews, notes and comments. Although the quarterly would naturally attract much Pacific coast material, it should be kept general rather than regional, and serve as a medium of publication for material in any field of history. The Pacific Coast Branch is a cross section of the national association with interests wider than the limits of the geographical region.

A subscription fee should be chargcd for the journal, perhaps $4 for nonmembers and $3 for members of the Pacific Coast Branch—that is, for members of the American Historical Association who live in States wholly or in part west of the Rocky Mountains.

The task of printing a quarterly should not be undertaken without assurance of at least $2,000 per annum guaranteed for a number of years in advance. What are the possibilities of our securing this sum?

(1) At the present time we receive from the national association $500 per annum, which must cover the expenses of the annual meeting as well as the publication of the present "Proceedings." We can probably count on the continuation of this subsidy providing we continue to send the issue of the quarterly which contains the proceedings to the western members of the American Historical Association free of charge.

(2) The income from subscriptions, especially in the early years, is bound to be uncertain and a slender basis of support. It can, however, be expected to compensate for the deduction which the expenses of the annual meeting necessitates in the subsidy from the national association. As the publication develops, this item of support will of course materially increase.

(3) There remain $1,500 to be secured, and this must come in the form of a guarantee, extending over a period of years, from individuals or organizations. It would seem not impossible to obtain such a sum from men of means and interest along the coast. It has been suggested also that subsidies might be obtained from universities and colleges in the West. Active assistance from such institutions is likely to take the form which we note in the case of the Mississippi Valley Historial Review, the Journal of Modern History, and the Hispanic-American Review. The Detroit Public Library through the Burton collection, the University of Chicago, and Duke University make very heavy contributions to the quarterlies mentioncd above, either in the donation of editorial services or the use of the university press or both. The editorial question is not the least of the problems, since no man can afford for any length of time to give his efforts to the editing of the quarterly unless his institution can relieve him of considerable of his academic load. It is to be hoped that some Pacific coast institution may see the way to emulate the example of the institutions named above.

The committee is strongly of the opinion that the project should not be undertaken hastily, prematurely, or without a sound financial basis. But it believes that nothing at all will be accomplished without a specific outline of procedure and therefore it presents the above brief suggestions. It hopes that they will

form a basis for discussion by the branch and also a basis on which individuals or committees during the coming year may tentatively ascertain possibilities of financial assistance in various parts of the Pacific West.

Respectfully submitted.

JOHN C. MARTIN, *Chairman*,
DAN E. CLARK,
PERCY A. MARTIN,
OLIVER H. RICHARDSON,
WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD,
The Publication Committee.

After discussion of the above report the meeting voted that the incoming president be empowered to appoint a committee to investigate the possibility of finding a subsidy or guarantees for the establishment of a quarterly and report at the next annual meeting.

Prof. Carl F. Brand extended an invitation to the Pacific Coast Branch to hold its next annual meeting at Stanford University. The invitation was referred to the council.

Statement of the secretary-treasurer of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, 1929-30

RECEIPTS

Check from head office	$500.00
Income from proceedings	14.50
Interest accrued	14.59
	529.09

EXPENDITURES

1929		
Feb. 9.	U. S. post office, for stamps	.66
May 18.	Stanford University Press, letterheads with officers; letterheads with secretary-treasurer	7.90
May 29.	Mrs. Eileen L. Tuxford, services, typing, etc., for branch, Feb. 6 to May 29, 1929 (as per attached statement)	9.55
Oct. 17.	Stanford University Press, 500 No. 6¾ envelopes	3.50
Nov. 27.	U. S. post office, stamped envelopes	7.24
Dec. 2.	Stanford Bookstore, rubber stamp and pad	2.20
Dec. 19.	Stanford University Press, programs, instruction sheets, postal cards	24.15
Dec. 20.	Mrs. Eileen L. Tuxford, services, typing, etc., for branch, May 29 to Dec. 20, 1929 (as per statement attached)	7.30
Dec. 21.	Southern Pacific Co., freight charges on 2 packages of "Proceedings" from McBride Printing Co	6.04
Dec. 23.	U. S. post office, stamps	.56
Dec. 23.	Stanford Bookstore, 400 manila envelopes for mailing "Proceedings"	6.00
1930		
Jan. 3.	U. S. post office, mailing "Proceedings"	23.12
Jan. 7.	U. S. post office, stamps	2.01
Jan. 20.	U. S. post office, stamps and registration	1.00
Feb. 13.	U. S. post office, postage	3.76
Feb. 21.	Mrs. Eileen L. Tuxford, services, typing, etc., for branch, Dec. 20, 1929, to Feb. 21, 1930 (as per statement attached)	12.25
Mar. 12.	McBride Printing Co., 700 copies proceedings for 1928	338.00
		455.24
	Cash on hand and in the bank as of Mar. 14. 1930	73.85
		529.09

III. PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

INDIANAPOLIS, DECEMBER 31, 1928

PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES AT INDIANAPOLIS, DECEMBER 31, 1928

The twenty-fourth annual session of the Conference of Historical Societies met at the Claypool Hotel, Indianapolis, Monday morning, December 31, 1928, in connection with the forty-third annual meeting of the American Historical Association. Joseph Schafer, director of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, presided in the absence of the president, Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, of the Illinois State Historical Society.

The secretary, Christopher B. Coleman, reported receipts and expenditures from September 1, 1927, to August 31, 1928, as follows:

	Credit	Debit
Sept. 1, 1927. Balance on hand	$59.47	
Oct. 1, 1927. Amount appropriated by American Historical Association	25.00	
Dec. 13, 1927, to Apr. 26, 1928. Amount deposited from 56 memberships	56.00	
		$140.47
Dec. 7, 1927. Levey Printing Co. (for announcements and membership slips)		7.00
Dec. 3, 1927. Stamps covering mailing of dues, etc		8.00
Feb. 3, 1928. For half of use of stereopticon at Washington meeting, December, 1927		3.75
		18.75
Balance on hand Sept. 1, 1928		121.72

(On January 16, a check for $1 was received from the Alabama history and archives department and was deposited at the bank. It was later returned for signature and was redeposited on February 4.) This made a difference of $1 in the total deposits and withdrawals which did not show in ledger.

September 1, 1928, to August 31, 1929

1928–29:		
Balance on hand Sept. 1, 1928	$121.72	
Oct. 16. Amount appropriated by American Historical Association	25.00	
Dec. 11–Apr. 11. Deposited from 23 memberships	23.00	
Total		$169.72
Dec. 10. Hendren Printing Co. (membership dues)	$3.40	
Dec. 12. Postage for mailing dues, etc	7.50	
		10.90
Balance on hand Sept. 1, 1929		158.82

In response to a question from Solon J. Buck, the secretary reported that the proceedings for the last three meetings had not been printed separately by the conference for distribution as there seemed to be no special demand for such a publication, in view of the

printing of the proceedings in the annual reports of the American Historical Association.

Dana C. Munro said that there was little chance of the proceedings of the American Historical Association, including the proceedings of the Conference of Historical Societies, being distributed in less than three or four years after the meetings reported. The delay in the Government Printing Office seemed unavoidable. Mr. Buck argued that a separate publication of the proceedings of the conference, printed and distributed after each meeting, would have a good effect in keeping up membership in the conference. He also said that he understood that henceforth the American Historical Association would not publish papers in full, but only summaries. He moved that a committee, consisting of the president of the conference, the secretary, and one other person to be appointed by the president, be formed to investigate the whole situation in the matter of the publication of the proceedings of the conference, and to carry out such a program as seemed to it advisable. The motion was seconded by Victor Hugo Paltsits, and unanimously carried.

Mr. Buck moved that the committee thus constituted should investigate the status of the publication of a Calendar of Material in the French Archives upon the History of the Mississippi Valley, the first volume having been published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, and promote the publication of the second volume.

The motion was seconded by Bruce E. Mahan, of Iowa City, and unanimously carried.

The chairman, having been compelled to leave, the secretary, Christopher B. Coleman, took the chair and called for the election of officers. He stated that the secretrary was appointed by the executive council of the American Historical Association and the conference itself elected the president. Mr. Buck nominated A. R. Newsome, of Raleigh, N. C. The nomination was seconded by Augustus H. Shearer, of Buffalo, N. Y., and Mr. Newsome was unanimously elected president. He announced the appointment of Solon J. Buck as the third member of the committee, of which the president and the secretary are members, to investigate the printing of the proceedings and the publication of the second volume of material in the French archives upon the history of the Mississippi Valley. The meeting then adjourned.

The committee referred to met immediately after the session of the conference and ascertained from Waldo G. Leland, secretary of the American Council of Learned Societies, that a second volume of the Calendar of Material in the French Archives on the History of the Mississippi Valley was in process of preparation, and as soon as the index was completed it would be planographed and distributed as the first volume was.

The committee also made tentative and provisional arrangements with Mr. Leland for recommendation to the Council of Learned Societies for the publication of the proceedings and other matters of interest to historical societies, including a directory of historical societies in the United States.

Worthington C. Ford, secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society, read a paper upon Historical Societies, Living and Dead.[1] After criticizing the tendency of some societies to emphasize obituary notices of their own members and to devote overmuch time to material upon the ancestors of members, he described briefly the technique which has been developed in preserving printed material and in making it accessible in photostats of reduced size. In particular, he showed samples of what he had done in making photostats of the Boston Transcript.

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Joseph Schafer expressed appreciation of the value and the timeliness of Mr. Ford's paper. Mr. Coleman asked whether photostats could be counted as permanent records. Mr. Ford stated that the Massachusetts Historical Society had photostats made 18 years ago which showed no signs of deterioration. Mr. George S. Godard, of the Connecticut State Library, Hartford, and Mr. Paltsits concurred in stating that the original of the document photostated was to be kept as a permanent record, but that the photostat could be used for all purposes as the original. Kaethe Spiegel, of Prague, Czechoslovakia, asked Mr. Ford whether the original newspapers from which reduced photostatic copies were made were retained; and if so, what saving of space was effected by the photostat copy. Mr. Paltsits explained that copies of the photostat were supplied to other libraries and retained for use, the original newspapers being kept in storage.

Richard B. Morris, of New York City, suggested that historical societies might very well discontinue the practice of publishing obituaries of deceased members who were not of especial prominence, thus saving money and raising the average value of their publications.

Mr. Buck emphasized the duty of historical societies to make known to others the historical materials in its possession. He referred to the great value of the printed catalogue of material in the Wisconsin Historical Society library issued by Reuben G. Thwaites, and regretted that similar catalogues were not now published. Mr. Schafer replied that the lists of material upon special subjects and lists published in the periodical of the Wisconsin State Historical Society as collections were regarded as serving most of the purposes of a complete catalogue.

Mr. Paltsits called attention to the survey of manuscript material in the city of New York arranged by Prof. Evarts B. Greene, of

[1] Paper to be published in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review.*

Columbia University, and said he regarded such work as of great importance. He asked Richard B. Morris, who had completed the survey, to explain it. Mr. Morris said that what was aimed at was a guide to the manuscript collections and also to the rare printed material relating to American history between 1500 and 1800 that are to be found in New York City. This is arranged by subjects, and will serve as a guide to investigators upon a large number of different subjects. It is to be published by Columbia University.

Mr. Shearer stated that the New York State Historical Society and the Library Commission have a joint committee on source material. This committee has received helpful answers to its inquiries from the smaller libraries, especially as to local newspapers, but has not obtained much help from the larger institutions. Mr. Buck said that a committee of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association on available sources of historical information had formulated a questionnaire and distributed it quite widely. This brought to light some historical sources, especially in the smaller collections and and libraries. The larger libraries, according to the chairman of the committee, Herbert A. Kellar, had apparently found it impossible to take the time and the labor to compile the information asked for. It is probable, Mr. Buck said, that some of them would have to give a competent assistant a year to prepare satisfactory answers to such a questionnaire.

Esther U. McNitt, of Indianapolis, asked about the process and results of making duplex photostats. Mr. Paltsits said that where tens of thousands of photostats were being made, as in the New York Public Library, it was a saving of space and an economy. The making of photostats of rare and valuable documents involved not only the cost of apparatus and labor of making the photostat, but the document had to be under the care of a responsible member of the staff during the whole process. Mr. Ford described briefly the duplex photostat machine and said that the Massachusetts Historical Society and the Huntington Library were the only societies known to him using the duplex machine. His own experience was that at first there was a good deal of waste incurred by the machine not exposing the right part of the document or papers being photostated. The normal waste, he had learned, was 10 per cent. With additional practice, however, the Massachusetts Historical Society had been able practically to eliminate waste and it was now altogether negligible. Mr. Godard said that the Connecticut State Library used the duplex photostat for certified copies of land records. He called attention to the symposium on the photostat published in the preceedings of the Bibliographical Society of America, issued by the University of Chicago Press, and to the pamplet on photostating issued by the New York City Public Library.

CHRISTOPHER B. COLEMAN, *Secretary.*

IV. SIXTEENTH REPORT
OF THE HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION

CORRESPONDENCE ADDRESSED TO JOHN C. CALHOUN 1837–1849

EDITED BY

CHAUNCEY S. BOUCHER AND ROBERT P. BROOKS

PREFACE

The letters printed herewith are taken from the Clemson collection, the same source from which Prof. J. Franklin Jameson took many of the letters published in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1899, Volume II, and they are designed to supplement the latter.

Of the letters written *by* Calhoun, so many have been printed heretofore that relatively few, known to exist, remain unprinted, and most of these are very similar in content to letters already printed. Of the letters written *to* Calhoun, however, a smaller number actually, and a much smaller percentage of those known to exist, have been published. The present vlume, therefore, is composed entirely of letters *to* Calhoun, and no attempt is made to add to the letters *by* Calhoun already in print.

Something over 300 letters are here printed for the first time. Even a hasty glance at the calendar, it is believed by the editors, will show the value of the letters in interpreting the men and events of the decade 1840 to 1850. The letters were written by men in nearly every State then in the Union; conditions, political and non-political, in the East, the West, and the Southwest, as well as in the South, are delineated; among the authors of the letters are found representatives of both the major parties and almost every shade of political belief within the Democratic Party particularly. Of particular interest and value is the wide range of subjects discussed. The reader will find much new and additional light upon the following subjects, to mention only a few: The banking and currency problems of the Nation and the States; plantation management and economy; crop conditions and prices, and negro management and prices; national and local elections; the tariff; free trade policy; internal improvements; railroad enterprises; suffrage limitations; the anti-slavery crusade; the annexation of Texas; the Mexican War; the acquisition of new territory; the various phases of the problem of slavery in the Territories; the Wilnot proviso; popular sovereignty; the powers of Congress in the Territories; feuds within the Democratic Party; the national party convention system; the Oregon question; charges of Southern aggression; foreign relations; many episodes in the careers of several national politicians and statesmen; the distribution of the patronage; the press, in Washington and elsewhere; the rendition of fugitive slaves; the National Bank; slavery in politics; manufacturing in the South; salvery in the border

States; the Clayton compromise bill; Southern dangers and policy; the Southern Address; Southern unity or lack of unity; Southern conventions.

The Chronology of John C. Calhoun here printed is taken from the Correspondence of Calhoun, edited by Jameson (pp. 21–25). The reader is urged to use the two volumes together and is referred to the Jameson volume for its preface (pp. 11–19); Calendar of Letters of Calhoun Heretofore Printed (pp. 25–46); List of Letters of Calhoun Now Printed (pp. 47–58); List of Letters to Calhoun Now Printed (pp. 59–63); and the Account of Calhoun's Early Life, Abridged from the Manuscript of Col. W. Pinkney Starke (pp. 65–89).

In the footnotes the attempt has been made to identify most of the authors of, and men mentioned in, the letters, and to clarify occasional obscure references to events. In the case of some of the more prominent men, such as Benton, Webster, Van Buren, Polk, Buchanan, and the like, it is hoped that the information offered in the footnotes will not be taken as an insult to the reader's intelligence, but as an honest effort to make the volume more useful by furnishing a few dates, in order that a particular part of a man's career may be located at a glance.

R. P. Brooks.
Chauncey S. Boucher.

CHRONOLOGY OF JOHN C. CALHOUN [1]

1782, Mar. 18	Born at Calhoun Settlement, Abbeville County, S. C.
1802	Entered junior class of Yale College.
1804, Sept. 12	Graduated as bachelor of arts.
1805, July 22–1806, July 28	Law course at Litchfield, Conn.
1807	Admitted to the bar at Columbia, S. C.
1807, Oct. 13	Elected to State legislature from Abbeville district.
1810, Oct	Elected to House of Representatives.
1811, Jan. 8	Married to his cousin, Floride Calhoun, only daughter of Hon. John Ewing Calhoun.
1811, Nov. 4–1812, July 6	Twelfth Congress, first session. Calhoun in House of Representatives.
Dec 12	First speech, on war resolutions.
1812, Nov. 2–1813, Mar. 3	Twelfth Congress, second session. Calhoun in House of Representatives.
1813, May 24–Aug. 2	Thirteenth Congress, first session. Calhoun in House of Representatives.
1813, Dec. 6–1814, Apr. 18	Thirteenth Congress, second session. Calhoun in House of Representatives.
1814, Sept. 19–1815, Mar. 3	Thirteenth Congress, third session. Calhoun in House of Representatives.
Jan. 8	Speech on incorporation of Bank of United States.
Apr. 6	Speech on tariff bill.
1815, Dec. 4–1816, Apr. 30	Fourteenth Congress, first session. Calhoun in House of Representatives.
1816, Dec. 2–1817, Mar. 3	Fourteenth Congress, second session. Calhoun in House of Representatives.
Feb. 4	Speech on internal improvements.
1817, Oct. 8–1825, Mar. 3	Secretary of War under President Monroe.
1819, Jan. 14	Report on development of roads and canals.
1824, Dec. 3	Second report on development of roads and canals.
1825	Made Fort Hill his permanent residence.
1825, Mar. 4–1832, Dec. 28	Vice President of the United States under Presidents J. Q. Adams and Jackson.
1825, Mar. 4–8	Nineteenth Congress. Special executive session of Senate. Calhoun President of Senate.
1825, Dec. 5–1826, May 22	Nineteenth Congress, first session. Calhoun President of Senate.
1826, Dec. 4–1827, Mar. 3	Nineteenth Congress, second session. Calhoun President of Senate.
1827, Dec. 3–1828, May 26	Twentieth Congress, first session. Calhoun President of Senate.

[1] This chronology is taken from Correspondence of John C. Calhoun, edited by J. Franklin Jameson, Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1899, Vol. II.

1828, Dec. 1–1829, Mar. 3	Twentieth Congress, second session. Calhoun President of Senate.
1828, Dec. 28	Adoption, with modifications, by legislature of South Carolina of "The Exposition," prepared by Calhoun.
1829, Mar. 4–17	Twenty-first Congress. Special executive session of Senate. Calhoun President of Senate.
1829, Dec. 7–1830, May 31	Twenty-first Congress, first session. Calhoun President of Senate.
1830, Jan. 19–27	Webster-Hayne debate. Calhoun President of Senate.
1830, May	Breach with President Jackson.
1830, Dec. 6–1831, Mar. 3	Twenty-first Congress, second session. Calhoun President of Senate.
1831, July 26	"Address to the people of South Carolina."
1831, Dec. 5–1832, July 16	Twenty-second Congress, first session. Calhoun President of Senate.
1832, July 16	Resigns the vice presidency.
1832, Aug. 28	Letter to Governor Hamilton.
1832, Dec. 12	Elected by South Carolina Legislature to Senate, filling out unexpired term of General Hayne.
1832, Dec. 3–1833, Mar. 2	Twenty-second Congress, second session. Calhoun in Senate, from Jan. 4.
1833, Jan. 4	Calhoun sworn in as a member of the Senate.
Feb. 15–16	Speech on the "force bill."
Feb. 26	Speech on his resolutions in support of State rights, and reply to Mr. Webster.
1833, Dec. 2–1834, June 30	Twenty-third Congress, first session. Calhoun in Senate.
Apr. 9	Speech on bill to repeal "force bill".
1834, Dec. 1–1835, Mar. 4	Twenty-third Congress, second session. Calhoun in Senate.
1835, Dec. 7–1836, July 4	Twenty-fourth Congress, first session. Calhoun in Senate.
Mar. 9	Speech on abolition petitions.
1837, Mar. 4–10	Twenty-fifth Congress, special executive session of Senate. Calhoun in Senate.
1837, Sept. 4–Oct. 16	Twenty-fifth Congress, first session. Calhoun in Senate.
1837, Dec. 4–1838 July 9	Twenty-fifth Congress, second session. Calhoun in Senate.
Feb. 15	Speech on independent Treasury bill.
Mar. 10	Speech in reply to Mr. Clay.
1838, Dec. 3–1839, Mar. 3	Twenty-fifth Congress, third session. Calhoun in Senate.
1839, Dec. 2–1840, July 21	Twenty-sixth Congress, first session. Calhoun in Senate.
1840, Dec. 7–1841, Mar. 3	Twenty-sixth Congress, second session. Calhoun in Senate.
1841, Mar. 4–15	Twenty-seventh Congress, special executive session of Senate. Calhoun in Senate.
1841, May 31–Sept. 13	Twenty-seventh Congress, first session, Calhoun in Senate.

1841, Dec. 6–1842, Aug. 31	Twenty-seventh Congress, second session. Calhoun in Senate.
Feb. 28	Speech in defense of veto power.
Aug. 5	Speech on tariff bill.
Aug. 28	Speech on treaty of Washington.
1842, Dec. 5–1843, Mar. 3	Twenty-seventh Congress, third session. Calhoun in Senate.
1843, Mar. 4–1844, Mar. 6	Not in office. Candidate for Presidency, but withdrew Jan. 20, 1844.
1844, Mar. 6–1845, Mar. 6	Secretary of State under President Tyler.
1845, Nov. 26	Elected by South Carolina Legislature to Senate, filling out unexpired term of Judge Huger.
1845, Dec. 1–1846, Aug. 10	Twenty-ninth Congress, first session. Calhoun in Senate from Dec. 22.
Mar. 16	Speech on Oregon question.
1846, Dec. 7–1847, Mar. 3	Twenty-ninth Congress, second session. Calhoun in Senate.
Feb. 9	Speech on the three million bill.
Feb. 19	Speech on series of resolutions in regard to Wilmot proviso.
Feb. 24	Speech in reply to Mr. Benton.
Mar. 9	Speech to the citizens of Charleston.
1847, Dec. 6–1848, Aug. 14	Thirtieth Congress, first session. Calhoun in Senate.
Jan. 4	Speech on his resolutions in regard to the war with Mexico.
May 15	Speech on Yucatan question.
June 27	Speech on Oregon question.
1848, Dec. 4–1849, Mar. 3	Thirtieth Congress, second session. Calhoun in Senate.
1849, Mar. 5–23	Thirty-first Congress, special executive session of Senate. Calhoun in Senate.
1849	Prepares for publication his Disquisition on Government, and Discourse on the Constitution of the United States.
1849, Dec. 3–1850, Sept. 30	Thirty-first Congress, first session. Calhoun in Senate to Mar. 31.
Mar. 4	Speech on slavery question, read by Mr. Mason, of Virginia.
Mar. 13	Last remarks made in the Senate.
Mar. 31	Death at Washington, 1850.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS TO CALHOUN PRINTED IN THIS VOLUME

Since only letters written to Calhoun are printed in this volume, the words "from * * * to Calhoun" will be omitted. In each case the writer's name, place, and date will be given, together with a brief suggestion of the content of the letter.

George McDuffie, Cherry Hill [S. C.], October 29, 1837. Urges regulation and improvement of the State banking system of the country, but opposes destruction of it; transition to a metallic currency exclusively would injure the masses, the debtors, and unjustly enrich creditors. Opposes regulation to confine payment of Government dues to specie only. The Government should be separated from the banks as depositories, but this should not be linked with the proposal to have Government dues paid in specie only. Condition of crops and his plantation system.

Thomas G. Clemson, Fort Hill [S. C.], December 22, 1840. Work of the season on the plantation.

Thomas G. Clemson, Fort Hill [S. C.], December 27, 1840. Work of the season on the plantation.

F. W. Pickens, Edgewood [S. C.], October 2, 1841. Plantation conditions in his part of the State.

R. K. Crallé, Lynchburg [Va.], October 8, 1841. President Tyler's two bank vetoes and his future relations with the Whigs. Urges Calhoun to stand firm against compromise on a national bank. Calhoun's prospects for being candidate of the Republican Party, opposed to Clay as candidate of the Nationals.

J. A. Stuart, Charleston, S. C., October 11, 1841. The Whig Party is disintegrating and success of the Democratic Party is assured, provided it can be kept true to its principles as defined by South Carolina. Tyler on the slavery question. Bright political prospects.

F. W. Pickens, Edgewood [S. C.], October 12, 1841. Building political fences for Calhoun in preparation for his candidacy for the Presidency. A strong movement being planned in Georgia first, in the hope that it will then sweep the South. Situation in Virginia.

Wilson Lumpkin, Athens [Ga.], October 26, 1841. His political views are identical with those of Calhoun. Fears movement in Georgia to recall Van Buren to the Presidency; wants Calhoun instead, and will move cautiously for him in Georgia; identity of interests of Georgia and South Carolina self-evident, but Georgia and the South have ever been cursed with selfish, office-seeking men.

J. H. Howard, Milledgeville [Ga.], November 13, 1841. Old State Rights men favor Calhoun's nomination openly; old Union men are less ardently favorable and feel that Van Buren's claims should be respected; had hoped to get the Whigs of the State to discontinue opposition and unite with the Democrats, but the Whigs are active again. Comments on the session of the Georgia Legislature.

William Carroll, Nashville [Tenn.], November 18, 1841. Congratulates Calhoun on triumph of his principles in the Democratic party throughout the Union. Explains loss to Whigs by narrow margin in Tennessee, before the measures of the called session of Congress had aroused so much opposition to the

Whigs. Tells of his military career and record in the War of 1812 and his close relationship with General Jackson. Was promised position as minister to Mexico by Van Buren and Jackson, but not appointed; now asks Calhoun to bring his name before the President for this appointment.

James Macqueen, 38 Kensington Square [London], February 3, 1842. Comments on possibility of use of Charleston and Savannah as ports by English ships. The States should not act in such manner as would be considered a flagrant breach of faith by English investors. Urges establishment of proper banking system in the States; recommends the Scotch system. Hopes the irritating international questions will soon be adjusted between England and the United States so that uncertainty in commercial relations will be removed. Denounces English policy in the liberation of American slaves at Nassau; regrets lack of reason on such subjects in England; comments on "mischievous legacies which our precipitous Slave Emancipation Act" have "entailed upon the country."

R. Beale, Washington [D. C.], September 15, 1842. Tells of surprising strength of Calhoun and even of the doctrine of nullification in New York. Feels confident Calhoun will have besides the entire South, the support of New York, Maryland, New Jersey, and an equal chance in many other States.

Duff Green, London [England], September 16, 1842. Comments on prospects of Sir Robert Peel's Tariff bill, and a proposal to send an agent to the United States to arrange a treaty for the admission of American agricultural produce into England, and of English manufactures into the United States, on reciprocal terms.

James Auchincloss, New York, September 20, 1842. Asks Calhoun to send him articles on the tariff, "exchequer," and land distribution, to be published in the Journal of Commerce, a free-trade paper of much influence among the merchants of New York, and which, though an independent paper politically, will support Calhoun. Adds that there is no necessity for discussing nullification unless attacked on that doctrine. Anxious to promote Calhoun's interests among his mercantile friends and the people generally.

James Auchincloss, New York, September 22, 1842. Again urges Calhoun to send articles on the tariff, commercial policy, national currency, and land distribution for publication in the Journal of Commerce and the Mercury, papers of wide circulation and much influence. Plans for Calhoun to speak in New York in Tammany Hall, even though that place is Van Buren's favorite stamping ground. Urges Calhoun not to go into convention with Van Buren, but to hold back the delegates from the Southern States, for Van Buren understands too well the art of packing such assemblages. Calhoun can be nominated by the States, and a "Congressional nomination" will do.

James Auchincloss, New York, October 1, 1842. He and the merchants of New York look to Calhoun to devise and put through some measure to supply a sound currency and to regulate the exchanges of the country in order to relieve the fast-accumulating distresses. Feeling is strong in Calhoun's behalf in New York.

F. Byrdsall, New York, October 11, 1842. Asks Calhoun to answer charges which have appeared in the press, that he is not favorable to free suffrage—a charge which will injure him in New York. Reports that the doctrine of free trade is being well received.

D. H. Lewis, Loundesboro [Ala.], November 2, 1842. Calhoun has the lead for the nomination in southern Alabama, among both Democrats and Whigs, but northern Alabama has the preponderance, is much under the control of party drill, and Calhoun's chances for nomination by the next legislature

may be complicated by the election of a Senator and three judges of the supreme court. Denounces the national-convention system, but fears its strength; fears the northern Democracy, and hopes Calhoun can avoid getting too much involved with it.

Isaac O. Barnes, Boston [Mass.], January 27, 1843. Writes that the Boston Post, with a wider circulation than any other paper in New England, has declared for Calhoun. New England generally seems to have changed on the "succession" lately, to the advantage of Calhoun.

P. G. Buchan, Rochester, N. Y., April 10, 1843. The Van Buren men have made serious efforts in the legislature to hold the State for him, but the feeling is so strong against him that the State would not support him for the Presidency, even if nominated by the convention. The party has not agreed as yet upon a man to support, and there is a chance for Calhoun to be the beneficiary. Asks Calhoun to write clearly his tariff views, to put an end to misrepresentations about them in the State.

R. M. T. Hunter, Loyds, Essex [County, Va.], May 23, 1843. Account of political situation in Virginia. Van Buren can not carry the State. Ritchie must be handled with care because his support is necessary to carry the State for Calhoun. Very favorable reports from New England for Calhoun's candidacy. Advises caution on linking Woodbury's name with Calhoun's as candidate for the Vice Presidency.

R. M. T. Hunter, Loyds [Va.], October 10, 1843. The Rhode Island suffrage question should not be agitated at this late date in the campaign. Reports from New England are favorable to Calhoun. The South must begin cautiously to insist upon the annexation of Texas.

Duff Green, London [England], October 18, 1843. Tells of the status of the free-trade issue in England and its connection with the antislavery movement. The adoption of free trade by the United States would help to end the agitation in England over the admission of slave-grown products.

Virgil Maxcy, Philadelphia [Pa.], November 6, 1843. In view of the bitter contest between the Van Buren and Calhoun factions of the Democratic Party, there is talk of nominating Cass. Illustrates the trickery and deception of the Van Buren men to control the convention. Shall the Calhoun men run the risk of associating with them in convention, or incur the odium of the charge of breaking up the party if they do not?

F. W. Pickens, Edgewood [S. C.], November 24, 1843. Comments on "the importance of the Texas question in all its bearings." Is not sure of McDuffie's position on Texas.

Virgil Maxcy, Tulip Hill, West River [Md.], December 14, 1843. Urges Calhoun to push the Texas question along with those of the formation of the convention and the tariff, as a good step politically.

S. A. Andrews, Goldsboro, N. C., December 19 [1843?]. Report on political conditions in North Carolina and especially the recent Democratic State convention.

Wilson Lumpkin, Athens [Ga.], December 22, 1843. Is convinced that the Van Buren men will control the Democratic national convention by intrigue and deception, and therefore he urges Calhoun to announce that he will not allow his name to go before such a convention.

Henry P. Barber, New York, December 29, 1843. Strong denunciation of Van Buren and his machine; account of Calhoun's strength in New York; election news and prospects.

George McDuffie, Washington [D. C.], January 3, 1843[?] [1844]. The South Carolina delegation approves Calhoun's address explaining his attitude

toward the national convention. Urges Calhoun to rest the withdrawal of his name upon the organization of the convention alone, leaving the tariff question so that all hope of assistance from the Van Burean men will not be lost. Opposes annexation of Texas on the score of justice and policy.

Duff Green, Washington [D. C.], January 6, 1844. Reports strong feeling among Calhoun's friends against the Baltimore convention and the caucus system under the control of Van Buren. Threatened schism in the Democratic party over the convention system. Urges Calhoun to accept appointment as Secretary of the Treasury, if offered by Tyler.

Virgil Maxcy, Tulip Hill, West River [Md.], January 7, 1844. Plans for action by Calhoun and his friends in regard to the Democratic convention. Advisability of publishing Calhoun's address on the subject, already prepared and read by his closest political friends and advisers.

Edward J. Black, Washington City [D. C.], January 8, 1844. Remission of duties on iron for railroads. Approves Calhoun's address on the Democratic convention. Anxious to defeat the Van Buren control of the party and get Calhoun nominated and elected. Convinced that the Van Buren Democrats are not sound, especially on the tariff, and are becoming more and more antislavery in leanings, as shown by the debate on the twenty-first rule in regard to antislavery petitions. Trying to organize Calhoun's friends.

L. Williams, Boston [Mass.], January 9, 1844. Reports unfair practices in New England by the Van Buren men to control the Democratic convention. Calhoun strength in New England. Anxious to keep in touch with Calhoun leaders.

N. Towson, Washington [D. C.], January 16, 1844. Movement in New York for changes in Democratic nominating convention system is alarming the Van Buren men. His chances lowered. Will Calhoun be the beneficiary? Calhoun should not accept a Cabinet appointment but should return to the Senate. Calhoun men in Congress should not have gone into caucus with the Van Buren men to choose a Speaker. Whig strength in Maryland.

Virgil Maxcy, Annapolis [Md.], February 2, 1844. Comments on Calhoun's address on the nominating convention, and the feud in the Democratic party between the supporters of Calhoun and those of Van Buren. Talk of nominating Cass.

J. H. Hammond, Silver Bluff [S. C.], February 3, 1844. Approves Calhoun's "withdrawing from the Baltimore convention." Sectional and political interests and convenience are building up a system of Government which pays little heed to the Constitution and is different in many particulars from the Government formed in 1789.

R. B. Rhett, Washington [D. C.], February 21, 1844. Comments on McKay's tariff bill. Disgusted with "the rotten portion of the party with Silas Wright at its head," which is ready to support a protective tariff bill with an attempt to misrepresent it as a revenue bill.

Daniel E. Huger, Washington [D. C.], February 22, 1844. Alarmed at the aggressions of the abolitionist and tariff interests. Asks Calhoun to take his (Huger's) seat in the Senate.

Henry Wheaton, Berlin [Germany], March 1, 1844. Calls attention to the claim of the United States to Oregon, based on the Spanish claim and the Convention of the Escurial, and the English interpretation of same.

Sam. S. Phelps, Senate Chamber [Washington, D. C.], March 6, 1844. Urges Calhoun to accept appointment as Secretary of State to handle the Oregon question, which is in a critical condition.

Edward J. Black, House of Representatives [Washington, D. C.], March 7, 1844. Urges Calhoun to accept appointment as Secretary of State to serve the South and the country, give character to the administration, and furnish needed leadership for his section of the party.

George McDuffie, Washington [D. C.], March 10, 1844. Denounces Rhett's course in Congress and as an adviser of Calhoun; favors accepting the McKay tariff bill as a substantial gain for the lower-tariff party. Urges acceptance of appointment as Secretary of State.

F. H. Elmore, Charleston [S. C.], March 11, 1844. Urges Calhoun to accept appointment as Secretary of State. Says the West as well as the South wants it.

Extract of a letter dated at Paris [France], March 20, 1844. Frequent slave insurrections in Cuba, incited by the British abolitionists. Situation aggravated by connivance at the slave trade by local authorities.

Richard Hawes, Paris, Kentucky, March 21, 1844. "It is our policy to own all the cotton lands of North America if we can." Emphasizes importance of annexation of Texas because of international and commercial dangers of an independent Texas. The South and West will support a treaty at once. Clay against it.

C. A. Davis, New York [N. Y.], April 3, 1844. Was on board the *Princeton* at the time of the explosion. Many in the North and East are coming to agree with Calhoun on the tariff. Comments on the tariff and improvement of means of transportation, and says the latter is of more importance than the former. General approval of Calhoun's nomination and unanimous confirmation by the Senate.

Thomas Scott, Chillicothe [Ohio], April 4, 1844. Gives the expansionist ideas of the West, and says that the West and South have common interests in extending the bounds of the United States to the Rio Grande and the Pacific. On the question of slavery the South and Southwest have nothing to fear from the States west of the Allegheny Mountains.

Robert I. Alexander, St. Clairsville, Ohio, April 18, 1844. Expresses the approval of Calhoun's friends in Ohio of his stand in regard to the nominating convention, tariff, and abolition, and denounces the Van Buren "dynasty" and machine methods. Election prospects.

F. W. Pickens, Charleston [S. C.], April 22, 1844. Favors taking the "highest grounds" on the Oregon question. British seizure of American slaves in the Bahamas and West Indies. Fears the Whigs will try to use the Texas question for party purposes.

Isaac Van Zandt and J. Pinckney Henderson, Legation of Texas, Washington [D. C.], April 22, 1844. Brief outline of efforts made by the British Government to effect a settlement of the difficulties between Mexico and Texas. The debt and abolition conditions.

J. H. Howard, Columbus [Ga.], May 2, 1844. The significance for the South of the Texas question in the presidential election. The letters of Clay and Van Buren on Texas. Necessity of a third candidate for the presidency, to bring the issue squarely.

Eustis Prescott, New Orleans [La.], May 11, 1844. Nomination of Calhoun for the presidency by a mass meeting; repudiation of Van Buren and the convention system. Talk of supporting Tyler.

L. A. Hoe, Somerville, Tenn., May 11, 1844. Dissatisfaction in both parties with the letters of Clay and Van Buren on annexation of Texas. The South should "set up for herself." Opposition to Texas is a concession to abolition and to fears of tariff monopolists. Necessity of a southern ticket.

James H. Campbell, New Orleans [La.], May 14, 1844. Spontaneous voice of the people of New Orleans nominated Calhoun for the presidency. Will Calhoun consent to be the "people's" candidate? Tyler would not be supported in Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, and other Southern States.

F. W. Pickens, Edgewood [S. C.], May 16, 1844. Texas and the political situation, especially in the South. If Texas is rejected, Calhoun's name will be placed at the head of the most powerful party that has ever risen in this country.

J. S. Barbour, Catalpa [Va.], May 16, 1844. Effect of the treachery of Van Buren and his abandonment upon the Democratic Party. Party situation in Virginia.

William G. Austin, St. Francisville, La., May 16, 1844. The Texas question has killed Clay and Van Buren in the South and there is great demand for Calhoun to become a candidate for the Presidency.

William Hale, Detroit, Mich., May 18, 1844. Michigan and the Northwest stand for the reannexation of Texas and opposed to a protective tariff. No longer support Van Buren and now favor Cass for the Presidency.

L. W. Hastings, New Madrid, Mo., May 20, 1844. Conditions in California and Oregon; urgent need for action by the United States in the Oregon Territory to establish a government. Inhabitants threaten to set up independent government if not given aid soon.

Wilson Shannon, St. Clairsville, Ohio, May 25, 1844. Sentiment in Ohio strongly for annexation of Texas. The voters will support no one opposed to it.

H. Bailey, Charleston [S. C.], May 30, 1844. Account of visit of Baron von Raumer and his son to Columbia and Charleston. Comments on the nominations and election.

J. H. Hammond, Silver Bluff [S. C.], June 7, 1844. British inclination to interfere with our domestic institution. The slaveholder's dangers are accumulating so rapidly that a crisis seems inevitable. Importance of the Texas issue. No enthusiasm for Polk and Dallas. Fears the Northern Democratic Party will be absorbed by the Whigs and Abolitionists.

A. G. Danby, Utica [N. Y.], June 13, 1844. Approval of nomination of Polk and Dallas. Hopes Tyler will not attempt to run on an independent ticket; it would simply split the Democratic vote, defeat Polk, and elect Clay.

A. H. Everett, Boston [Mass.], June 17, 1844. Conditions in Cuba and British policy in regard to Texas and Cuba.

H. Bailey, Charleston [S. C.], July 30, 1844. The committee of vigilance has decided the best way to promote the annexation of Texas is to work for the election of Polk. The agitation for resistance of the tariff by State action is the work of a small minority and likely to do harm at this time.

F. H. Elmore, Charleston [S. C.], July 30, 1844. Strong feeling among a group in South Carolina for immediate resistance to the tariff by State action, because of Polk's "unlucky letter."

F. W. Pickens, Covington, Ga., August 10, 1844. The course of the Mercury and Rhett is having a bad effect in Georgia. Calhoun is being accused of having been bought off by the Presidency, hence his opposition to State action on the tariff. Pickens opposes State action at this time, because it would injure the cause in the South. Reaction against the tariff of 1842 has set in quite generally, but rash action would do the cause more harm than good.

John Tyler [Washington, D. C.], August 13, 1844. Suggests an illustration for use in the dispatch to Mr. Everett and the English Government relative to felon slaves.

William M. Gwin, Vicksburg [Miss.], August 20, 1844. Worried over the loss of interest in Texas for annexation; hopes the limitation of 6 months for ratification of the treaty will be extended to 12 months, so that no slip or false move may cause the loss of Texas.

Francis Wharton, Philadelphia [Pa.], August 21, 1844. Decries the Rhett movement and looks to Calhoun for sound leadership in the regeneration of the Democratic (State Rights and Republican) Party, both in principles and organization.

R. F. Simpson, August 24, 1844. Feeling in upper part of South Carolina for annexation of Texas quite general; only Gen. Waddy Thompson against it. Opposes Rhett movement for State action now and tells of embarrassment the movement is causing. Tariff prospects. Local elections.

M. M. Noah, New York [N. Y.], September 8, 1844. Opposes special session of Congress because it would interfere with the election. Mexican and British designs on Texas.

J. Hamilton, Oswichee Bend, September 12, 1844. Opposes the Bluffton movement in South Carolina. Interested in union between the South and West. Fears Mexican invasion of Texas during coming winter. Will go to Galveston and Houston in November to promote annexation. Crop conditions. Answers Benton's disunion charge against South Carolina and the South.

John Hogan, Utica, N. Y., September 15, 1844. Party situation in New York State. Future political prospects for the Calhoun faction.

George W. Houk, Dayton, Ohio, October 1, 1844. Opposition of the Whigs to the annexation of Texas in the campaign in the North. The South is accused of seeking to dissolve the Union.

J. Hamilton, Oswichee Bend, October 4, 1844. Recommends himself for position as diplomatic representative either to Texas or Great Britain.

J. A. Stuart, Beaufort, S. C., October 25, 1844. Asks Calhoun to write a letter defending the existing mode of electing the governor and presidential electors in the State, and against the proposed change. Comments on the gubernatorial campaign.

William C. Brown, Boston [Mass.], October 31, 1844. Asks Calhoun as to the truth of a charge made by Rev. Charles T. Torrey, in jail in Baltimore charged with aiding slaves to escape, and sent to the Christian Citizen, published at Worcester, Mass., that "Three years since he sold another man's wife for a harlot"; she was the wife of his coachman, and was sold to a planter in Alabama for $1,400; the coachman fled to Alabama, found his wife, and they fled north; the wife died in Maryland and the husband fled to Canada.

William Hogan, Boston [Mass.], November 12, 1844. Urges a native party to oppose the schemes of Irish, French, and German Roman Catholics to get control of the Government and bring about abolition.

B. Tucker, Williamsburg, Va., November 13, 1844. Offers Calhoun an argument to be used for the annexation of Texas, based on the Louisiana purchase treaty and the admission of Missouri.

Francis Wharton, Philadelphia [Pa.], November 17, 1844. Account of the election in Pennsylvania. Coalition between Whiggery and Bentonism not improbable. Offers to prepare an article for the Democratic Review on the Texas treaty, showing the literary and diplomatic character of the correspondence, and answering unjust attacks on some of Calhoun's letters.

Wilson Lumpkin, Athens [Ga.], November 18, 1844. Fears the selfish office-seeking faction interested in the spoils will create division in the party and embarrass the Polk administration so as to prevent the inauguration of true principles.

H. M. Solomon, New York [N. Y.], November 28, 1844. Condition of the party in New York; duplicity and venality of northern Van Burean Democrats.

W. R. King, Paris [France], November 29, 1844. Reception of the election news in England and France.

Sam. R. Thurston, Brunswick [Me.], December 2, 1844. Account of the election in Maine. Strong advocate of the annexation of Texas. Emphasis on the national, rather than sectional, aspects of the question.

H. M. Judge, Tuskaloosa [Ala.], December 6, 1844. Local political situation favorable for the Calhoun Democrats, as opposed to the Whigs and malcontent Democrats. Speculation on the cabinet.

Duff Green, Washington, Tex., December 13, 1844. Sentiment in Texas on annexation. The Texan question to be an element in the reorganization of parties in the United States.

W. B. Seabrook, Edisto Island [S. C.], December 16, 1844. Account of his defeat in the gubernatorial election by Aiken; condition of party divisions in the State and their relation to national politics.

J. S. Barbour, Catalpa [Va.], December 18, 1844. Hopes Calhoun will remain in the Cabinet; comments on the meaning of the election, as interpreted in Virginia.

John Beard, Newmansville, East Florida, December 20, 1844. Discusses the admission of Florida when Iowa enters the Union; possibility of division of Florida into two States.

Duff Green, Washington, Tex., December 20, 1844. English interest in Texas; probable policy of the Whigs and Benton to defeat annexation; attempts by northern politicians and Benton to drive South Carolina into nullification or secession.

Burton Craige, Lincolnton, N. C., December 23, 1844. Seriously worried over the prospects for the South, in view of the action on the twenty-first rule; talk of disunion. Benton's stand on Texas, the activity of the Abolitionists generally.

A. J. Donelson, New Orleans [La.], December 28, 1844. Prospects bright for favorable action by Congress on annexation; conditions in Mexico.

Eustis Prescott, New Orleans [La.], January 4, 1845. Worried over the low price of cotton caused by overproduction. His ideas of proper plantation economy. Offers his services as consul in Liverpool or Havre to advance southern commercial interests. Hopes annexation of Texas will soon be accomplished, for further delay may cause the people to be discouraged and form foreign alliances from which it would be difficult to recede.

R. R. Hunter, New York [N. Y.], January 14, 1845. Reports widespread belief in an agreement between Clay and Van Buren to defeat the annexation of Texas.

Mark A. Cooper, Mount Hope, Murray County, Ga., January 15, 1845. Calhoun's friends are doing their best to keep Georgia and Carolina one in support of the true "Democratic faith."

William Crump, Kingston, Jamaica, January 16, 1845. Gives account of the prostrate condition of plantations on the island since the emancipation of the slaves.

Robert Walsh, Paris [France], February 1, 1845. Reports on relations between England and France, political conditions in each, and their attitude toward slavery and the annexation of Texas.

W. M. Corry, Cincinnati [Ohio], February 14, 1845. Significance of the election of Polk. The North is determined to be rid of slavery in all the States. The West will be the determining factor in the serious struggle ahead.

J. S. Mayfield, Wood Lawn [Tex.], February 19, 1845. Duff Green's difficulty with the President of Texas. English aggressions along the Rio Grande. Inadequate defense of the border. Peonage under Mexican law worse than slavery in the United States. Mexicans not fit to become fully enfranchised citizens of the United States.

Barnabas Bates, New York [N. Y.], February 22, 1845. Democratic party in this region strongly supports the annexation of Texas. Approves Calhoun's letter to Mr. King exposing the real motives of the British in promoting abolition.

J. Hamilton, New Orleans [La.], February 28, 1845. Texas officials leaning toward British alliance; delay by United States Senate may cause loss of Texas; terms of House resolutions unfair to Texas financially.

A. J. Donelson, New Orleans [La.], March 24, 1845. Little doubt that Texas will accept annexation. Hopes the Jackson-Calhoun difference will be adjusted so their friends can work together without embarrassment.

Duff Green, Washington [D. C.], March 26, 1845. Interested in financial fairness to Texas in annexation terms. Plans for the next presidential election; the big principles involved and their importance to the South; "the crisis of the slave-holding interest."

Elwood Fisher, Louisville [Ky.], April, 1845. Indications that Van Buren and Benton do not stand well with the Polk administration. Political discontent in the West.

William Gregg, Charleston [S. C.], April, 1845. The South should manufacture more of its coarse cotton fabrics; this could be done without changing the views of the section upon the tariff. Analysis of advantages to be gained.

Lewis S. Coryell, Washington [D. C.], April 6, 1845. The selection of the administration's press organ. Election of Cameron as Senator from Pennsylvania. Polk's Cabinet.

James Buchanan, Washington [D. C.], April 9, 1845. Mission to England offered to Elmore. The selection of an official paper in Washington.

F. H. Elmore, Charleston [S. C.], April 16, 1845. Reasons for declining the mission to England.

D. H. Lewis, Charleston [S. C.], May 9, 1845. Calhoun's friends discussing the best line of action for him so as to have prospects brightest for the election of 1848—whether he should remain out of office for a time, accept the mission to England, go into the cabinet or to the Senate.

A. J. Donelson, New Orleans [La.], May 13, 1845. Houston's opposition to annexation has been overcome and there is now no doubt of acceptance by Texas.

Lewis S. Coryell, Washington [D. C.], May 27, 1845. Polk is in league and political conspiracy with the Van Buren men; appointments show it.

Duff Green, Washington [D. C.], June 1, 1845. Operations of the Albany regency; New York and national politics; Polk's attitude and relations in doubt. Future course for Calhoun.

J. S. Barbour, Catalpa [Va.], June 26, 1845. Urges Calhoun to return to the Senate to furnish a much-needed leadership for sound principles.

S. Penn, St. Louis [Mo.], June 26, 1845. Antiannexation Democrats are receiving most of the appointments to office. Influence and plans of R. J. Walker and Benton. Prospects for tariff legislation.

W. A. Harris, Washington [D. C.], August 4, 1845. Appointment as chargé d'affaires. Indications are that the administration has seen its mistake in leaning too much on the New York and Pennsylvania politicians, and will henceforth pay more heed to the wishes and doctrines of the South and West. Advisability of Calhoun's returning to the Senate.

James Buchanan, Washington [D. C.], August 22, 1845. Information from Mexico indicates war; Oregon question a difficult one to settle.

R. Beale, Baltimore [Md]., August 31, 1845. Discontent becoming rather widespread over the patronage distribution; many Whigs and Democrats are becoming determined to elect a distinguished Democrat who scorns party trammels and the business of seelling the public offices for support. Calhoun will profit by this.

Thomas G. Clemson, Terveuren [Belgium], September, 1845. Description of his plantation in South Carolina which he is considering offering for sale.

R. Beale, Washington [D. C.], September 20, 1845. Description and cost of machinery for Calhoun's plantation.

F. W. Pickens, Edgewood [S. C.], September 29, 1845. Strongly supports our claim to Oregon; reasons for England's hostility to the United States and probability of a war with England.

George W. Houk, Dayton [Ohio], October 29, 1845. A rupture with England seems unavoidable, in view of the extent to which the West and the President have committed themselves to the fifty-fourth degree, and in view of England's general attitude toward the United States.

W. C. Anderson and others, St. Louis [Mo.], November 6, 1845. Invite Calhoun to visit St. Louis when he attends the Memphis Convention. Thorough approval of his principles and policies. Praise him for the annexation of Texas. Community of interests between the West and the South.

Thomas G. Clemson, Brussels [Belgium], November 25, 1845. The danger of war with England and prospects of its avoidance.

Silas Reed, Cincinnati [Ohio], November 29, 1845. Urges a vigorous stand on our Oregon claims. Interest of the West therein.

E. L. King, Racine [Wis.], December 10, 1845. Majority of the people of the West want peace, but Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri wish war for the purpose of wiping out debts due Englishmen to the extent of $50,000,000. War would be ruinous to southern and eastern States.

F. W. Pickens, Edgewood [S. C.], December 20, 1845. Hopes for cordial understanding between Polk and Calhoun. Approve's Polk's message in relation to the tariff. Polk redeeming his pledges. Explanation for refusing the mission to England.

Louis McLane, London [England], January 3, 1846. Thorough analysis of the Oregon question from various English standpoints. The effect of Polk's message and Pakenham's position.

H. W. Conner, Charleston [S. C.], January 6, 1846. Assures Calhoun of general approval of his course in regard to Oregon. He is expected to preserve an honorable peace.

Elwood Fisher, Cincinnati [Ohio], January 10, 1846. Attitude of the State convention at Columbus, Ohio, on the Oregon question; its relation to the currency question and party politics, local and national.

James Wishart, St. Clairsville [Ohio], January 12, 1845 [1846?]. Objects to Polk's appointments throughout the West. Compromise on the forty-ninth parallel with Great Britain will be unpopular in the West.

J. H. Howard, Columbus [Ga.], January 16, 1846. Opposes precipitous action on the Oregon question; favors an honorable peace but war if necessary.

F. W. Byrdsall, New York [N. Y.], January 26, 1846. Calhoun's course on the Oregon question has now been completely vindicated in the eyes of most citizens. The true policy of the United States is peace with Mexico and Great Britain. Thinks we can get California and all Mexico peaceably. Must have firm peace with Mexico before "giving notice" to Great Britain on Oregon.

I. M. Caminero, Santo Domingo City, January 27, 1846. Status of Santo Domingo's war with Hayti; argument for immediate recognition of the Dominican Government.

Louis McLane, London [England] [February, 1846 ?]. Points out an error in our Oregon negotiation.

Louis McLane, London [England], February 3, 1846. Status of parties in England on free trade, and attitude of the Ministry on the Oregon question.

F. W. Pickens, Charleston [S. C.], February 6, 1846. Profits in rice culture around Savannah; condition of the cotton market.

Charles Anthony, Arnoldton, Campbell County, Va., February 17, 1846. Even former political opponents now approve Calhoun's course on Oregon; Virginia greatly fears the effects of a war with England.

Edward J. Black, Scriven County, Ga., February 22, 1846. Whigs and old Van Buren Democrats in Georgia all approve Calhoun's course on Oregon, are calling themselves Calhoun men and avowing Calhounism. Asks Calhoun's opinion as to the time to begin his campaign for the Presidency.

P. Gwinner, Philadelphia [Pa.], February 23, 1846. News from England assures peace; many intelligent business men give Calhoun credit for this good news. Tariff comments.

J. W. Van Evey, Rochester, N. Y., March 4, 1846. Question of negro suffrage on same terms as white suffrage to come up before State constitutional convention soon. Discusses the dangers to the "Federative" system and the northern laborer if this is adopted.

J. S. Barbour, Catalpa, Va., March 5, 1846. Review of part of Colton's Life of Clay and the policies of the election of 1824–25.

Albert Gallatin, New York [N. Y.], March 15, 1846. Protests against the tariff on books.

Clement C. Biddle, Philadelphia [Pa.], March 18, 1846. Ardently favors free-trade principles, and hopes that the Oregon question will not interfere with their victory. Comment on Walker's proposed tariff bill.

Duff Green, New York [N. Y.], March 18, 1846. Praises Calhoun's recent and greatest speech on the Oregon question. Comment on the sectional feeling involved.

Tilly Allen, New York City, March 19, 1846. Praises Calhoun's Oregon speech. Anxious to support him for President.

C. A. Clinton, New York [N. Y.], March 21, 1846. Highest praise for Calhoun's Oregon speech. Anxious to support him for president.

S. Penn, St. Louis [Mo.], March 23, 1846. Comments on the Oregon question and Benton's position; denounces Polk's course of action as a statesman and politician.

John A. Bolles, Boston [Mass.], March 26, 1846. Praises Calhoun's Oregon speech.

Thomas G. Clemson, Brussels [Belgium], March 27, 1846. Complains of neglect of duty by the State Department. The administration's course in the Oregon negotiation has cost us the loss of all sympathy in Europe.

F. W. Byrdsall, New York [N. Y.], March 29, 1846. Accuses some of the Whigs of trying to give the Oregon question such a turn as will serve the interests of the high protection group.

W. C. Daniell, Hall County, Ga., April 2, 1846. Condition of parties and politics in Georgia; Calhoun's chances for the Presidency have been greatly promoted by his Oregon speech. Denounces existing system of making nominations.

Alex. Wells, Assembly Chamber, Albany [N. Y.], April 7, 1846. The "Southern Democracy" is being attacked by the antiannexationists and Van Buren

men, who are using the charge that the South, having secured Texas, is now willing to forsake our claim to Oregon, to prejudice the people against the South and slavery.

Adam Huntsman, Jackson, Tenn., April 10, 1846. Nine-tenths of the people of Tennessee agree with Calhoun's position on Oregon.

N. P. Tallmadge, New York [N. Y.], April 25, 1846. Expresses the appreciation of himself and some of Calhoun's political opponents of the services he has rendered to settle the Oregon question peaceably, and his stand on the sub-treasury and branch mints, and the hope that he will see that prudence is exercised in relations with Mexico.

Thomas G. Clemson, Brussels [Belgium] April 27, 1846. Sentiment in England and France approves Calhoun's position on Oregon, and condemns the policy of the administration.

R. K. Cralle, Lynchburg [Va.], May 3, 1846. Political effect of Calhoun's position on Oregon has been to untie even the Whigs with the State rights men in support of Calhoun for the Presidency; the Hunker interest is low.

J. H. Howard, Columbus [Ga.], May 12, 1846 [?]. Comments on the best way to raise troops for the war with Mexico.

Wilson Lumpkin, Athens [Ga.], May 20, 1846. Dark forebodings of the results of the Mexican War, brought on by a "war faction." Will greatly impede the movement for reform of the administration of the Government.

George Curtiss, Utica, N. Y., May 26, 1846. People of New York and New England approve Calhoun's course on Oregon and on the appropriations to prosecute the Mexican War. Hopes for amicable adjustment of the Mexican trouble.

Samuel Bishop, New Haven [Conn.], June 11, 1846. Political situation in Connecticut. Close contest between Democrats and Whigs. The "true Democracy" are Calhoun men, anxious to support him for the Presidency.

Thomas G. Clemson, Brussels [Belgium], June 27, 1846. Anti-American feeling strongly manifested in Europe, where the monarchies have little sympathy for our institutions. The Mexican War gives them another chance to slander us.

R. M. Saunders, Paris [France], June 27, 1846. Anti-American feeling in England.

Thompson & Co., New York [N. Y.], July 7, 1846. The tariff bill passed by the House will ruin the manufacturers of carpeting if enacted into law by the Senate.

James B. Sawyer, Pittsburgh [Pa.], July 10, 1846. The promises of the Democrats in Pennsylvania on the tariff in 1844 are now getting them into trouble. Asks Calhoun to tell him whether there is anything in the rumor that Calhoun will vote against the McKay bill; if he has given up his stand against the tariff he will be supported by the Pennsylvania Democrats for the Presidency in 1848.

J. Gadsden, Charleston, S. C., July 10, 1846. Comments on Calhoun's report on the memorial of the Memphis Convention; tariff rates.

Thomas Chambers, Washington City [D. C.], July 20, 1846. Protests against the tariff bill now before the Senate. Suggests a compromise measure, something like that of 1833.

Isaac Brooks, Baltimore [Md.], July 24, 1846. Importers of iron interested in lower iron duties; prices and figures of interest to tariff makers. Interested in passage of McKay's bill.

Charles Saxton, Washington [D. C.], July 25, 1846. Speaks for the people of Oregon against high protective tariff; interested in tariff for revenue, with incidental protection. Proof that Oregon prospers better under low tariff.

F. W. Byrdsall, New York [N. Y.], August 4, 1846. Quotes a Whig manufacturer who expressed the hope that the Mexican War would involve the country heavily in debt so as to compel the restoration of a high tariff. Congratulates Calhoun on the success of his tariff and subtreasury principles.

Armistead Burt, Salt Sulphur Springs, Va., September 14, 1846. Whigs and Democrats of the South should not go into a national convention, for the nominee of each party will be selected with reference to the votes of New York and Pennsylvania, and especially the antislavery votes in those States. Political situation in Virginia.

Elwood Fisher, Washington [D. C.], September 24, 1846. Gloomy reports of the conduct of the war. Walker's extravagant notion of Mexican conquest. Congratulates Calhoun for his stand on the war.

H. R. Schoolcraft, New York [N. Y.], October 19, 1846. Plan for a series of American ethnological studies, presented to the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.

James Chestney, Tuscaloosa [Ala.], November 23, 1846. Hopes the Mexican War can be terminated at once. No good can come of it and it will endanger the cause of free trade. Sentiment in the southwestern States. Appeal to Calhoun to end the war.

Wilson Lumpkin, Athens [Ga.], November 26, 1846. Grave apprehensions over the results of the Mexican War. Chaos in politics. Political situation in Georgia. Abolitionism is advancing in power. Predicts sectional divisions in politics.

Hendrick B. Wright, Wilkes Barré [Pa.], December 8, 1846. Unless the tariff of 1846 is modified to discriminate in favor of coal and iron, the Democratic Party is doomed in Pennsylvania.

Wilson Lumpkin, Athens [Ga.], December 17, 1846. Wishes the Mexican War could have been avoided, but sees it can now be terminated only by vigorous prosecution of it; large accessions of territory seem inevitable. Fears sectional divisions in the country can no longer be avoided.

H. W. Conner, Charleston [S. C.], January 9, 1847. Many who did not approve the manner in which we got into war with Mexico now, however, feel that, since we are in the war, vigorous prosecution of it should be supported.

J. Hamilton, Oswichee Bend, February 7, 1847. Interested in election of Calhoun to the presidency. Has no stomach for the Mexican War, but wants it well supported so we may get out of it the sooner. Comment on the proposal to put Benton at the head of the Army. The aggressions of the North against slavery must be contested as soon as the war is over. Opening of the territorial question.

J. Gregg, Columbia [S. C.], February 17, 1847. Polk injudiciously and imprudently dragged us into war. Criticizes Polk's policies in the conduct of the war.

P. S. Buckingham, Wytheville, Va., February 21, 1847. Approves Calhoun's stand on the Mexican War; "Polk's War" and its conduct are condemned by the people of both parties in Virginia.

F. W. Byrdsall, New York [N. Y.], February 22, 1847. Denounces the unfair vilification of slavery in the North, for it is the best institution that could be devised for the Negro race. A public meeting showed sentiment was not with the Abolitionists and their position on the Mexican War.

Wilson Lumpkin, Athens [Ga.], March 11, 1847. Praises Calhoun's replies to Turney and Benton, and his views in regard to the Mexican War. Calhoun's political position. Fears more of evil than of good will be among the results of the war.

Duff Green, Washington [D. C.], March 17, 1847. Calhoun is being proscribed by the regular, machine element in the party. A paper is to be established at Washington to promote Calhoun's campaign for the presidency, and Green wants to be the editor.

Thomas G. Clemson, Brussels [Belgium], March 28, 1847. Ritchie and the "Union" are false to Calhoun and the South. The war has been most disastrous and could have been avoided. Regrets that the slavery question is involved with it.

Robert Toombs, Washington, Ga., April 30, 1847. The South is getting aroused to the importance of arresting the antislavery tendencies and action of the North. Dislikes the idea of the appropriation of Mexican territory, for nothing but evil can come of it. Southerners look to Calhoun for proper leadership in the existing crisis of the country.

H. W. Conner, Charleston [S. C.], May 7, 1847. Opposition to Rhett for position of editor of the Calhoun paper to be established in Washington. A Taylor boom has started which may interfere with Calhoun's prospects.

F. H. Elmore, Charleston [S. C.], May 16, 1847. Is General Taylor a safe man for the presidency? What are his political principles? His prospects for election by either or both parties are good, but Elmore is not delighted.

R. B. Rhett, May 20, 1847. Politics and the war. Democratic Party will be overthrown and Taylor elected. Strong censure for Ritchie "and his masters," who have succeeded in wrecking the party. Virginia elections.

Elwood Fisher, Cincinnati [Ohio], May 25, 1847. Taylor's boom for the presidency. Sentiment against acquisition of Mexican territory Talk of annexation of all of Mexico. Calhoun's political prospects.

N. Towson, Washington [D.C.], May 27, 1847. The war will be long and terminated only by the annexation of the whole of Mexico. The question of slavery must be settled soon, therefore. Could not the North be shown that cotton, rice, and sugar can not be raised without slavery, and if slavery is done away with the economic welfare and prosperity of the whole Nation are gone? The admission of new States and the slavery issue.

Edward J. Black, Scriven County, Jacksonboro, Ga. [between June and December, 1847]. Calhoun's strength in Georgia. Georgia is ready to temporize with principles and postpone the meeting of inevitable issues because of selfish, office-seeking political leaders. Talk of commercial retaliation against the North. Approves Calhoun's course on the Mexican War.

Samuel A. Wales, Eatonton, Ga., June 17, 1847. County convention in Georgia praises Calhoun's stand on slavery in the Territories and takes a stand exactly opposite to that of the North on the Wilmot Proviso. Crisis coming over slavery. Review of gains of the Abolitionists.

J. W. A. Pettit, Memphis [Tenn.], June 18, 1847. The Taylor boom is lessening Calhoun's chances for elevation to the Presidency in 1848. Taylor is probably the best the South can get under the circumstances. Denunciation of Benton. The sectional issue is being forced by the North and the aggressor then pretends to be defending itself against the South.

N. P. Tallmadge, Milwaukee [Wis.], June 26, 1847. Campaigning for Taylor, because he is independent of the party hacks. Disgusted with the spoils system. Taylor's prospects in Wisconsin and New York.

C. J. Faulkner, Martinsburg, Berkeley County, Va., July 15, 1847. Excitement in Maryland and Virginia over a law passed by Pennsylvania in March, 1847, interfering with the rendition of fugitive slaves. The institution of slavery is greatly weakened in Maryland and Virginia and the whole South should see that its future is endangered. Means of redress.

John H. Brinton, West Chester, Pa., July 16, 1847. Hopes to get Taylor to commit himself on the tariff, national bank, distribution, and constitutional treasury in a manner satisfactory to all Democrats. Nothing need be said about slavery in the Territories—an issue much beclouded. Taylor could and would be supported not as a party man, but for his sound stand on principles.

R. F. W. Allston, Waccamaw Beach [S. C.], July 28, 1847. Absenteeism in the low country is proving disastrous.

F. W. Byrdsall, New York [N. Y.], July 29, 1847. Van Buren, Wright, Young, Flagg, Hoffman & Co., have joined the Abolitionists in support of the Wilmot proviso, hoping to carry the State with the aid of the 20,000 Abolitionist votes they claim there are in New York.

James L. Orr, Anderson [S. C.], August 9, 1847. Mississippi Democracy is determined upon unwavering allegiance to party. Sentiment in the South strong for Taylor for President; probably he is the best man for the South in the present crisis.

Eustis Prescott, Harrodsburg Springs, Ky., August 20, 1847. Whigs of the North and East are planning to use Taylor sentiment to carry local elections now, but will next year turn again to Clay and high protection. Hopes to get the people aroused over principles in time to save the election. Discontent with conduct of the war.

Joseph W. Lesesne, Mobile [Ala.], August 21, 1847. Distrusts Taylor's fitness for the Presidency. The South is still bound too much to parties and not aroused over the Wilmot proviso and the forebodings it should inspire. The Calhoun press in Washington should not be established until the temper of the next Congress is learned. Opposition to Green for editorship.

Elwood Fisher, Cincinnati [Ohio], August 22, 1847. Local elections in the North. Some northern Whigs taking a stand against accession of territory from Mexico, in view of the slavery complication; others favor drawing the slavery issue at once. Democrats likewise in doubt. Distrust of Taylor on the tariff in the South. South seems to be united on the Wilmot proviso and the tariff, but can not agree on a candidate. The general outlook politically and sectionally.

Wilson Lumpkin, Athens [Ga.], August 27, 1847. Georgia and the South too closely identified with party organization to protect a common interest. Apathy in the South is hastening trouble and danger. Decisive action, without delay, would save the situation for the South; but the people can not be united for action. Georgia elections.

H. W. Peronneau, Charleston [S. C.], September 25, 1847. A committee in Charleston is trying to promote organization of the Southern States. Their circular letter, dated August 2, reviews the various advances of the Abolitionists and concludes that they are to have their way with the North. The South must be aroused and prepared for united, nonpartisan action. Subscriptions asked for, to establish at Washington a nonpartisan newspaper to represent southern views on slavery.

L. M. Keitt, Orangeburg, C. H. [S. C.], October 1, 1847. Proposes retaliatory legislation against Northern States whose laws interfere with the rendition of fugitive slaves.

H. W. Conner, Charleston [S. C.], October 6, 1847. Some disposition in the North to abandon the Wilmot proviso because it might stimulate southern unity to the point that the South would be irresistible. The South, however, is not yet awake to her dangerous position and has no effective organization; indolence, procrastination, and lack of means of communication—railroads—are the reasons.

Percy Walker, Mobile [Ala.], Oct. 10, 1847. Greatly alarmed at aggressions of "northern fanaticism," which mean loss of standing for the South constitutionally, financially, politically and socially, unless stopped. It is time to "show fight," but how can the Southern States be made to think and feel and act alike?

David Johnson, Lime Stone Springs [S. C.], October 26, 1847. Hopes no territory will be acquired from Mexico. More worried over northern State laws inviting "our slaves to run away" than over the Wilmot Proviso, which is unimportant compared with the other movements of the Abolitionists. If the central government can not or will not protect the Southern States, they must protect themselves. Ready to fight unconstitutional measures with unconstitutional measures—strike at northern commerce. How can concert of action be brought about? Let one State show the way by action, or call a conference of southern Congressmen to recommend a decisive course. Opposes the seizure of Mexican territory; analysis of the circumstances and motives back of the war.

Eustis Prescott, Memphis [Tenn.], November 8, 1847. The Wilmot Proviso will be the issue in the next presidential election. Parties must now divide, for and against the principle.

F. W. Byrdsall, New York [N. Y.], November 12, 1847. Disgusted with the "doughfaces" and the political situation in New York State. The Barnburners are simply using the Wilmot Proviso to defeat the Hunkers. The people care little about the Wilmot Proviso and it would die a natural death if the politicians would let it. Slavery the best condition for the African race in America.

John A. Calhoun, Eufaula [Ala.], November 22, 1847. Striving to amalgamate old parties and form a new one in Alabama. Asks advice as to how to unite the State Rights element and the Hunker element in the Democratic Party. Asks Calhoun's opinion on the position of several prominent men and events in general.

Wilson Lumpkin, Athens [Ga.], December 20, 1847. The president makers of both parties desire to avoid any action in Congress at present on the slave question. He wants an issue brought, to be rid of the numerous annoyances and menaces on the subject. Asks only constitutional rights. Views on the Mexican War. Calhoun, free from party control, would be the choice of the American people for the Presidency, but the politicians will not allow it.

J. D. B. DeBow, New Orleans [La.], December 26, 1847. Thinks Taylor is safe on most questions, including the tariff. Several Southern States are for him. Opposition to the Wilmot Proviso not as strong in Louisiana as in South Carolina. Local party situation. Election of a senator. The sugar planters and the tariff.

George H. Hatcher, Ballston Centre, January 5, 1848. The idea of extensive annexation of Mexican territory is rapidly winning favor among many classes in the North; the Abolitionists, and antislavery men generally, expect it to accomplish the ultimate overthrow of slavery.

Joseph Pickens, Eutaw, Ala., January 6, 1848. Blames Polk for rushing the country into war. Approves Calhoun's stand on the war.

W. F. DeSaussure, Columbia, [S. C.], January 7, 1848. Senate and house of the South Carolina Legislature could not agree on resolutions relating to the Mexican War. There is great alarm over the Wilmot Proviso, but no clear vision of how to meet it.

A. J. Donelson, Berlin [Germany], January 8, 1848. The Mexican War as conducted by the United States is injuring the cause of the liberal party in Europe. He wanted the war avoided because he dreaded the annexation

of territory west of the Rio Grande. Houston's plans before annexation. Problems raised by the war.

Elwood Fisher, Indianapolis [Ind.], January 17, 1848. Opposed to Taylor for President. His election would mean evasion instead of settlement of the slavery question. Taylor is reported to think more highly of Benton than of Calhoun. General comments on the coming election. Cass as a candidate. Rumors of a coming financial panic which would be a blessing in that it would end the war.

Louis McLane, Baltimore [Md]., January 18, 1848. Favors vigorous prosecution of the war, which was unavoidable. Comments on political phases of the war.

J. Gadsden, Charleston, S. C., January 23, 1848. Opposes the mad designs of conquest. The Sierra Madre as a boundary line.

D. J. McCord, Langsyne, near Fort Motte [S. C.], January 23, 1848. Approves Calhoun's speech on the Mexican War. Opposed to general conquest of Mexico. The will of the majority has been substituted for the Constitution.

J. K. Paulding, Hyde Park, Duchess County [N. Y.], January 24, 1848. Approves Calhoun's course on the war. Denounces the Wilmot Proviso as a political weapon of office seekers. Uncertainty of New York politics.

J. Winslow, New York [N. Y.], February 1, 1848. A native of New England, but neither a protectionist nor an antislavery advocate. Favors regulation rather than suppression of the slave trade. Favors introduction of free black laborers as indentured servants.

B. F. Perry, Greenville, S. C., February 23, 1848. Opposes, with Calhoun, the annexation or subjugation of the whole of Mexico, and wants the war stopped. Suggestions for stopping it.

J. A. Campbell, Mobile [Ala.], March 1, 1848. Analyzes various aspects of the question of slavery in the Territories and concludes that slave property can not be held there unless Congress enacts protective legislation. Opposes the lust for territorial acquisitions. Comments upon Yulee's position regarding slavery in the Territories. Southern politics and outlook.

C. A. Davis, New York [N. Y.], April 13, 1848. Interested in the passage of a bill by Congress for the better regulation of immigrant passenger ships.

R. K. Crallé, Lynchburg [Va.], April 19, 1848. Opposition in Virginia to Clay as a candidate for the Presidency.

Wyndham Robertson, jr., Memphis, Tenn., May 10, 1848. Fears the Abolitionists may force a dissolution of the Union over the slavery question. Tennessee thinks highly of Calhoun for his course on the question.

J. K. Paulding, Hyde Park, Duchess County [N. Y.], May 30, 1848. Approves Calhoun's speech on the Yucatan question. Comments on English policy in the suppression of the African slave trade.

H. Bailey, Charleston [S. C.], June 2, 1848. South Carolina can not support Cass, but had best not commit herself until after the Whig convention. Many in the State for immediate action against Cass and the Democratic party.

W. W. Harlee, Marion Courthouse [S. C.], June 8, 1848. Distrusts Cass and the northern Democrats. Disgusted with the zeal for party success rather than principles. Fears Taylor is not determined enough in opposition to the tariff and internal improvements to use the veto power.

Louis T. Wigfall, Galveston [Tex.], June 10, 1848. Distrusts Cass on the slavery question and thinks him unsale to handle our foreign relations. Can Taylor be trusted by the South?

W. L. Yancey, Montgomery, Ala., June 14, 1848. Finds the people of Alabama ignorant of the political character of Cass and likely to vote the regular ticket. Discouraged by their apathy and anxious to have them aroused.

M. Torrance, Columbus [Ga.], June 19, 1848. Analyzes two grave aspects of the territorial question. Favors Cass rather than the election of Taylor as a Whig.

George Dennett, Portsmouth, N. H., June 24, 1848. Approves Calhoun's position on slavery in the Territories. Says southern sympathizers in New Hampshire can give the vote of the State either to Cass or to Taylor, and want to vote for the one the South prefers.

F. W. Byrdsall, New York [N. Y.], June 25, 1848. Public opinion against the extension of slavery is accumulating to a dangerous extent in all parties in the North. Action by the South is imperative. A great southern convention should be called to produce a reaction in the North and East.

L. H. Morgan, Rochester, N. Y., June 30, 1848. Comments on northern attitude toward the territorial question and the Negro race.

Louis McLane, Baltimore [Md.], July 1, 1848. Questions the power of the Government over slavery in the Territories. Comments on the sinister influence of party politics in the antislavery movement.

Chesselden Ellis, New York City, July 5, 1848. Hopes for speedy settlement of the territorial question, for Van Buren is making political capital of it in a telling way, and will ride to victory on it unless it be settled at once. Denounces the Wilmot Proviso.

Eustis Prescott, Boston [Mass.], July 5, 1848. Van Buren is simply exploiting the antislavery movement for selfish political reasons. Disappointed with the nomination of Cass. Taylor unsafe, and Fillmore still more objectionable, in view of southern interests and southern Democratic principles.

Joseph W. Lesesne, Mobile [Ala.], July 5, 1848. Has no confidence in Taylor, even though a slaveholder. Cass still more objectionable. Objects to popular sovereignty in the territories. Van Buren an unscrupulous and vindictive demagogue. Organization of a new party in the North avowedly against slavery presents both a danger and a duty to the South. Abolition or disunion will ultimately be the choice. Fears the South can not be aroused to action. Many conflicting opinions in the South regarding the question of slavery in the Territories.

E. M. Seabrook, Edisto Island [S. C.], July 8, 1848. The choice between the presidential candidates is but a choice of evils.

A. J. Donelson, Berlin [Germany], July 8, 1848. Comments on the presidential election. Governmental changes in Germany. Slavery must be maintained in the tropical regions. Cuba belongs to us by nature.

Benjamin F. Porter, Cave Spring, Ga., July 17, 1848. Praises Calhoun's unselfish statesmanship. Nothing will stop abolition. Many slaveholders are conceding the right of the people of territories to prohibit slavery. A nonpartisan union of southerners for protection of southern rights is needed. Suggests establishment of a paper in the South to promote this end.

Lewis F. Allen, Black Rock (N. Y.], July 19, 1848. Invites Calhoun to deliver the annual address for the New York State Agricultural Society.

R. K. Crallé, Lynchburg [Va.], July 23, 1848. Many in Virginia would welcome a chance to vote for Calhoun for President, rather than Cass or Taylor. To consent to run the Missouri Compromise line to the coast would settle the question only temporarily and would yield up forever the constitutional question, of which the Abolitionists would soon make use. The territorial question will unite the South.

F. W. Byrdsall, New York [N. Y.], July 28, 1848. Believes that the North derives more of the profits of slavery than the owners of the slaves, and that the northern people should therefore be more interested in that institution than the southern people, if shown the facts.

George B. Butler, New York [N. Y.], July 29, 1848. The Free Soil meeting in New York City was a failure. Many praise the moderation of the South. Believes that the compromises of the Constitution will yet be preserved. The Clayton Compromise defeated.

J. D. Wilson, Society Hill [S. C.], August 4, 1848. Asks advice as the to proper stand on the election. Distrusts both Taylor and Cass.

J. T. Trezevant, Memphis, Tenn., August 16, 1848. Fears Taylor would not veto a Wilmot Proviso law. The anti-slavery forces are now so strong that the South must be sure it votes for a President who would use the veto power to defend it.

S. Graham, Northampton, Mass., August 17, 1848. Answers one of Calhoun's points regarding the constitutionality of congressional control over slavery in the Territories. Comments on the nominations.

J. Gadsden, Charleston, S. C., August 19, 1848. Submits letters by Taylor to prove he is pledged to nothing to the Whigs. South Carolina can be more nearly unified in support of Taylor than Cass; to stand for neutrality—throwing her vote away—would disastrously divide the State.

Richard Rush, Paris [France], August 25, 1848. Prefers the Union with slavery to a dismemberment of the Union. Affairs in Europe.

H. V. Johnson, Milledgeville [Ga.], August 25, 1848. Georgia divided over the "Compromise bill." Asks Calhoun to write a letter defending it, to be read at a public dinner.

Wilson Lumpkin, Athens [Ga.], August 25, 1848. The final issue upon the slave question has come sooner than expected. A united South could hold her own, but the South is not united. Office seekers are her undoing. The election.

Charles N. Webb, Halifax, N. C., September 1, 1848. The interests and position of the South relative to the Presidental election and the Territorial question. A crisis is fast approaching.

A. Burwell, Vicksburg [Miss.], September 12, 1848. The South is in greater peril than ever before. An end must be brought to the discussion and agitation at once, or the South will be lost. The South should present her terms of settlement of the slavery question as an alternative to secession. How can this be accomplished?

A. J. Donelson, Frankfort [Germany], September 27, 1848. Denounces northern hypocrisy. Slavery has aided American democracy. Affairs in Germany.

James H. Taylor, Charleston [S. C.], October 3, 1848. Cotton manufacturing in Charleston.

Osee Welch, Galena, Ill., October 7, 1848. Calhoun's friends in Illinois deny that Congress has power over the Territories. Denounces general usurpation of power by Congress.

C. W. Jacobs, Berlin, Worcester County, Md., October 12, 1848. Asks advice for himself and fellow citizens as to whom to support for the Presidency. Distrusts Taylor, as well as Cass, since the former's statement about the use of the veto power.

David Johnson, Lime Stone Springs [S. C.], October 18, 1848. Stands with Calhoun opposed to change in the method of electing presidential electors. Worried over the growing strength of the Abolitionists and the prospect that the border States will soon give up slavery as unprofitable. Still, the remaining Southern States could make their rights respected if united. A southern convention is the only means of accomplishing unity.

Laurel Summers, Parkhurst, Scott County, Iowa, October 21, 1848. Denies the powers of Congress to charter a bank, legislate upon internal improvements, lay a protective tariff, or legislate upon the institution of slavery. Congress has no constitutional power to pass the Wilmot Proviso or to extend the Missouri Compromise line. Democrats of Iowa sound on this subject. Whigs are for Taylor and the Wilmot Proviso.

Charles G. DeLavan, Baltimore [Md.], October 24, 1848. Greatly favors Taylor over Cass, as more likely to be true to southern interests. Relation between the Free Soil and Whig Parties in the North.

Z. L. Nabers, Carrolton, Ala., November 29, 1848. A crisis rapidly approaching. Wants Calhoun's opinion upon the propriety of holding a southern convention.

C. G. Memminger, Columbia [S. C.], December 9, 1848. Resolution passed declaring South Carolina ready to cooperate with her sister States in resisting the principle of the Wilmot Proviso at any and every hazard.

G. A. Trenholm, Charleston [S. C.], December 11, 1848. Denounces the act of 1834 altering the "value of gold" as injurious to the cotton-growing States.

J. B. Jones, Philadelphia [Pa.], December 14, 1848. The Abolitionists, courted and aided and abetted by party leaders, will soon overthrow the Constitution in regard to southern rights. The South has as much just cause to resist oppression by forces as the colonies had against Great Britain. The prosperity of northern cities rests upon commerce with the slaveholding States; a threat of nonintercourse might bring them to justice. Hopes Taylor will be "constitutional and Southern" in principle.

J. T. Tasker, Boston, Mass., January 2, 1849. Attitude of northern Democrats and Whigs toward the South. Importance of unity of purposes and action among southerners. Probable policy of Taylor. Southern pressure on Talor might work out a compromise policy which would save the Union.

Wilson Lumpkin, Athens [Ga.], January 3, 1849. The crisis has come over the slavery question. Only prompt and united resistance by the South will save it.

Louis T. Wigfall, Marshall [Tex.], January 4, 1849. Texas will stand with the other Southern States for their rights under the Constitution and recognize only the compromises which it contains. He hopes South Carolina will strike a blow which will rally the South as nothing else will.

Jeremiah Clemens, Huntsville, Ala., January 8, 1849. Asks assistance in framing and urging a bill for the Alabama Legislature prohibiting the further introduction of slaves into the State, in order to prevent the border States from being lost to the Slave States.

George B. Butler, New York [N. Y.], January 26, 1849. Writing for the Journal of Commerce in defense of Calhoun and the South.

C. R. Clifton, Jackson, Miss., January 30, 1849. The South should act at once. Something should be done to keep the border States from sending all their negroes south and thus becoming free States.

F. W. Byrdsall, New York [N. Y.], February 1, 1849. New York newspapers denounce and belittle the southern address and the meeting of the southern Members of Congress. Now is the time of trial—to prove whether the South will unite and defend herself or prove recreant. An ultimatum of redress or disunion will solve the problem speedily and satisfactorily.

J. C. Weems, Traceys Landing Post Office, Loch Eden [Md.], February 19, 1849. Party truckling caused the failure of some of the southern Congressmen to sign the southern address.

W. Gilmore Simms, Woodlands [S. C.], February 19, 1849. Demoralizing influence of party organization explains the fact that some signatures are missing

from the southern address. Lack of southern unity alone prevents complete triumph. The address will have good effect.

Robert Wickliffe, Lexington [Ky.], February 26, 1849. Without union the South is lost. Denounces the Whigs of the South.

F. W. Byrdsall, New York [N. Y.], March 16, 1849. Ridicules the explanations of southern Congressmen who refused to sign the address. Emphasizes need of southern unity.

W. P. Starke, Charleston, S. C., April 4, 1849. Complains of "careless indifference" and "moral paralysis" of the South. The electoral question before the legislature.

F. W. Byrdsall, New York [N. Y.], April 20, 1849. Claims of Whigs and Democrats to the patronage at the disposal of Taylor. Approves Fisher's lecture on the North and the South.

F. W. Byrdsall, New York [N. Y.], May 7, 1849, Tells of the harm done by southern traitors to the cause. Political situation in Virginia hopeful. Denounces Seward and shows his power politically. The South must act.

H. S. Foote, Washington [D. C.], June 5, 1849. Denounces Benton's Wilmot Proviso speech delivered in Missouri. Will do much harm unless properly answered by Calhoun.

Henry Young, New York [N. Y.], June 6, 1849. Benton will be the next candidate of the Free Soil Party. The Whig Party is likely to raise the same standard—free soil. Outlines the plans of the Abolitionists. Canada to be annexed.

J. T. Trezevant, Memphis [Tenn.], June 7, 1849. Promoting a railroad from Memphis to the South Atlantic seaboard. Tennessee divided seriously over the territorial question. Asks as to the powers of Congress and the Supreme Court on the question.

Richard Pollard, Alta Vista, Albermarle County, Va., June 11, 1849. The South should have a paper in Washington to advocate fearlessly her constitutional guarantees.

Samuel Treat, St. Louis, Mo., June 17, 1849. Denounces Benton's attack upon Calhoun and southern rights. Benton's position in Missouri.

H. V. Johnson, Milledgeville, Ga., June 28, 1849. Denounces Benton's speech. Ask Calhoun to reply for the sake of the South. Charges of disunion are doing harm and should be answered.

Rose Greenhow, Washington [D. C.], July 6, 1849. Solicitous about Calhoun's health. The administration will support the Wilmot Proviso. Ritchie's explanation of the policy of the Union.

D. L. Yulee, St. Augustine [Fla.], July 10, 1849. The South must act at once or she is lost. Reviews numerous dangerous elements of the situation which can be met only by a united South. How attain this? If southern security can not be attained by an amendment to the Constitution, a dissolution must follow. Several suggestions of plans of procedure and methods of adjustment.

R. B. Rhett, July 19, 1849. Congratulates Calhoun on his reply to Benton, who is now dead as a southern statesman. The South will win out on the territorial question but be defeated at the time of admission to statehood.

R. I. [?] Moses, Columbus, Ga., July 26, 1849. Approves Calhoun's reply to Benton and defense of the South. Western Georgia is being awakened to the issue as never before, in spite of the influence of party. The boldness of the North is rousing the people of Georgia in spite of her politicians. He looks to South Carolina as the State to be relied upon to resist forcibly infringement of her rights—coercion of her will rally the rest of the South.

Willis L. Williams, St. Louis, Mo., July 31, 1849. Denounces Benton, but fears his hold upon the State. Party situation in Missouri.

Thomas G. Clemson, Brussels [Belgium], August 1, 1849. Affairs in Europe. Sale of his plantation.

A. W. Venable, Brownsville [N. C.], August 7, 1849. Things look more hopeful in North Carolina. He waged a campaign on the issue of resistance or non-resistance, union or disunion, in the event of continued oppression, and won out as a resistance man against bitter opposition.

L. S. Hoe [?] Memphis [Tenn.], August 20, 1849. Opposed to the doctrine of nonintervention by Congress. Favors insisting upon extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the coast, as an alternative to separation.

Wilson Lumpkin, Athens [Ga.], August 27, 1849. Has lost confidence in the virtue and intelligence of southern people. South Carolina the only State prepared to do her whole duty; the rest corrupted by the spoils of office. The South is lost without unity, and yet she can not be united. Gloomy forebodings.

Rose Greenhow, Washington [D. C.], August 29, 1849. Denounces Ritchie as a truckling politician. Praises Buchanan and gives his views on the best policy for the South. Account of departure of a Cuban fillibustering expedition.

Benjamin Gardner, Eufaula [Ala.], September 5, 1949. Suggests that each Southern State arm and equip a regiment of volunteer emigrants to send to California to protect southern rights of property there by force if necessary.

Thomas G. Clemson, Brussels [Belgium], [September ?], 1849. Approves Calhoun's reply to Benton. Affairs in Europe.

J. Raven Mathews [Ga.], October 7, 1849. Political situation in Georgia. Proposes a third party, devoted solely to southern rights, to hold the balance of power and keep the other parties true.

J. H. Howard, Columbus [Ga.], October 8, 1849. Suggests course of action for southern legislatures and Congressmen, based on the Missouri Compromise line.

Elwood Fisher, New York [N. Y.], October 29, 1849. Prospects brighter in Kentucky and Missouri. The situation in California, and southern policy in regard to that State.

John A. Calhoun, Cedar Grove [S. C.], December 14, 1849. Even the South Carolina Legislature has deteriorated under the influence of factions. In the face of national peril too much attention is given to a local question—the State bank.

CORRESPONDENCE ADDRESSED TO JOHN C. CALHOUN

From George McDuffie[1]

CHEERY HILL [S. C.], *29th Oct. 1837.*

MY DEAR SIR; I have received your letter from Washington written just before the adjournment, with your last Speech.[2] Though all must admit that you have made a profound and masterly exposition of the subject of banking, I regret to be constrained to differ with you as to the expediency of *overthrowing* it, by any process however gradual. We must be content to regulate and restrain the banks as far as we can, but I cannot believe either in the wisdom or practicability of any measure which looks to their destruction. The measure of exacting specie in payment of all government dues, though harsh in my opinion, and at this period of distress, most untimely, even if it were just and wise in the abstract, would not be half so objectionable but for the avowed and open hostility to the whole banking system in which it originates, and of which it is the incipient belligerent measure. If I understand the issue presented, it is *banks or no banks.* On this issue I must prefer to "bear the ills we have, than fly to others that we know not of." The banking system as it now exists has not been the creation of a day. In a slow progress of half a century, it has "grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength," gradually accommodating itself to the wants of society, and stimulating industry and enterprise. It has thus become inseparably connected with every interest in the community, and however you may suppose it to be diluted, it is the actual blood which invigorates our social system. Now, weak and insufficient as this blood may be, I should think it extremely hazardous to open the veins of the body politic by way of invigorating the patient. I solemnly believe it would expire under the operation, or more probably would use the strength it has left to resist it. I am sure this country could not and would not endure the protracted spasm of passing from our present to a metallic currency. If every bank had come into existence by a public fraud, and if every bill issued were an act of swindling, it would be no reason for destroying those extended interests, which are now inseparably identified with the system, and which so far from participating in the supposed fraud and swindling,

[1] George McDuffie was one of the most eminent of South Carolina's statesmen. He was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1821–1834; governor of the State, 1834–1836; Senator, 1843–1846.

[2] Speech on the bill to separate the Government from the banks, delivered Oct. 3, 1837. Works of Calhoun, edited by R. K. Crallé, Vol. III, p. 102.

have grown up under the faith of the States, plighted by the several laws of incorporation. In fact the process of destroying, or unbanking the banks, would in my opinion, produce one hundred times as much suffering, and ten times as much injustice, as that of their creation, estimating the latter as highly as even you do.

A short analysis will make this evident. Without pretending to strict accuracy in statistical details, in which I am now but little conversant, I will assume our whole currency to be 150 millions, one hundred consisting of paper and fifty of specie. I will also assume the amount due the banks, on discounted notes and bills to be 400 millions. In this state of things the transition to a metallic currency would produce the following effects: It would reduce the currency from 150 to 50 millions. This would enhance the value of that portion of the national wealth which consists of money, 200 per cent, and diminish all other descriptions of wealth in a corresponding degree, *as between these two classes*. That is to say, the money holders could command twice as much property, as they could before the transition. This would be simply transferring property to the amount of 100 millions from the great mass of the enterprising and productive classes to the money holders, and not the least of these would be the bank stockholders themselves. But the operation would be still more unjust and ruinous between the debtor and creditor classes, the latter again composed principally of the banks. For recollect that these institutions would have during the proposed transition, to collect 400 millions of dollars from the community, which would have to be paid in a currency continually growing scarcer and more valuable, and after the 100 millions of bank notes should be called in, would have to be paid in specie, that is to say, 300 millions of debt would have to be discharged with 50 millions of specie! This it is obvious could not be done. The debtors of the bank, after giving up all their property, would be insolvent to the amount of millions. The whole tendency of the proposed change is to increase the value of money and depreciate the value of all other descriptions of property, concentrating the wealth of the country in the hands of the most unproductive class and the one least entitled to favor.

I know you will say that this process will be slow and gradual, but it will nevertheless produce the relative changes I have stated not the less certainly for being slow. If the operation should extend over twenty years, it would cause a continually decreasing proportion of currency, as compared with the wealth to be measured and circulated by it—a state of things of all others the most paralyzing to national industry and enterprise. If it be said that the exaction of specie in payment of all government dues, will not break down the banks nor lead to a metallic currency, but leave the banking system as we now have it, I can only say that your main argument in favor of the

change—the unsoundness and corrupting tendency of the banking system—would entirely fail. For why should we increase the general distress, by making the government play Shylock, if it is to end in giving the officers and contractors of the federal government, their salaries and dues in specie; leaving us not only the supposed curse of the banking system, but that system cut loose from its moorings? The federal government by agreeing to receive the bills of such banks only as will redeem their notes in specie, can present a very strong motive to the leading banks to resume payment, as soon as the state of the foreign exchange will permit—probably in three months. But if it refuse their bills in all cases, it can present no such motive. On the contrary it will, by drawing from five to ten millions of specie into its vortex, permanently withdraw that much of the means which would enable the banks to resume payment, diminishing at the same time their motives and their ability to do so.

Now I cannot perceive what benefit the country or any class of its citizens, except the office holders, the money holders and the manufacturers, would derive from a curtailment of banking operations, *produced by a previous curtailment of their specie basis.* If the government takes the specie and keeps it (to a certain amount) permanently employed in its fiscal operations, the operations of the banks will not be any sounder or safer; though limited in their extent [more] than they would have been in their original extent, with a proportionably larger amount of specie to sustain them. If the discounts and issues of the banks could be diminished, *without* diminishing their specie means, it might give some additional safety to their operations. But the proposed measure will diminish their means, and at the same time take away the only motive the federal government can fairly offer to them, to limit their issues. If only five millions of specie should be taken from the banks, while the government should refuse to receive their paper, these causes combined would render a curtailment of at least twenty millions in the bank circulation necessary. Now it seems to me that the process of curtailment will be severe enough without any artificial causes to increase it. Although I think this the very time for separating the government from the banks as depositories, it does seem to me the most unsuitable time that could have been selected for refusing to receive the bills of specie paying banks in discharge of the public dues.

Finally I believe this war against the banks urged by the federal government, will either break down the banks and produce the disasters I have described, or what is more probable, will create such a sympathy with the banks as will lead substantially to a more paper system, by causing such a change in public opinion, as to sustain the banks in permanently suspending specie payments from a conviction of its impossibility.

I have thus presented my opinions fully and frankly, that you may distinctly understand that they are not hastily formed. The strong language in which I denounced Benton's gold scheme [3] in my last Speech on the removal of the deposits, and the uniform current of my published opinions on the subject of banking and currency, place me distinctly on the ground I now occupy. I can not change that position, and I should deplore any attempt to make an organization of political parties on this question. I think the Reformer [4] has been imprudent and hasty in denouncing Preston,[5] and the Telescope [6] not much less so in defending him. I will conclude my objections to the exaction of specie in payment of the dues of the Government, by one peculiar to the South. It will certainly enhance the tariff, in the degree that specie may be more valuable than our common state currency, and God knows how much that may be.

Upon the whole, then, I think the separation from the banks as depositories—standing by itself—would be a salutary, practicable and popular measure, and that it never can succeed coupled with the other.

I have had more sickness than usual at my plantation and regret to learn that you have had a great deal. My cotton crop with a uniformly unfavorable season, and the loss of 30 or 40 bales by the storm, will turn out seven bales to the hand, with a large surplus of corn. I have made 46 bushels per acre on an old field (100 acres) that would not have brought 12 bushels this very dry year without manure. By this system, with large oat crops, I can make as much cotton as I can pick out the worst of seasons.

From Thomas G. Clemson [7]

FORT HILL [S. C.], *Xber* [8] *22[nd] 1840*

MY DEAR SIR,

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Yesterday (Monday) and today the waggons have been hauling ice. The cart and two waggons yesterday, the cart and one waggon

[3] Thomas Hart Benton, born in North Carolina, moved to Tennessee, where he began the practice of law; served in the War of 1812; removed to St. Louis, Mo., where he was an editor and lawyer. He was a prominent Democratic Senator, 1821–1851, 1853–1855. In the debates over a bill to recharter the Second National Bank, Benton delivered an elaborate and carefully prepared speech in favor of hard money and a currency of the precious metals. He was the strongest hard-money man then in public life, being popularly nicknamed "Old Bullion." He continued his speeches in 1837. For Benton's speech on Mar. 21, 1834, see Congressional Debates, Vol. X, Pt. I, p. 1073ff.

[4] The Reformer was a daily, published in Washington, D. C.

[5] William Campbell Preston, of South Carolina, was a Calhoun Nullifier, Senator, 1833–1842; president of South Carolina College, 1846–1851.

[6] The Columbia Telescope, Columbia, S. C.

[7] Thomas G. Clemson married Calhoun's eldest daughter, Anna, on Nov. 13, 1838. He inherited the estate of Fort Hill, and preserved the papers from which the letters in this volume are selected. By his will he founded the Clemson Agricultural College.

[8] Mr. Clemson seems uniformly to have used Xber for December.

today, the other waggon has been going to prepare the homestead with wood for Christmas week. The ice was about an inch thick and very easily collected from the pond and brought on shore, where it was piled up and whence hauled to the ice house over the new road which has thus far appeared indispensable. The ice house is now about one third full. We shall seize the first opportunity and not rest until it will hold no more.

The gin was put into operation yesterday and runs well requiring but little water in comparison with the mill.

The clearing is progressing, and the ditch through which Sawney's branch is to run into the dam nearly terminated.

We are driving on as fast as we can, but if we do not do as much as you anticipated, it is partly owing to the innumerable things to be done, which are daily coming to light and which it is impossible to foresee, for it really appears as if everything had been neglected and everything to be renovated. Mr. Fredericks seems to be desirous of doing [well] and if he continues will I think give satisfaction. His services at the smith shop will of themselves economise a good deal.

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From Thomas G. Clemson

FORT HILL [S. C.,] *Xber*[9] *27th 1840*

MY DEAR SIR: We are in the midst of Christmas vacation. The hands recommence work on Wednesday next. Considering the quantity of work to be done four days is rather much but Mr. Fredericks said it was customary to give that time and it was given. * * *

There appears to be no iron, fit for making the ditching spade, in the village, and those which you procured previously to your departure are not as good as those used when you were here. I think you would do well if you would procure for yourself a half dozen good spades for ditching now that you have an opportunity for I have no doubt you can procure them in Washington or Baltimore, made expressly for the purpose and thus save money, time and trouble.

I have been collecting all the old axes and yesterday sent seven to Fullers to have them laid with steel. This will make a saving hereafter.

The place is very much in want of a suitable house for keeping tools and working in on rainy days. I find it impossible to get along without it and therefore have determined to remove the old bathing house (which stands near the old poultry yard) up near the smith shop. It can be done in a short time and will answer a good purpose. The

[9] I. e., December.

negro cabins of which you spoke to Mr. Fredericks will take a good many boards to cover them. The four ditchers will necessarily have to quit their present work and go to riving, and making rails for the lower part of the plantation.

Mr. Lewis informs me that you can have as much land as you want upland and low ground at two dollars the acre, as the whole place is to be rented. I enclose you the advertisement.

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From F. W. Pickens [10]

EDGEWOOD [S. C.,] *2d Oct. 1841*

MY DEAR SIR: I arrived home safely and found the most perfect health I ever knew at this season prevailing at all my places. I have not had a single case of fever at either plantation this year. I came by my river place and found that the most extraordinary freshet ever known had occurred on Thursday and Friday 16th. It seems that the center of the storm was about Capt. Cunningham's in [illegible] and was about 20 miles sqr—true there was rain everywhere, but it was far worse there than anywhere else. The consequence was that I hear the river was 6 feet higher at Capt. Cunningham's than ever known, and it was 2 feet 4 inches higher at my place than the great May freshet a year ago, which was near 3 feet higher than the Yazoo. I lost about 80 bags of cotton—the overseer thinks more but I do not. I had about 40 acres almost entirely lost, 60 more badly hurt, 100 slightly injured in the lower branches, and 100 not hurt at all. I have no doubt I would have made 10 bags to the hand or 3000 lbs. to the hand. I never saw such cotton in my life as what is left—much of it will produce 2000 lbs. per acre—no rot nor worm and matured to the top. As to my corn it was nothing as I have a plenty of old corn to do the place another year, but still I have lost only about 1/3. The river was not very high 30 miles below me, at least not higher than it has often been. As to my home place, I have the worst cotton crop I ever saw on it. The overseer was drunk half the year, and neglected to work it until it was too late, and the late working only makes it grow without maturing. I shall not make 1/2 crop here unless the Fall is very late. My crop on Turkey Creek where I keep a negro overseer, is very fine. I think the cotton good for about 900 lbs. per acre, much better than common for that land. As to grain crop I allways make an abundance at any rate, and never sell anything of the kind, except wheat. * * *

I never knew as much land to be sold any Fall as at present, and also as many negroes. Several of our wealthiest citizens have died

[10] Gen. Francis W. Pickens, the son of Governor Andrew Pickens, Calhoun's first cousin, was a Nullifier in 1832; member of the House of Representatives, 1834–1843; Minister to Russia, 1858–1860; Governor of South Carolina, 1860–1862, when he had a leading part in the secession movement.

without wills lately. One of my neighbor's property is to be sold on one two and three years credit for division; 152 negroes and upwards of 7,000 acres of land. Artemus Watson is dead at the Ridge with a fine plantation and buildings and 100 negroes to be sold, and I hear about 500 negroes are soon to be sold from deaths in the same way not far off, from different estates. I understand the same is the case in Abbeville. Gov. Noble's [11] land is to be sold—your Brother William's—Capt. J. Calhoun's [12] at the Hills—the finest uplands in the state almost—Capt. Elmore's [13] etc. etc. What a settlement could be made of Elmore's and Capt. J. Calhoun's!

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From R. K. Crallé [14]

LYNCHBURG, [VA.,] *Oct. 8th, 1841.*

MY DEAR SIR:

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The effect of the two vetoes [15] on the politicians at the Virginia Springs, where I was at the time, can hardly be conceived. You, perhaps, saw the proceedings of both Parties at the White Sulphur. Clay's [16] friends were greatly exasperated, but the movement they made rather injured than benefited their leader. The response of the other party was prompt, and without doubt, contributed much the more reasonable portion of the other Party to reason [sic]. Judge Porter [17] took an active part in the meeting of the Whigs, but was himself disappointed at the apathy of his friends. He was, for some time previous, aware of the course Mr. Tyler [18] would pursue,—Clay, though he professed surprise in his place, having written to him some weeks before fully on the subject. You were thought to be the Director of the President in the matter, and, of course, honoured with bitter curses. But what is the future to reveal? Will Tyler go back? Rumors to that effect are rife here; and the appointment of Spencer [19]

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[11] Col. Patrick Noble, a first cousin of Mrs. Calhoun, was Governor of South Carolina, 1838–1840.

[12] John Ewing Calhoun was the son of Calhoun's first cousin, Senator John E. Calhoun, and brother of Mrs. Calhoun. He was at one time a captain in the United States Army.

[13] Franklin H. Elmore was a member of the House of Representatives, 1836–1839; president of the Bank of the State of South Carolina, 1839–1850. In 1824 he was appointed aide to Governor Manning, with the rank of colonel.

[14] Richard K. Crallé was a journalist who later became confidential clerk to Calhoun when he became Secretary of State. Crallé edited the Works of John C. Calhoun, in 6 volumes, published in 1851.

[15] President Tyler, on Aug. 16, 1841, vetoed a bill to incorporate the "Fiscal Bank of the United States"; on Sept. 9, 1841, he vetoed a bill to incorporate the "Fiscal Corporation of the United States."

[16] Henry Clay, of Kentucky, was Senator, 1806–7, 1810–11, 1831–1842, 1849–1852; Representative, 1811–1814, 1815–1820, 1823–1825; Secretary of State under Adams, 1825–1829; defeated as the Whig candidate for President in 1832 and in 1844.

[17] Augustus S. Porter was a Whig Senator from Michigan, 1840–1845.

[18] John Tyler, of Virginia, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1817–1821; Governor, 1825–1827; Senator, 1827–1836; elected as Whig Vice President of the United States in 1840; became President after the death of Harrison, 1841–1845.

[19] John Canfield Spencer was a New York Democrat, appointed Secretary of War by PresidentTyler on Oct. 12, 1841, and on Mar. 3, 1843, transferred to the position of Secretary of the Treasury.

is of very equivocal signification. I hear through a private channel that he will recommend a Bank, based upon the proceeds of the sale of the Public Lands, and that this project willfurnish the grounds upon which he will recommend a repeal of the Law. I hope you will not favor this scheme, and no other that will bear the features of a Bank. At present you are regarded, without co-rival, as the leader of the Republican Party of the South, and I trust you will not jeopard a distinction so well earned by any compromise whatever. The Bank excitement is passing and must pass away. The myrmidons of Mr. Clay cannot keep it alive. The State Bank interest is now almost universally opposed to the incorporation of a national institution, and the highest ground may be taken with safety.

As to the Presidential question, little is said among the political leaders in the range of my acquaintance. Should Tyler pursue a straightforward course he may have some chance of a nomination; but his attempt to form a Third Party out of the friends of Rives,[20] Webster,[21] etc., will inevitably fail. I am told by a confidant of his that in due time he will come out and relinquish all claim to a nomination, but I doubt it. It seems to me that the entire Southern Party must rally on you, unless the natural direction of events be thwarted by the machinations of Buchanan [22] and Benton. Neither of these have any moral force in Virginia, and without the aid of Ritchie,[23] they would be utterly imbecile. I cannot ascertain what R[itchie]'s feelings or purposes are. I shall be in Richmond next week, and shall seek to gain some information on that head. If Tyler withdraw, there cannot, in my opinion, be a doubt as to the true policy of the Republican Party. They must place you in opposition to Clay, whom the Nationals are *determined* to run. I wish to see *that contest*.

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From J. A. Stuart [24]

CHARLESTON S. C. *Oct. 11, 1841*

DEAR SIR, I received your letter last week, and would have acknowledged it before this but for some days sickness. I need not express

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[20] William C. Rives was a Member of the House of Representatives from Virginia, 1823–1829; minister to France, 1829–1832; Senator, 1832–1834, 1836–1845; minister to France, 1849–1853; and member of two Confederate Congresses.

[21] Daniel Webster was born in New Hampshire and elected a Representative from that State to Congress, 1813–1817; moved to Boston in 1816; Representative from Massachusetts, 1823–1827; Senator, 1827–1841; Secretary of State under Harrison and Tyler, 1841–1843; Senator, 1845–1850; Secretary of State under Fillmore, 1850–1852.

[22] James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1821–1831; minister to Russia, 1832–1834; Senator, 1834–1845; Secretary of State under Polk, 1845–1849; minister to Great Britain, 1853–1856; President of the United States, 1857–1861.

[23] Thomas Ritchie was the famous editor of the Richmond Enquirer, 1804–1845, and of the Washington Union, 1845–1849.

[24] John A. Stuart was editor of the Charleston Mercury, 1832–1845.

my full concurrence in your views as to the proper course we ought to pursue towards the fragments of the Whig party, in case either of them should ever present anything like a respectable strength, but the news of the last week shews that our predictions are distanced by the rapidity of their dissolution. They have melted away, and I need now scarce do more than congratulate you upon the assured triumph of our party and in that I hope of our principles. That the Democracy will come into power now scarcely admits doubt. The danger is of its growing so huge as to split. It has an ordeal to meet, to act out its principles, and redeem its pledges, and though the chance of success is fair, it will yet require active and careful management, to keep some portions of the party true to the principles by which they have conquered. Neither Tyler nor Clay are now to be feared. No opposition is to be feared, if the party are true to the position in which South Carolina has placed them. If they hold it firmly, the time of their losing power is very remote. But if they yield to the consolidating principles of a portion, they will build up out of a class now weaker than ever they have been, a nucleus for Federalism in our own ranks. But forewarned on this point we are forearmed, and will anticipate the best! The appointment of Spencer,[25] the anti-slavery adviser of Seward,[26] though it seems to have been a well advised political move, as respects New York, is a wound to the South which was not to be expected from a Southern President. It separates Tyler more widely than his weakness had already done from our support, but the rush of public opinion will sweep him so much to the right side, that he will give very little trouble. All of our friends are in the best spirits, and the only danger is that with such an open sea and fair wind, we may lack excitement, and relax in exertion.

It will give me great satisfaction to hear from you again under this unexpectedly rapid clearing up of the political sky.

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From F. W. Pickens

EDGEWOOD [S. C.,] *12 Oct. 1841*

MY DEAR SIR, I recd. your last and shall attend to it as soon as I can find time. You see how the Georgia elections have gone. I am sure I am now right in my opinion as *to your time.* I will write Black [27] and Cooper [28] immediately. Black is in the Senate, and will

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[25] See note 19 in preceding letter.

[26] William Henry Seward, of New York, was a Whig governor of the State, 1838–1842; Senator, 1849–1861; Secretary of State under Lincoln and Johnson, 1861–1869.

[27] Edward Junius Black, of Georgia, was elected to Congress as a State Rights Whig and served as a Member of the House of Representatives, 1839–1843; he was reelected as a Democrat and served, 1843–1845.

[28] Mark Anthony Cooper was a Democratic Representative from Georgia, 1839–1843; he was defeated as the Democratic candidate for governor in 1843.

do well to move; Colquitt [29] is in the house. See Lumpkin [30] if you can. I will write Woodberry [31] as you request, but I will be very cautious, as I know from the very nature of things that others must have a greater control over him than you can have. My judgment is that Georgia is the very place to move. The thing would appear more *natural* there [than] any where. If the Legislature in caucus (the Rep[ublican] portion), would move without division and in spirit, it would sweep the country from the Poto[mac] to the Miss [issippi].

As to Hunter's [32] opinion, he is controled entirely by Va politics, and is timid—a good and an intelligent man in *backing*, but will never move. He thinks like most Virginians that the U. S. are in Va. But I see that the Rich: Enquirer seems to be moving for Tyler, and from the communications in it I should say that the leaders in Va are strongly disposed to rally on him. I think the delegations were that way. We will see. I have written Elmore as to what I thought we ought to do in this State, also to Hammond [33] and several others.

Now that Georgia has given way, I think we will carry every State, except Ohio, Mass., Kenty., and Md. If Va rallies on Tyler, it will make him strong, but in an emergency Clay's friends would defeat him if it became absolutely necessary. They would take you rather than see Tyler succeed. If so, I hope they will not canvass on you, but merely come in in the last stage to cast a vote.

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From Wilson Lumpkin

ATHENS, [GA.,] *Oct. 26. 1841.*

MY DEAR SIR—I have this moment retd. from the Post office and rec'd your interesting favour of the 20th. Inst. Our views in regard to the situation, and true interest of the country, *are the same. Identical.* In your letter now before me, you have given my conceptions of men and things, in more concise and perspicuous terms, than I could do, were I to attempt it.

I most sincerely reciprocate the spirit, in which your letter is written. You and myself are both admonished, by our years, and the

[29] Walter Terry Colquitt was a Member of the House of Representatives from Georgia, 1841–1843; Senator, 1843–1848.

[30] Wilson Lumpkin was a Democratic Representative from Georgia, 1815–1817, 1827–1831; governor, 1831–1835; Senator, 1837–1841.

[31] Levi Woodbury was a Democratic Senator from New Hampshire 1825–1831; Secretary of the Navy, 1831–1834; Secretary of the Treasury, 1834–1841; Senator, 1841–1845; Justice of the Supreme Court, 1846–1851.

[32] Robert M. T. Hunter was a Member of the House of Representatives from Virginia 1837–1843, 1845–1847; Senator, 1847–1861; Secretary of State in the Confederate Government.

[33] James H. Hammond was a prominent State Rights leader in South Carolina; Member of the House of Representatives, 1825–1836; governor, 1842–1844; Senator, 1857–1860.

considerations which identify our lives, with the interest and prosperity of the country in which we live, to the exercise of a pure and lofty patriotism. It is time for us, to offer up the sacrifice (if need be) of personal and party considerations, upon the *alter* of our country. I believe, we are both ready, to yield up, all personal considerations, to see the government of our country administered in the true spirit of the constitution. But your letter demands from me (not in words, but in spirit) that I should speak to you frankly in regard to men, in connection with the present state, of the political prospects of the country.

The political party, to which we are attached from principle, can never think of rallying on Mr. Tyler. That point is clearly settled. Many considerations, has given Mr. Van Buren [34] a strong hold on the affections and support of the party, and we shall, as I already perceive, find very many of our friends, actuated from all the various motives (good and bad) which might be adverted to if I had time, actively engaged to recall him to the Presidency. Indeed, I have already discovered in Georgia, that silent efforts are making, to give to publick opinion a direction favorable to the *recall* of Mr. Van Buren. All this is susceptible of ample illustration, but I have not time, to dwell upon individual acts and motives. What I have said above, is sufficient to satisfy you, that I coincide intirely in your views, in regard to the necessity of immediate prudent action. But that action must be regulated, in its extent, by circumstances which are not yet sufficiently developed. I am preparing to leave home for Milledgeville, at an early day, where I expect to meet the gentlemen named in your letter, and many others, whose views coincide with theirs and mine. Your letter, nor its contents, shall ever be used imporperly. After I see and converse with the gentlemen named, I shall be better prepared to determine on future action.

Without regard to personal considerations and with a Single Eye, to the good, the Honor and the glory of my beloved Country, none will be more gratifyed than myself, to find that the Voice of the people, shall designate you, as the individual best calculated to preside over the destiny of our glorious experiment of self government, upon a large scale. Your Remarks, in refference to the identity of interests, and capacity for useful influence—existing in the two States of So. Carolina and Ga. is too obvious to be overlooked by any, but the most superficial observer.

As far back as twenty five years ago, my views and efforts were directed to the importance of Unity of interest and action on the part of our two states. But alas! the impediments which then existed,

[34] Martin Van Buren was a Democratic Senator from New York, 1821–1828; governor, 1828–29; Secretary of State, 1829–1831; Vice President, 1833–1837; President, 1837–1841; defeated for reelection in 1840.

are not yet all removed. Georgia has ever been cursed, with selfish Office Seeking, time serving men.

Southern men (& their friends) who desire the office of Vice President, and other high places, would willingly have a Northern President with Southern principles, for the sake of their own convenience and gratification.

From Milledgeville, I will again write to you, and after my return home, I hope to have it my power to visit you, before you leave for Washington. If I do not, my best wishes await you, for I know that whereever you are, you will be useful.

From J. H. Howard [35]

MILLEDGEVILLE [GA.,] *Novr. 13th '41*

DEAR SIR

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That portion of the democratic party who heretofore belonged to the old States right Party are without exception open in the expression of their wishes that the nomination should fall on you. All the old Union men are decidedly favorable to your nomination, but feel that Van Buren's claims should be respected. They are however prepared to extend to you their preference, provided your prospects are equally good in other states. I have also the satisfaction to state, that a number of the Whigs have also expressed themselves favorable to the policy of concentrating the state in your favor, but while this opinion is *openly* expressed by some of them many perhaps the great majority of them still entertain the determination to continue a strong [?] opposition. I was in hopes they would not rally. I have been using my exertions to obliterate old party distinctions and was in hopes a few days past that my efforts were likely to be crowned with some success at last. But last night Dawson [36] resigned and they nominated their ticket, viz., Gilmer,[37] Dougherty, and Wright, the latter in the Cherokee region and rather obscure and unknown in the state. We shall beat them I think with Colquit, Cooper and Black.

Our general measures consist in a reasonable reduction of the salaries, a postponement of further expenditure upon the road[38] for the present or a very slight appropriation for its continuance until our finances are improved, and some summary process against the Banks

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[35] Maj. John H. Howard, of Columbus, Ga., was one of the most prominent supporters of Calhoun in Georgia.

[36] William C. Dawson was elected to the House of Representatives from Georgia as a State Rights Whig and served 1836–1841, when he resigned; Senator, 1849–1855.

[37] George R. Gilmer was a Democratic Member of the House of Representatives from Georgia, 1821–1823, 1827–1829, 1833–1835; governor, 1829–1831, 1837–1839; presidential elector on the Harrison ticket in 1840.

[38] For an account of the Georgia Railroad, see U. B. Phillips, History of Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt to 1860, ch. 5.

to secure the bill holders. We are also using our efforts to shorten the usual time of our sessions and hope to adjourn by the first of December. Do let me have your views fully and freely as requested in my letter from Columbus.

P. S. We shall not adjourn without paying proper attention to the acts of the call session and our faithful Senator, Berrien.[39] I have the paper already drawn and shall offer it in a day or two under the authority of the committee on the State of the Republic. Govr. Lumpkin has been here, and has not been inactive. I have had a thorough understanding with him, and believe he will continue to use proper exertions to carry into practical operation the principles of the party. I ask again is there any probability of getting Van Buren's personal exertions in our behalf?

From William Carroll [40]

NASHVILLE [TENN.,] *November 18, 1841.*

MY DEAR SIR: Permit me to congratulate you on the extraordinary political changes which have taken place in our country during the last few months. It must be peculiarly gratifying to you, especially as the great principles you have so long and so ably advocated seem now to be acknowledged as orthodox by the Democracy in all parts of the Union. We lost the election in Tennessee from a want of confidence in our ability to overcome the majority which the Whigs obtained at the presidential election a year ago. Last Spring I urged our friends by letters and otherwise, to call a State convention, the object of which was to urge upon the Delegates the necessity of a systematic organization of county committees of vigilance, whose attention should be directed exclusively to the wavering, and to bringing every Democratic voter to the polls on the day of the election. But from a variety of causes they could not be roused to proper action; and the election of a Whig by a single vote in one county, and a division of our friends in a Democratic county gave to the opposition fifty-one against forty-nine on joint ballot, though we have a majority of one in the Senate. I incline to the opinion however, that a compromise will take place, giving to each party a Senator in congress. If we get the Whig who appears now to be the most prominent, I shall be perfectly satisfied, as he is opposed to every measure of the called Session of congress, except the bank, and he is even against that as it was proposed. Indeed if the measures of the called Session had have been fully developed before our election, we should have

[39] John M. Berrien was a Democratic Senator from Georgia, 1825–1929; Attorney General under President Jackson, 1829–1831; Whig Senator, 1841–1852.

[40] William Carroll was a soldier who distinguished himself under Jackson during the War of 1812. He was Governor of Tennessee, 1821–1827, 1829–1835.

carried the State by a majority of ten thousand; and at this time it would be difficult to find a candidate for office bold enough to sustain Whig measures.

I am now about to call your attention to a subject upon which, perhaps I ought to be silent. If I transend the bounds of strict delicacy, I must throw myself upon your generosity and ask your forgiveness. Shortly after General Jackson [41] was first inaugurated he tendered to me the appointment of Charge-de-affairs to Central America, which I declined accepting, first because as the President was from Tennessee, we had as I thought but small claims to office, and because I could not think of giving up the chief Magistracy of the State for the one proposed, especially as I had received the suffrage of one hundred thousand voters, almost without opposition five times. Moreover in the war which had shed so much renown on the President I had not acted the part of a subaltern. I entered the service with him in the fall of 1812 and acted as Inspector General until the close of the Creek war. On the New Orleans campaign I was a Major General and next in command to General Jackson; and those who were associated with us in the defense of the City can testify as to the manner in which all my duties were performed. They know too what the fate of our great western emporiam would have been but for my timely arrival, for although General Jackson did all that it was possible for man to do, yet he could not have defended the City without men—and allow me to add that I descended the river against the positive orders of both the General and the Governor of the State. They directed me to march by land, but as an unusual quantity of rain had fallen that season, rendering the route almost impassable, I saw clearly that unless I went by water I could not reach New Orleans before the enemy. By the greatest possible exertions I reached the City at three O'clock on the 20th of December, 1814, only three days before the enemy landed. The responsibility was of no ordinary character, particularly as I was barely twenty-six years of age, and it was opposed by all my field and staff officers. My arrival with three thousand men in all respects prepared for battle, dispeled the gloom which pervaded the City, and gave confidence to a desponding community. In short I was with the General from the commencement to the close of the war, and I hope I will be pardoned for saying that I never shunned the post of danger. My blood was freely shed for my country, but for this I claim no peculiar credit, as I was only discharging a duty incumbent upon every citizen who claims to be a patriot, when the rights and liberties of his country are invaded by a foreign foe; and I was

[41] Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, Democrat, Member of the House of Representatives, 1796–97; Senator, 1797–98; served with distinction in the War of 1812; Governor of Florida, 1821; Senator, 1823–1825; defeated for the Presidency, 1824; President, 1829–1837.

pursuing the example of a father who fought the battles of his country and shed his blood in the war of the revolution. I never sought office from the general government, although General Jackson voluntarily tendered me several appointments besides the one before named, which I declined accepting for reasons which it would be useless to mention. Finally on the 24th of March, 1831, I received a letter from Mr. Van Buren Sec'y of State, in which he stated that he was directed by the President to say, that upon the return of Mr. Moore [42] from Columbia it was his intention to reduce the Mission to that government, and advance the one to Mexico to that of full minister, that when the change took place the latter appointment would be tendered to me, and desired me to say whether it would or would not be acceptable. I replied by expressing my thanks for the confidence the President was willing to repose in me, and stated that I would accept the appointment. Subsequently I recd a number of letters from the President Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Livingston,[43] all assuring me that when the appointment was made it would be confered on me. You will recollect that a Minister was not sent to Mexico until after the 4th of March, 1837, when the appointment was given to Mr. Ellis,[44] of Mississippi, doubtless for good reasons, but with which I was not made acquainted notwithstanding all that had passed. I did not think I was well treated, although I never have, nor never shall complain. My friends think I have some claims on the office, and intend bringing my name before the President. If they are successful, I can only promise to employ my whole time in faithful endeavours to execute the wishes of the Government, and I trust my labors would not be destitute of usefulness, particularly as I have a personal acquaintance with some of those high in authority in Mexico. I can, as my friends believe, bring to my aid the recommendations of the Legislatures of most of the western States; and I have great confidence that the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, my native State would favor my wishes. I have been severely afflicted for some years with rheumatism, a consequence of great exposure during the war; and medical gentlemen are of opinion, that a short residence in Mexico would remove the disease, especially as my general health is unusually good. If you can with strict propriety name the subject to the President, the favor will be gratefully remembered. This is the only letter I have written on the subject, and it is my intention not to interfere, confident that whatever my friends do or omit will be right.

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[42] Thomas Patrick Moore was a Democratic Member of the House of Representatives from Kentucky, 1823–1829; minister to Colombia, 1829–1833.

[43] Edward Livingston was Secretary of State under Jackson, 1831–1833.

[44] Powhatan Ellis was a Democratic Senator from Mississippi, 1825–1832; Federal judge, 1832–1836; chargé d'affaires to Mexico, 1836; minister to Mexico, 1839–1842.

From James Macqueen,

38 KENSINGTON SQUARE, [LONDON,] *3rd Febry 1842.*

DEAR SIR I have to acknowledge the receipt of your esteemed favor of the 9th ult. from Washington. In reference to the communications which I have received from Colonel Gadsden [45] these relate entirely to the advantages which will arise from the steamers touching at Charleston from the vast Lines of Communication of which it is or may be made The Centre but they say nothing with regard to the expense of the vast connecting Link in the interior. I should be glad to know this that I may watch every favorable opportunity that may occur to aid in carrying it into effect. I fully appreciate the object which you have in view and feel assured that it will ultimately be carried into effect. I agree with you however that this is not a favorable moment to seek the funds necessary for that purpose. But such a state of things cannot last long. There is too much Capital and property and good sense and I trust right feeling in both Countries to allow things to remain any longer in their present unsettled and unsatisfactory state. There is indeed a strong feeling here at present against the flagrant breach of faith advocated and advanced by some of your states but it does not apply to the general character of your people. If the States in question only plead inability and required time to pay it would not create either surprise or dissatisfaction in this Country and tho' the loss of dividends for a time might inconvenience some individuals still the belief of the very great resources of every part of your Country would maintain the Stock as property which would be transferable as becoming at no distant day available and in this light I hope and trust that every State in America will view the matter. It is deeply their interest to do so.

With regard to your banking system it is indeed in general in a wretched condition and it is impossible for any Country to thrive under it. But the evil may I think be easily remedied by forming Banks upon a proper system. In a Country with such vast resources as the U. States have, with such an enormous mass of saleable property for internal and external purposes created every year, there ought to be no want of funds to establish Banks upon a proper foundation. For any part of the U. States the system of Banking established in Scotland, where one Bank forms a complete check upon the issues of the other is I think the best because both the Capital, the proprietors, and the individuals who manage the Banks being well known the Public would have full confidence in them, their Notes

[45] James Gadsden, of Charleston, S. C., distinguished himself as lieutenant colonel of Engineers in the War of 1812, and later as an Army engineer. After his retirement from the Army he became a planter in Florida. Later he returned to his native State, South Carolina, became president of the South Carolina R. R., and engaged in commerce and in rice culture. He was made minister to Mexico in 1853, and negotiated the purchase treaty which bears his name.

would pass readily everywhere as Specie and as in Scotland little Specie would be necessary to be kept in the Banks to meet probable immergencies. This in my opinion is the proper System of Banking. It will never do for any Govn't to become Bankers; because it would be liable to great abuses and because the public would not have confidence in it. The moment you have a good Banking system established the prosperity of your Country will increase with astonishing rapidity and as it is scarcely any adverse circumstances can for any length of time crush it.

In a few days hence the first of our Steamers will be making their appearance off Savannah and Charleston etc. We scarcely know as yet what reception they will receive but hope it will be so friendly as to lead to a closer connexion. They carry at present only Passengers and Letters and these going to or coming from a Foreign Port. They have been strictly instructed not to interfere with your Coasting regulations until the pleasure of your authorities is known. They draw when full loaded I fear too much water for the Charleston Bar; but with the quantity of Coals which they will only require when reaching that place, I still think the draught should be considerably under 16 feet. But this experience will soon determine. Their appearance in your ports will convince your people that they are neither armed nor constructed nor intended for hostile purposes.

I lament exceedingly to perceive the irritating subjects constantly arising to disturb the friendship which ought to subsist and which I hope will long subsist betwixt the two Countries. The good sense however of both Nations and their Governts will I trust shortly succeed in terminating satisfactorily every point of dispute; for, until these are completely settled the vast commercial affairs of both Countries must remain upon an uncertain footing. This Country is in my opinion decidedly wrong in the way in which your Slaves are liberated at Nassau. On such subjects reason is but little attended to in this Country, but I can hardly think that our present Governt will sanction such proceedings. Our Municipal Laws indeed will hamper them. These as they stand in distant parts of our Empire are one of the mischievous legacies which our precipitous Slave Emancipation Act has entailed upon the Country. The Question of the right of search for the particular purpose for which it is sought, and that only ought not to disturb the harmony of the two Countries and may I think be easily accomodated. The Tug of Political Warfare here is begun. The measures of the Governt will be most important and very decided. Things can remain unsettled no longer. There will be some alteration in the Corn Laws, the Sugar Duties, and the Timber Duties and it is very generally stated that there is to be a property Tax of 2½ per cent,

From R. Beale [46]

WASHINGTON [D. C.,] *Sept 15th '42.*

MY DEAR SIR I have just returned from a short trip East—Boston was my limit. I found here very little excitement indeed none unless bro't forth by a hot shot thrown in the whig ranks. Things wear a very different aspect in N York—all is excitement and every man ready for the ballot box.

I had no idea of the progress you were making in N York notwithstanding the openion of my friend Mr Lewis, whose hopes I feared had lead him into a little extravagance. The young active and intelligent members of the bar are all for you—they call themselves Calhoun men. The free trade doctrine takes like wild fire and nullification is cherished as the true conservtive, state right doctrine, many openly proclaim themselves in their conversations publickly as nullifiers. Mr Chase a lawyer who risides in New Jersey but practises in N Yk traveled with me from N York to Trenton whither he was going as a delegate to a democratic convention to nominate state officers. He said he had been in favour of Mr Van Buren and was still determined to abide the nomination of a national convention but the impression made upon him by your speeches this last summer had determined him to use every exertion to procure your nomination—so far as concerned the city of N Y he said you could beat Mr. Van Buren at this time two to one and in a few months you could get the city by aclamation such was the groth of your popularity and your doctrins. You have the most energetic and active as well as inteligent friends in N Y I have yet seen anywhere—they speak with the utmost confidence of giving you the state against Mr V Buren in three months time. In Pa I saw but little; no excitement political. I omited to say that in N Jersey you were doing well, you have some strong active friends who speak very confidently of your success with the democratic party of that state. I was taken sick and unable to attend in Baltimore on the 11 but nothing I understand was done; at all events if anything was done it was a very secret move and can have no effect.

In Maryland I think you will do well. Your friend Mr Brown[47] has consented to be a candidate for the legislature solely for the purpose of forwarding your views. He will be elected beyond doubt and runs avowedly as a Calhoun man. If things go on as they are now going you can have no fears of a convention—the entire south you are sure of and I feel pretty confident of New York and N Jersey to say nothing of the other states in which you have an equal chance.

[46] Richard Lee Turberville Beale, a Democrat of Virginia, began the practice of law in 1839; Member of the House of Representatives, 1847–1849, 1879–1881; served in the Confederate Army.

[47] Elias Brown was a Member of the House of Representatives from Maryland, 1829–1831.

The nomination of Mr Wright [48] in N C as vice president is doing some good in N Y. New Hampshire may not like it, but be that as it may N H is yours as sure as S C, in my opinion.

I think we shall carry Maryland and the democrats are eviedntly in favour of you. The whigs of this state charged that Van Buren (at the last election) had some years ago voted for negroes to have the right to vote and some of the democrats half believed it and the very suspicion of such a thing would give you the ascendency over him. I write you in very great haste and have not time to look over what I have said you will make every allowance.

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From Duff Green.[49]

LONDON [ENGLAND], *16th September 1842*

MY DEAR SIR. I send you a copy of my letters to the Times and of my letter to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures. The letters to the Times were written some months ago while Parliament were in session, and you will see that I have spoken very freely of Sir Robert Peel and of the East India question.

Immediately after their publication I received an invitation through Mr. Hume to call on Mr. McGregor, who is the Secretary of the Board of Trade, and who told me that he prepared Sir Robert Peel's Tariff bill. He wish'd to know whether, in my opinion our government would enter into a treaty, stipulating for the admission of our agricultural produce into England, and of their manufactures into the United States on reciprocal terms. He requested me to prepare a statement on the subject for Sir Robert Peel, and the Board of Trade which I did. He told me that Sir Robert wished very much to see me, and introduced me to Lord Canning[?] and Lord Ripon, the first under Secretary of State, and the latter President of the Board of Trade.

I had an interesting conversation with Lord Ripon, in which he asked my opinion as to a reciprocal treaty, and assured me that there was no difficulty in repealing the duty on cotton, and a great reduction on American produce but the wants of the treasury. Mr. McGregor is of the opinion that the income tax will become a permanent substitute and that a treaty can be had letting in cotton and lumber free, and provisions at nominal duties, Indian corn free.

Sir Robert Peel being called to Scotland directed his Secretary to write to me that Lord Aberdeen would see me. I did see him and he

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[48] Silas Wright was a Democrat of New York, Member of the House of Representatives, 1829–1829; Senator, 1833–1844; governor, 1845–1847.

[49] Gen. Duff Green was a man of important influence as a journalist and politician. During the administration of John Quincy Adams he edited the opposition journal at Washington, and during Jackson's first term he conducted the administration organ, the United States Telegraph. He was credited with immense party power. When the break came between Jackson and Calhoun, he took sides with the latter. His eldest daughter, Margaret, married Calhoun's eldest son, Andrew.

authorised me to say that he approved of the suggestions I had made, and would recommend Her Majesty's Govt. to send an agent to the U. States for the purpose of making the treaty, repeating what I had before heard for Mr. McGregor and Lord Ripon.

Indeed such is the present position of parties and such the condition of the manufacturing interests that such a treaty will be of vital importance to Sir Robert Peel. He has conceded the principle of free trade, and he has nothing to sustain his sliding scale, but the fact that a total repeal of the corn law would let in corn from the continent, where, british manufactures are met by very high duties, and direct competition. If he can make a treaty with us it will give him great strength with the middle classes. I hope that the agent will be appointed in a few days.

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From James Auchincloss

NEW YORK, *Sept. 20th, 1842.*

SIR, The enclosed I have cut from the principal "free trade" paper in our city. You, doubtless, know that the "Journal" [50] exerts a powerful influence among our Merchants, and you cannot fail to perceive the decided preference it manifests thus early in the contest. I know the Editor intimately and well, and have no hesitation in saying that his paper—altho a no-party one, will support you strongly, if indirectly. I could wish you therefore to consider the suggestion I with great deference made to you a few days since, and if you see fit to honor me with your views on the several points mentioned, I shall have them (with your permission) given to the public through the medium of the Journal. Its moral influence here is immense, and I have reason to know that it is not less so in other quarters. Occasionally I draw upon its columns, preferring to use it for the reason named, rather than lay a mere political hack under contribution.

I would again draw your attention to the points indicated in my last—viz:

The "Tariff"—with your ideas as to a permanent 20 per cent duty.

An "Exchequer," or whatever name you choose to baptize the machine by—for the purpose of furnishing a currency to the country and regulating or *controlling* the Exchequer, etc. etc.

"Land Distribution", etc.

I might add several others, but these will suffice, as they are the *Cardinal* points of the day with the merchants, as well as the great mass of the people. A letter embracing three or four columns in your usual well reasoned style, will I think have a happy effect at this moment on the public mind.

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[50] The Journal of Commerce. See the following letter.

I can see no necessity for your discussing the doctrine of "Nullification"—but wait till you are attacked. As one who took a deep interest in your career as a statesman, as long since as 1823, and even before that period, I am desirous of seeing you stand well with my mercantile friends, as well as the people generally. The mode proposed I trust will meet with your approbation, for I can most truly assure you that my views are given with the best wishes for your political well-being. I could wish that the Ed. of the "Madisonian" [51] [had] published the article I transmitted him recently over the signature of "Clinton." I sent it to my friend Col. Sherburne to hand to him.

From James Auchincloss.

NEW YORK, *Sept. 22d, 1842.*

SIR, The enclosed from Mr. Morrill, with the addendum from Col. Sumpter,[52] I beg to hand you through Mr. Rhett. [53]

I am fortified in my opinion by that of many other gentlemen, your political as well as personal friends, that the suggestion I took the liberty of making to you in a recent letter relative to your coming out in the form of a letter, with your views on the subjects of the *Tariff and The Commercial Policy of the Country generally*—also a *National Currency* as well as the matter of "*Distribution*", etc. was worthy of your attention. They agree with me that it would have a good effect if you gave your views in brief, and as empathically as is your wont, in such a manner at the present moment. I think this the preferable mode to give your views a wide circulation, and to insure a more *careful* reading; with the great body of newspaper readers speeches are passed over, or but little noticed, and *letters*, you know, are usually more attractive from the fact of their being such merely, if from no other cause. The "Journal of Commerce" has a circulation of 6000 and upwards, and its adjunct—the "Mercury," published by the same parties, has over 2000; what appears in the Journal always goes into the Mercury, so that, you perceive, a wide circulation will at once be given to anything you may think proper to write on the questions hinted to you. The *Journal* is the organ of the Merchants here, and wields, as I have already remarked, a vast *moral* influence in our community, as well as elsewhere. I propose giving them Mr. Wise's letter for publication when it reaches me.

I am glad that Mr. Morrill has anticipated me in suggesting the propriety of your making a visit to New York about the 15th or

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[51] The Madisonian was published in Washington, D. C.

[52] Thomas D. Sumter was a Democratic Representative from South Carolina, 1839–1843.

[53] Robert Barnwell Rhett was a Democratic Representative from South Carolina, 1837–1849; Senator, 1850–1852; he was for years a radical State Rights leader.

20th of November. It will have a good effect, far better, indeed, than if you came *before* our election. It will rally your friends around you here, and let me assure you, Sir, you will find more than you think of! Old "Tammany", the haunt of the Democracy, which I see from my window as I pen these few lines to you, will hail your advent with joy; and that which a certain gentleman and his wire-pullers are trying hard to repress, will be abundantly manifested then. A speech from *John C. Calhoun* in *Tammany Hall* will come with great unction to the hard fisted democrats of the city! They, like the Merchants, are inoculated very generally, with the doctrine of free trade, so you will be perfectly in your element when you meet them in the great *Wigwam*. The idea however of your appearing there must be kept still, as if Van supposed that anything of the kind was in contemplation, he, through *Vanderpool*[54] *and Co.*, would do everything that could be done to defeat it. Old "Tammany" is Van's favorite stamping ground, and its walls are almost consecrated in his estimation. With the aroma of the old citadel of Democracy about you here, I think you will at least divide *its* forces with Van.

I have no right to advise you, Sir, but if you consult your true interests you must on no account consent to go into convention with V. B. etc. etc. Your friends must keep all delegates back from the Southern States. It will then, if he gets a nomination (and he pretty well understands the art of packing such an assemblage) be a *partial* one at best, if not a *failure*. A Congressional nomination will do for you, but prior to this let as many States as practicable give an expression of their wishes in reference to the Presidency. After Mr. Tyler I have some reason to know that you are the choice of the greater part of his friends.

From James Auchincloss

NEW YORK, *Octr. 1st, 1842.*

SIR, By this mail I take the liberty of transmitting you the "Herald"[55] of this morning, containing a letter from Genl. Jas. Hamilton[56] (with whom I have the pleasure of being acquainted) to you, dated "London, Sept. 9th," also an extra from the same office, with Mr. Webster's speech of yesterday at "Fanueil Hall."[57] Both documents

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[54] Aaron Vanderpoel, of New York, was a Democratic Member of the House of Representatives, 1833–1837, 1839–1841.

[55] The New York Herald.

[56] James Hamilton, a native of South Carolina, served in the War of 1812 on the Canadian frontier. He was mayor of Charleston for a number of years; Member of the House of Representatives, 1822–1829. He was an extreme advocate of State rights and while governor, 1830–1832, he advised the South Carolina Legislature to pass the nullification acts. He subsequently moved to Texas and took an active part in securing the recognition of that Republic by Great Britain and France, where he acted as its representative in 1841.

[57] Webster was at this time Secretary of State. His speech in Faneuil Hall was an attempt to make clear his own position in relation to President Tyler and the Whig Party. See H. C. Lodge, Daniel Webster, American Statesmen series, p. 258.

are worthy of your attention. In both the currency of the country is directly referred to, and I cannot help thinking that you, Sir, in the spirit of a lofty patriotism will give it that consideration which is anxiously desired by the wise and good of all parties. It comes home, most emphatically, to every one engaged in business over the broad limits of our common country; and there is no denying it, that to you, from the commanding position you hold in the councils of the country, the eyes of the merchants, particularly of our city, are turned, in the hope that you will originate some measure which will unite the suffrages of all in its support. You need no suggestions from others as to what should be done in the present mournful condition of the country; your own well-stored mind and enlarged statesman-like attainments will surely supply the desideratum so much needed. I am no advocate for a bank, and fain hope that after the fearful exposé made by the defunct U. S. B.[58] we never shall have another. But somthing, you must admit, is needed to supply a sound currency and to regulate the exchanges of the country, for both are in a terribly delapidated condition at the present moment. To you, then, we look for some plan, practical and every way feasible, by which the counrry can be relieved from its present embarrassments. Stale nostrums the people repudiate (and I do wish the phrase were not so fashionable;) they are tired of them and want something which will effectually relieve the country, and aid every branch of industry. Can *nothing be* done, and *what* will it be under the fast accumulating distresses of the country? General Hamilton speaks to the point and most forcibly too. I hope, Sir, that you will respond to his call by some tangible act some—well digested plan when you resume your seat at Washington. Your course in past years would seem to furnish a guaranty of what it will be in time to come; few of our public men have evinced a higher degree of moral courage than yourself, and as the exigencies of the country are pressing and immediate, it is hoped by very many of your friends here that everything like party feeling will be discarded, and that all will be merged into the great question of *what* is due to a suffering country.

I pray you excuse the freedom of my remarks. I would not obtrude myself so much on your notice if I did not take a deep and sincere interest in your career as a statesman, and if I knew not that it was anxiously desired by your friends in the "Empire State" that you should hold a more commanding position than ever before the people of the Union. We are truly gratified at the open manifestation of feeling on your behalf. Still we need something further to aid us in disabusing the public mind of the odium which has been

[58] United States Bank.

most unjustly and ungenerously cast upon you. With some too I can easily see that a certain distinguished citizen of our state is preparing through the "Argus"[59] and its kindred prints to open the sluices of defamation and foul abuse, in order that you may be overwhelmed with their filth and slander. Some of the kennel presses are even now loud in your praise—the motive is apparent, and I apprehend you will respond to Virgil's remark—"Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes"! At least I hope so!

From F. Byrdsall [60]

NEW YORK *October 11th 1842*

DEAR SIR I enclose an article from the Morning Post of this city, which, as it concerns you, I request you to read. A month or two ago, the Democratic Guide, a monthly publication favorable to Mr. Van Buren, charged that you were not favorable to free suffrage. I would request your attention to this matter for two reasons; first, because it is a fundamental principle of American Democracy, and second, because the radical portion of the Democratic party here, to whom free suffrage is dear and sacred, is the very portion most favorable to you.

Mr. Hutton desires me to say that he thinks it is advisable that I should write to you on this matter. We both think that this insidious attack should be met before it has done the mischief intended. It may be that you have laid down a rule for yourself, not to notice such attacks, which is generally a very good rule. But there are exceptions, and this is one, which concerns the people, and when their man should speak out for their sake, if not for his own.

Should you conclude to kill this charge before it spreads itself far and wide, the sooner the better. While the manner and mode of doing it rests entirely with you, I take the liberty of presenting for your consideration the choice of the following modes, if none better is within your reach.

1st. You can address a letter with your views of suffrage to the "Free trade Association" of this city, of which I am the Recording Secretary, under cover to me, and it will be published as a communication addressed to that body.

2d. Or you can write to me individually on the subject and I can have it published in the papers here, leaving out my name in the publication, instead of which the Editor shall state its authenticity.

I have a vague notion that there is some law or constitutional provision in your State by which persons from other countries become

[59] The Albany (N. Y.) Argus.

[60] Fitzwilliam Byrdsall, author of a History of the Loco-Foco or Equal Rights Party, was prominent among the most literally democratic members of the Democratic Party in New York City.

citizens of the State in about half the time it requires to become citizens of the United States, and as such are entitled to vote for State or local or municipal officers. They are I believe either called denizens or citizens of the State. If this be so, it would place So. Ca. on high democratic ground as regards liberal suffrage.

Mr. Lewis [61] wrote me before he left Washington. Accept my acknowledgments for what you were pleased to say to him. I have answered his letter.

Mr. McKeon [62] made an anti Tariff speech a short time since to a tremendous meeting in Tammany Hall. It was well received. He acquitted himself handsomely, and it produced an excellent effect and great applause. The free trade Association passed a Resolution approving his course in congress, in relation to the Tariff. It was forwarded to him with the following concluding paragraph—

"Your course in Congress in relation to the tariff forms a noble contrast of consistency when compared to that of Silas Wright. Such instances are forewarnings to the people, as to whom they may or may not confide in, on trying occasions in the future."

From D. H. Lewis

LOUNDESBORO [ALA.,] *Nov 2nd 1842*

MY DEAR SIR, Sickness in my family ever since I reached home, and a confinement of some weeks with tertian ague and fever, has prevented me from replying to your letter of the 12th of September, at an earlier day. I have been confined at home ever since my arrival and except two visits of late to Hayneville, have seen no one but a few friends who have called to see me. With these means of information, I have not been inattentive to your prospects in this quarter. Among the Democrats in South Alabama, there are so few who look to any one else than yourself, that they scarce deserve a mention, while many, very many of the Whigs, avow their readiness to support you over any one else. Were you nominated, I think the Whigs as a *party*, would be forced to disband in this State, as they doubtless would in most of the South and South West. They would be reduced down to the old federal force of Adams and Clay, with such State Right Whigs, as by association, have become thoroughly federal, and would be found mostly in the Towns and villages.

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[61] Dixon Hall Lewis, a State Rights Democrat, of Alabama, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1829–1844, when he resigned; appointed and subsequently elected Senator to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of William R. King, and served from 1844 to his death in 1848.

[62] John McKeon was a Democratic Member of the House of Representatives from New York, 1835–1837, 1841–1843.

With these prospects and with the heavy Democratic strength, which we have elected from this part of the State, there would seem to be little difficulty in effecting your nomination at the next Legislature, but North Alabama has still the preponderance, and how the politicians stand in that quarter I have been able to get but little information, nor can much be got, till after the meeting of our Legislature on the first Monday in December. They are very much under the control of Party Drill, and are to South Alabama, what the Northern Democrats are to the Southern in Congress. Besides their leaders have fought shy, in consequence of a Senator and three Judges of the Supreme Court to be elected during the session. Clay [63] will I think try to be reelected to the Senate and at present it is likely, that Bagby[64][,] Chapman[65][,] Hubbard [66] and a Mr. Saunders [67] will also aspire to the same appointment. Saunders is a Van Buren man through the interest of Polk of Tennessee, Chapman, Bagby and Hubbard are recognized as your friends, while Clay is considered non committal. My own opinion is that he is for you, and so his brother in Law in South Alabama has declared. He wrote me last spring, that he was against Van Buren, and I infer that in reference to the Senatorial election, he has kept silent, with perhaps a kind feeling towards both you and Buchanan, who by the bye is out of the question. Measures however have been taken to commit him to you fully and openly before he will be taken up by your friends in the South, and then if he is brought forward as *the Candidate* of *North* Alabama, on the ground of his sectional position, the Southern Democrats will yield him their support, and thus put an end to what may otherwise be a most unpleasant contest among the other four gentlemen. Whoever *North* Alabama makes the Candidate, will be regarded as such by the South, and if Clay cannot unite that end of the State, no other of them *can*, and I fear there will be a sharp conflict among these, any one of whom I would gladly see elected.

Governor Fitzpatrick [68] has just left me after a visit of some days. He is warmly your friend, and says every day is adding to your strength throughout the State. I am to meet him and some other friends in Montgomery the last of this week, with a view to concentrate our efforts to procure a nomination at the next Legislature.

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[63] Clement Comer Clay was a Democratic Member of the House of Representatives from Alabama, 1829–1831; Governor, 1836–37; Senator, 1837–1841.

[64] Arthur Pendleton Bagby, a Democrat of Alabama, was governor, 1837–1841; Senator, 1841–1848; minister to Russia, 1848–1849.

[65] Reuben Chapman was Governor of Alabama, 1847–1849.

[66] David Hubbard, of Alabama, was a member of the State legislature several times between 1830 and 1853; a Democratic Member of the House of Representatives, 1839–1841, 1849–1851.

[67] James E. Saunders, of Lawrence, Ala., was a member of the State legislature and chairman of the judiciary committee for a time. In 1842 he moved to Mobile to engage in business, and in 1845 was appointed collector of the port of Mobile by Polk.

[68] Benjamin Fitzpatrick, a Democrat, was Governor of Alabama, 1841–1845; Senator, 1848–49, 1853–1861.

If we can succeed in effecting this generally in the Southern States, the game is won, but it is not to be disguised that the system of nomination by a National Convention is fast undermining the independent action of Individuals and sections, and deferring the vital question of who is to be the Representative of our Principles, to an assemblage of packed agents. Still I fear the effect of an Edgefield Paper nominating you, "not subject to a National Convention", will be prejudicial, and I see Fisk [69] has reechoed it.

New York intends to play false on the Tariff and hence I shall see that our State speaks out plainly on that subject. It is a game to detach you from the Northern Democracy, but will I think work good. Next session will be full of moves to entrap you. Witness the motion to repeal the Expunging Resolution.[70] My own opinion is, that if two or three of the Southern States nominate you for the Presidency, you ought say in January next to resign your seat in the Senate. This would not only give importance to the nomination, but would protect you from issues which no one is better able to meet than yourself, but which will have the effect to some extent to involve you with the Democratic Party.

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From Isaac O. Barnes

BOSTON [MASS.,] *Jany. 27, 1843.*

DEAR SIR, I have taken the liberty to send to you by mail to-day a copy of the Boston Post containing an article which I requested Col. Greene, the Editor of that paper, to publish, and which was written and forwarded to me by a friend at Washington.

Col. Greene I think will also publish entire the pamphlet under the head of "an appeal to the democracy etc., etc." He has been consulted about this latter matter this morning, and we have good reason to think he will be heartily with us.

We attach some importance to this anticipated action of the Post, because that paper has a wider circulation than any other paper in the New England States and because it has usually been an independent and manly advocate of the principles of the party.

There is also another paper, printed in Massachusetts, which seems lately to have taken ground in favor of yourself for the Presidency namely the New Bedford Register. Indeed there are evidences al]

[69] Theophilus Fisk was an editor in southern Virginia and a prominent supporter of Calhoun in that region.

[70] During the controversy over the United States Bank in Jackson's administration, Clay moved resolutions of censure against Jackson and Taney; the former was passed in the Senate Mar. 28, and the latter Feb. 5, 1834. Benton gave notice that he would move to expunge, and in the following session redeemed his promise. A motion to draw black lines around the entry of the resolutions in the journal and to write across it the words "Expunged by order of the Senate," carried in January, 1837. See J. S. Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, pp. 648–654.

around us which lead to the belief that the public sentiment of the New England States has undergone a very considerable change with reference to the succession within a few months past. Pardon me, Sir, for troubling you personally with this letter, which was intended only to communicate the fact, which your friends here esteem important, that the Boston Post has declared in your favor.

I am happy also to add from a personal interview with a gentleman from Maine Mr McCrete [?] that Maine is now considered even by the friends of other candidates as decidedly in favor of yourself and Mr Woodbury for the first and second offices in the nation.

From P. G. Buchan

ROCHESTER N. Y. *10th April 1843*

SIR, You are probably aware of the present state of political feeling in this State and the doubt and distrust which at present distract the democratic party here. The real grounds of difference are somewhat different than appear on the surface and have more reference to the presidential election than the such names of "conservatism" and "subterranean" seem to imply. From the commencement of the present session Mr. Van Buren and his friends have been using every effort to secure the vote of this State for him at the great national caucus;—the appointments of the Governor [71]—the efforts of his friends in the legislature as evinced by their action and the course of the state papers have all tended to the same object and could matters have proceeded as they wished and expected it would have ended with a legislative nomination for Mr. Van Buren this winter. All these efforts however have been met and countered and they have besides created a spirit of opposition to Mr Van Buren which cannot be quelled. I am satisfied that Mr V. B. cannot procure the vote of this state in caucus, and I am just as certain that should he receive the nomination in the national convention this state will cast its votes against him in the election of 1844. The breach has become too wide to be healed—the leading men throughout the state are *marked* and *known* either as for or against Mr Van Buren and they know what to expect in the event of his election. Never popular in the State he is now doubly unpopular from his supposed connection with the recent movements here.

There is a very strong feeling in your favor in the eastern part of the state and a desire on the part of Mr. Van Buren's opponents to concentrate their strength on you which will be developed in due season. In the western part that feeling is not so perceptible altho' you have many warm political friends here. With the exception of

[71] William H. Seward was a Whig Governor of New York, 1839–1843; William C. Bouck a Democratic governor, 1843–1845.

some old political hacks the opposition to Mr. Van Buren is pretty general in the democratic ranks—still there is quite a want of union amongst us as to the individual on whom we shall concentrate our force—instead of a want of *union* I should have said an uncertainity as to the candidate. The name of General Cass[72] has been favorably received by some, but even his strongest friends have no hope of using his name with any success. Mr. Buchanan is not thought of—in this state at least—nor Col. Johnson [73] altho' he has many warm friends who if there were any prospects of success would make a demonstration in his favor. To secure success in our incipient movements it is necessary that we should unite on some candidate and that at an early period.

In reference to yourself the only drawback we feel here are your supposed views on the subject of the tariff and which in this section have been very much misrepresented. Could these be explained satisfactorily as I have no doubt they can, the democracy in the western part of this state would unite upon you with an unanimity and a force that would be overwhelming. In the first place then altho' we have a few amongst us who are opposed to a tariff even for revenue and who would prefer that the government should be supported by direct taxation, I think I may safely say that the majority of the democracy here are in favor of a tariff *for revenue only* with discriminating duties for the *purposes of protection* and this they claim to be the democratic creed as set forth in the messages of Madison, Monroe, Jackson, and even of President Tyler. In opposition to this your views are represented to be in favor of a *"horizontal"* tariff—a tariff of equal duties on all articles—a tariff for revenue only it is true, but no discrimination in imposing such tariff for the protection of one article more than another—except that you are in favor of a discrimination for the *purposes of revenue only*—and it is broadly asserted that should you be elected to the chief magistracy and a tariff bill should be passed by congress which obviously embodied the principle of protection you would not hesitate to interpose the *veto* power.

On this subject if your time permits I should esteem it a great favor to hear your views, even for my own satisfaction and should you have in your possession any of your printed speeches on this subject you would oblige me by forwarding me a copy.

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[72] Lewis Cass began the practice of law in Ohio; served in the War of 1812; Governor of Michigan Territory, 1813–1831; Secretary of War under Jackson, 1831–1836; minister to France, 1836–1842; Senator, 1845–1848; defeated as the Democratic candidate for President in 1844 and in 1852; Senator 1849–1857; Secretary of State under Buchanan, 1857–1860.

[73] Richard Mentor Johnson was a Democrat; Member of the House of Representatives from Kentucky, 1807–1819. During his term of congressional service he was commissioned colonel of Kentucky Volunteers and commanded a regiment under Gen. William H. Harrison in lower Canada in 1813; he participated in the battle of the Thames, Oct. 5, 1813, and was presented with a sword by Congress in April, 1818. Senator, 1819–1829; Member of the House of Representatives 1829–1837; Vice President, 1837–1841, chosen by the Senate; defeated for Vice President on the Democratic ticket in 1840.

Your answer, if you find time to give it, I should publish in this section, should it become necessary, provided always, of course, that you give me that permission.

So far as New York is concerned I am satisfied that the vote in the Western Section will control the state. It did in 1840 against Mr. Van Buren and it will again. There is therefore more necessity for securing the west than any other portion of the state. Altho we are here always in a political minority and our voice is not heard in the state legislature yet the aggregate democratic vote is large. In this county alone the democratic vote is 5,220 making it the fifth county in the state in point of democratic votes except New York city. We have gradually reduced the Whig majority from 2,000 to 300 and with a candidate on whom we could all cordially unite we could carry the county.

From R. M. T. Hunter

LOYDS, ESSEX [CO., VA.,] *May 23d 1843*

MY DEAR SIR: Your letter reached this place whilst I was in Washington to which place I had been suddenly summoned to a meeting of some of our friends, in order to rescue the management of our affairs from poor Scoville,[74] whose indiscretion was doing us much mischief. This and other matters were the subject of our consultations of which I will give you a full account in another letter if I should not find space in this after answering your enquiries.

I am much obliged to you my dear sir for your sympathy [75] and for the extracts [sic] which you plan upon my services. But I do not think my defeat will produce any serious injury to our prospects. My defeat was owing in part to the fact that this is notoriously a Whig district and partly to the fact that the Bank is much stronger in this district and I believe in the State than we had supposed; and partly to the Tax bill. I believe that the last legislature gave me as unmanageable a district as they believed it was safe to give me although I think their impression was that I would be reelected. The losses have undoubtedly fallen upon your friends but still there were so many circumstances which apparently justified the arrangement that we cannot make any complaint upon the subject. Notwithstanding all this you are undoubtedly gaining strength in Eastern Virginia and I am determined to fight it to the last. I shall take steps (if our friends will back me, as I think they will) to organize the state. You need not fear that I shall relax in my efforts during the present contest. Ritchie chuckles secretly (I have no doubt) at the

[74] Joseph A. Scoville was a New York journalist, who afterwards became Calhoun's private secretary. At this time he was editing the Spectator, a Calhoun paper in Washington.

[75] Hunter was defeated for reelection to Congress in 1842.

prospect of having laid so many upon the shelf, but he cannot stir a step in Va without us if we are true to ourselves. The Whigs are far stronger in the state than he supposed. Van [Buren] cannot carry this state, *you* are the only Republican who can. But you cannot do it without Ritchie's assistance for we cannot bring Western Va in to your support without his aid. We must deal gently with him. The Mercury [76] must not attack him. I have given the same directions to the Spectator. I send by this mail to the Spectator some strictures upon his "Appeal to the Democracy" which will appear as editorial if Heart will insert them as I suppose he will. Do not suppose from all this that I mistake R[itdhie]'s real feelings but I trust that *we shall yet make him help to elect you.* I had a long conversation with Carr of Baltimore and some of our N. England friends. They are in high spirits and we hope to get you the nomination. Seddon [77] and Goode [78] are full of fright—so are Coke [79] and Roy. We are thinking of a paper in Richmond, we can get it up but an *imprudent* paper would do us harm. I shall write to Seddon by this mail also. We must organize this state and start a paper too if Ritchie's course should make it necessary.

I have not heard from Wise [80] since the adjournment. I heard during the canvass that he declared his preference for you after Tyler. He will be for you but whether he will "act with our friends" is another matter. I shall write to him however and do all that I can to induce him to take the proper direction. I can scarcely say what direction Va will take if V B should be the candidate. The Whigs I think would carry the state in that event and years would elapse before our principles would regain their ascendency. I felt the force of this in my canvass. The Richmond convention had produced the impression in the state that V B would be the candidate and the Bank Tariff and Distribution have gained ground. But if our friends do not despond I will not despair of the state. I have not had time as yet to sound them. But I am now at work.

Let me entreat you my dear Sir to say nothing yet awhile about refusing to permit your name to go before the convention. Hear what I have to say and I think you will agree with me that your prospects are brightening. I met in Washington Brodhead of Boston, and Bridge of Conn, whom you know. They were representatives of

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[76] The Charleston Mercury, Charleston, S. C.

[77] James A. Seddon was a Democratic Member of the House of Representatives from Virginia, 1845–1847, 1849–1851; Secretary of War in the Confederacy, 1862–1865.

[78] William Osborne Goode was a Democratic Member of the House of Representatives from Virginia, 1841–1843, 1853–1859.

[79] Richard Coke, jr., was a Democratic Member of the House of Representatives from Virginia, 1829–1833.

[80] Henry A. Wise was a Member of the House of Representatives as a Jackson Democrat from Virginia, 1833–1837, as a Whig, 1837–1843, as a Tyler Democrat, 1843–1844; minister to Brazil, 1844–1847; presidential elector on the Cass and Butler ticket in 1848 and on the Pierce and King ticket in 1852; governor, 1856–1860; served in the Confederate Army.

your friends from N England and they and Maxcy [81] sent for me to a consultation. They say that you are growing daily in strength in New England. Our friends are about to get up a new England organization of which Massachusetts is to be the centre. We have 3 good men and true in the Con[vention] delegation. We shall take half the Maine delegation and carry [the] state in the Genl Convention. We shall carry in that convention Mass[achusetts] Vermont, and perhaps Rhode Island—New Hampshire is doubtful. This Bridge is a "trump," you have no idea how valuable he is. They consider it very important to make Woodbury show his hand at the N Hampshire convention. For that purpose Brodhead and Henshaw have gone to see him. For that reason too it is not desirable that the papers should place his name at their head. What the Mercury has done cannot be undone but we ventured to take steps to prevent it in other cases. Besides all this they say that Johnson is disposed to drive a trade with V B and is willing to take the V Presidency. To keep him in check it is desirable that we should keep the question of V. P. open. And yet Scoville had undertaken to correspond in the name of a central committee which did not exist and to order our papers to hoist the Woodbury flag. These gentlemen do not doubt Woodbury's sincerity, or his intention to support you ultimately, but he is so timid that he requires a little driving and in addition to this we must keep the question open. Tyler is for himself of course but several members of his cabinet are now working efficiently for us as I shall presently explain.

We found it indispensable to divorce Scoville from the Spectator and from all participation in the management of our affairs of which he had assumed the enite control for some weeks past.

From R. M. T. Hunter

Loyds [Va.,] *Oct. 10th 1843*

My dear Sir Since my last letter to you I have seen Mr Scott of Richmond one of our central Calhoun committee. He told me that in an interview with Mr Rhett he had urged him to advise you against the agitation of the Rh: Is: question.[82] He told me (but I had not time to question him particularly as it was at a public meeting where we were both Speaking) that V B's reply to Smith [83] consisted of a

[81] Virgil Maxcy was a prominent politician and lawyer in Maryland. He edited the Laws of Maryland, 1811; was a solicitor of the Treasury under Jackson; chargé d'affaires at Brussels under Van Buren. He lost his life as result of the explosion on the *Princeton* in 1844.

[82] The Dorr rebellion and the struggle over suffrage qualifications.

[83] William Smith, of Virginia, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1841–1843; governor, 1846–1849; moved to California in 1849 and was president of the constitutional convention at Bernicia, Calif., in 1850; returned to Virginia in 1852 and again represented Virginia in Congress, 1853–1861; served in the Confederate Army and in the Confederate Congress; Governor of Virginia 1864; died at Warrenton, Va., 1887.

few lines only which I inferred were non-committal. You may be right in supposing that the question will be forced upon the candidates and that it will be made one of the issues. But I incline to think that the time has not yet arrived. Six or eight months ago a public discussion might have been serviceable. But just now it has effected all the injury of which it was capable and the reaction is in our favor. If I am right in supposing that there is a reaction in our favor we have no interest just now in opening that question. Upon the questions which now seem to be engrossing the public mind, we certainly have the advantage and although I do not doubt but that with *ample time* for discussion you could make capital out of the Dorr question yet I fear there is not now time enough. I am perhaps strengthened in the impression that we had better not add this to the issues by the opinion of our N England friends. Bridge is very discreet and a politician. His energy is untiring and his services in N England have been greater I think than those of any other of our friends as I may have occasion in another letter to explain. He is convinced that this question should not now be mooted. The Van Buren tide is on its ebb. Every gun has been fired. They have failed to carry everything by a *general sweep* which they expected to do. The reaction is slow but steadily in our favor. I speak of N England. We have a majority of the delegates in Vermont—we have strong hopes of winning a majority in Maine Massachusetts Connecticut and Bridge even hopes to carry Rhode Island!!! Rhett has just returned from N York. He writes in high spirits. Our friends are beginning to move and had we been organized for the effort we should have every prospect for success. It is not too late even yet. If our friends in Congress are judicious and active next winter and if we can maintain our paper in N York, (the Spectator I regard as now safe) and place it in the hands of an able editor we may yet succeed. So far as Virginia is concerned I regard the issues which we now have and the Texas question (should it become one of present and immediate interest) as the best for us that could be presented. On the Rh: Island question we could make capital in lower Virginia if the public attention could be roused to it. But there is difficulty in this and time would be required. The difficulty consists in the unwillingness of political leaders to get up questions upon which the Eastern and Western feelings are different. I wrote to Rhett a week since to beg him to endeavor to see the correspondence. Smith now lives in Warrenton about 40 miles from Washington. Your letter if directed to Culpeper C. H. his old residence has probably not reached him as yet. Smith is true to you, but he is disposed to preserve caste with his old political associates, most of whom are V B men.

I presume you have heard from Mr. Upshur [84] on the Texas question.[85] If so you know the grounds upon which he is disposed to press it. From my conversation with him I inferred that the President was a little doubtful as to the expediency of pressing it. Should he concur with U[pshur], and should the question itself be vigorously discussed in the papers, the South must unite. Perhaps also the West or a portion of it will join us. The Petersburg Republican has been developing cautiously on this question. I have been urging our Richmond committee to write to our orators to take the stump on the question of district representation, etc., and of the Presidential election. This Texas question might be urged by them with great effect. The difficulty now seems to be to make a graceful occasion for introducing our speeches.

The organization of Clay Clubs seems to me to present such an opportunity. But our friends still doubt. I shall write again to them this week.

The combinations in Christendom against the slave holding interest, the course of English diplomacy abroad, the state of Northern feeling at home and the present necessity for maintaining the balance of power between the free and slaveholding states constitute a crisis which gives an importance to this question and also to the election of a Southern president which I think our papers and speakers might turn to good account. Yet it is not to be denied but that this question will do much to divide parties sectionally and you are better able to foresee its full effects than I am. Rhett, Up'r and I agreed in Washington that our papers ought to take the initiative on this question and begin at once to develop cautiously.

If we are wrong pray set us right at once—we have not gone far as yet.

P. S. Smith lives at some distance from me and if I were to go to his house the object would be suspected. Every trip I have made to Washington has been the subject of newspaper comment. This does not hurt me but it injures the cause. I will however write to Smith.

From Duff Green

London [England,] *18th Oct. 1843*

My dear Sir: I have just returned from Manchester where I have been to see parties with whom I am in negociation, and have not time to write to you in detail, but I am so much impressed with the consequences that may follow an energetic course on the part of our

[84] Abel Parker Upshur was a Virginia judge; Secretary of the Navy, 1841–1843; Secretary of State, 1843–44, when he was killed by the explosion on the U. S. S. *Princeton*.

[85] Annexation to the United States.

Government, and so desirous that your influence should be enlisted in favor of the measures that I propose that I have inclosed this to Judge Upshur with a request that he will cause a copy of my letter to him to be sent to you.

I have just seen a confidential friend from whom I learn the result of the interview last night between the Brazilian Minister and the President of the Board of Trade. There will be no treaty because this Government demand, as a condition for the admission of Brazilian sugar that Brazil shall emancipate her slaves, and after a very spirited debate, in which the necessity of admitting slave grown sugar was discussed, Mr. Gladstone who represents Sir Robert Peel's view said that the Govt. will *not* admit slave grown sugar. It is the same as to Cuba as Brazil except that England insists that all African slaves and their descendants introduced into Cuba since 1824 are entitled to their freedom by virtue of the treaty with Spain. Let England succeed with Brazil and she will coerce emancipation in Cuba.

But the whole aspect of the case is this—the free trade party, are now making alliances with all the discontents. The opponents of the *established* religion, the chartists, the disaffected in Scotland in Wales and in Ireland are making common cause with the Whigs against Sir Robert Peel, and he to protect himself in power has fallen back on his opposition to negro slavery, as his last hope. The landlord and the church united are compelled to call in fanaticism and the consequence is that all the elements to opposition are uniting to denounce the hypocritical pretense of humanity, which to free the black man enslaves the white. Shall we fold our arms or shall we avail ourselves of the present moment to do what we can do to promote such an adjustment of our relations with England as will quiet forever the political agitation of the question of slavery? The free trade party of England is a peace party—they desire free trade with us because they fear our competition as manufacturers and know that we will be their best customers as agriculturalists. One of the strongest arguments of the monopolists of England is that a relaxation of their system would not be followed by a relaxation on our part, and Mr. Abbot Lawrence [86] has been several times quoted to me as authority for the contradictory assertions that we can compete successfully with English manufactures—*without* protection—and that a repeal of the English corn laws will reduce the value of land in England to a par with the price of lands in Ohio.

If we invite England to negotiate on the subject of the boundary [87] and of the Tariff, Sir Robert Peel will refuse to send commissioners to Washington, because it is understood that to carry his Canada corn bill he was compelled to pledge himself that he would make no

[86] Abbott Lawrence was an eminent Boston capitalist and manufacturer.

[87] The Oregon boundary.

further modification—and the effect of his refusal will be to enlist all parties opposed to him as the partisans of a favorable adjustment of all questions between us and to hasten the reorganization of the ministry. The new ministers will settle the question of slavery by the admission of slave grown produce and thus end the agitation so prejudicial to our interests.

In this view of the case it is all important that our friends in New York and Charleston as well as every where else should raise the banner of free trade—we should make common cause with the free trade party of England, as laboring for a common principle. The late elections show that there will be a decided Democratic majority in Congress, and that a Democratic President will be elected in case there is no choice by the people. This breaks the force of the plea that is urged by Van Buren's partisans and I hope that your friends will not permit themselves to be made the dupes of his intrigues.

From Virgil Maxcy

PHILADELPHIA [PA.,] *6 Nov. 1843*

MY DEAR SIR, In a day or two after I wrote you from New York, I came on here. It was almost *certain*, that the Whigs would get the members to the Assembly at the Election, which takes place I think tomorrow, and I really wish they may get the whole State, as it is the only thing, that would give me any hope, that Mr. V. Buren, would be withdrawn from the list of candidates.

I regret to find that in consequence of the impression gaining ground, that neither you nor Mr. V. B. could be nominated at the Convention, from the bitterness, which the contest between your respective friends is engendering, with a hope of success, people are beginning to talk of putting an end to discord in the party by taking up Genl. Cass. Should this be the case, Mr. Clay will take the prize, as he probably would, if both you and Mr. V. B. should be run.

I am quite at a loss to decide what ought to be done with a faction like V. B.'s friends, who neither carry any thing nor expect to carry any thing but by trick and management. When they were beaten off from an early convention, they resorted as a substitute to getting an early appointment of the delegates to the nominating convention. This, they affected in Maine, by getting a convention to nominate a Governor, etc., and to take measures for the early appointment of delegates, tho' they had no authority to act on the subject. In New Hampshire a regular State Convention refused to nominate Van Buren, and his friends, in violation of what are called the usages of the party, for which they affect to be great sticklers, turn round from the convention to a caucus of the Democratic members of the

Legislature, who are drilled into a nomination of Mr. V. B. In Massachusetts, just as the convention was breaking up and while the first bell for the cars, that were to take off the greater part of the members, was already ringing, a resolution declaring that each State had a right to appoint delegates to the convention in the way it likes, was introduced and passed without being examined, debated or understood. In Connecticut, the Convention refusing to submit the appointment of delegates to the people decide that they would elect the two State delegates themselves and then that the *representatives* from each congressional district should nominate a delegate and the whole convention should afterwards vote for them. Wherever in fine the friends of Mr. V. B. have come to act on the Presidential question, their whole conduct is marked by trick and deception and every body now begins to think in this part of the world, that V. B. will out manoeuvre you and certainly get the nomination whether the delegates to Convention be appointed one way or the other. What is to be done with such a set of men? There is no safety in acting with them and there is great danger, by refusing to do so, that the odium of breaking up the party will be thrown on your friends: but this is the question that must be solved and if you have made up your mind as to the course to be taken I wish to be informed of it and be instructed how to act. I consider it settled that a fairly constituted convention, whether by district or general ticket, unless V. B. should be defeated in New York State, and retire, is an impossibility.

I go home day after tomorrow, where I hope to find letters from you.

The circumstance, that Georgia has appointed delegates by a *general ticket* is used with great effect against you and the District System. Cannot that State be induced to retrace her steps?

From F. W. Pickens

EDGEWOOD [S. C.,] *24 Nov. 1843*

MY DEAR SIR, I recd yesterday yours enclosing one from Genl. Green.[88] I fully agree as to the importance of the Texas question in all its bearings. I think we are bound to take the highest and most decided grounds. I think the possession of Texas as a British colony would be just cause of war, and if the non-slaveholding states oppose its admission upon the ground of its strengthening the slave holding interests etc, we will be bound in self respect and self-preservation to join Texas with or without the Union. It is a grave and a momentous question in all its bearings, and I am ready to pledge all that I am and all that I hope to be on its issues.

[88] Gen. Duff Green.

I have not seen McDuffie and I suppose I shall not, as I hear that Maj. Burt [89] passed to Columbia and says that McDuffie will not start until the last of next week when he is to go on with Mrs. Burt and to meet in Charleston Monday week. I do not know his sentiments on Texas but hope they are sound although I fear it, particularly as he was so ultra on the Oregon question, and I am sure it is our policy to unite the two questions together, and thus seperate the non slaveholding N. West states from the Northern States. If both our senators [90] go wrong (and they will not seperate) it will be a bad thing for So. Ca. If the Legislature were to pass resolutions it might look like instructing McDuffie as he was so strong against us when Gov., and yet I cannot see how the state can avoid moving if the President's message is strong. I should dislike to do anything to wound his feelings. I hope some development will be made.

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From Virgil Maxcy

TULIP HILL,[91] WEST RIVER [MD.,]
14 Dec. 1843.

MY DEAR SIR, Yours of the 5th. is just received. You will perceive from a letter written a few days ago from Washington, that I recommended essentially the same course as the one on which you ask my opinion—the only difference is that in addition to your taking ground on the formation of the convention and the Tariff you should join with them the Texas question, to do which with most effect, would require you to wait till the Executive shall take the initiative by a communication to Congress. This I concluded from my conversation with Mr. Upshur he would probably make in the course of a month. Some of your friends at Washington I fear would hesitate at taking issue with Mr. V. B. and Mr. Clay on what they consider your extreme notions on the subject of a Tariff alone, and for that reason to prevent the possibility of a schism or any faltering in the ranks it seemed to me expedient to strengthen your position and your hold on them by the addition of the Texas question. This course would I think strengthen you throughout the South, where I should hope there would be no division on the Texas question, tho' on the subject of a protective tariff, there are still some, who feel a toleration for discrimination, not only for revenue, but for the purpose of incidental protection or *encouragement* of manufactures. I think

[89] Maj. Armistead Burt married Calhoun's niece, Martha, the daughter of his brother William, and was always one of his most active political supporters in South Carolina. From 1843 to 1853 he represented the State in Congress.

[90] George McDuffie and Daniel E. Huger.

[91] Near Annapolis, Md.

it would be right that you should prepare your paper immediately so as to have it ready to be published immediately after the President shall make his communication and address it to your friends in Congress instead of to me as suggested by Mr. Upshur.

I think moreover, that it would be right for you to prepare the paper you thought of and suggested to me, showing that Mr. V. B. has done more than Mr. Clay to injure and corrupt the sentiments of the Republican party, but this paper I do not think should be published under your signature, as in such case, it would be considered to originate impersonal motives and dislike.

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From S. A. Andrews

GOLDSBORO, N. C. *Dec 19* [*1843?*]

DEAR SIR: I did myself the honor to report to you the position of political parties in our State as I supposed them to exist at our August elections. I now in the same spirit offer my observation on our present state. The last week I spent in Raleigh having the honor to be selected as one of the Deligates to represent this county (Wayne) in our Democratic State Convention.

The convention was organized on Thursday by the appointment of Louis D Henry [92] as President. The committee who reported the officers for the convention consisted of 9 one from each Congressional District. 5 were the decided friends of Mr Calhoun 1 gave a preference to Col. Johnson and 3 were for the renomination of Mr Van B. Mr Henry you are aware was the democratic candidate for Gov. in our last election. He is supposed to be in favor of a renomination of Mr Van B. Yet in the spirit of conciliation and kindness the committee reported and he was recd as the Prest. of the convention. 2 friends of Mr Calhoun were reported for Vice and 1 Johnson man and 1 Van B. In making the great committee for business the presiding officer consulted the Vice Presidents and that committee was constituted thus 11 for Mr Calhoun, 6 for Mr Van B. and 1 for Col. Johnson. There was little difference of oppinion on the committee and after a free discussion and interchange of opinions they united in perfect harmony in the Report a copy of which I have the honor herewith to transmit. (See Standard [93] sent by to-days mail.)

You will perceive Sir that to preserve harmony and retain our full force every vote being needed in this State, your friends have conceded

[92] Louis D. Henry, of North Carolina, was a member of the State legislature for several years. He was appointed by Van Buren in 1837 as commissioner to settle the claims under the treaty with Spain. In 1842 he was the Democratic candidate for governor, but was defeated by John M. Morehead.

[93] The North Carolina Standard was published at Raleigh.

much—*possibly too much*—but we hope our course will lead to beneficial results.

The nominee for Gov. is a devoted friend to Mr. Calhoun and his opinions were freely canvassed in our body—and no man—even the most impractible but recd the nomination with heartfelt joy. Of Mr Fisher [94] our first deligate to Baltimore I need say nothing; his long tried and fervent affection for Mr. Calhoun is known to every man in our State. Of Mr Henry our 2nd deligate I *will* say nothing. He boasts no man knows his preference, but every *man* considers him a Van Buren *man*. His address on taking the chair was admirable, being entirely in defence or support of democratic principles. The famous motto on the Calhoun flag, was his text, and gloriously did he discourse it.

The convention was thought to [be] the largest (business) convention ever assembled in our State. Perfect kindness and unanimity existed throughout and we separated in better spirits and confidence than has existed among us in many years.

A different course would have given us another vote (probably) in Baltimore, but would have precluded all possibility of success in the election—be the nominee *who* he may.

In my communication of August I freely gave opinions connected with the course of some leading men *calling* themselves democrats which endangered the election of every member of Congress running from a Calhoun district. My recent observations justify the assertions then made. And however humiliating the confession, truth obliges me to say your friends are compelled to yield to a *minority* or forego every prospect of success.

My appology for addressing you Sir in the familiar manner I have done is contained in my former letter. Trusting you will forgive many faults in a devoted friend to *you* and your principles.

From Wilson Lumpkin

ATHENS [GA.,] *Dec. 22d, 1843.*

MY DEAR SIR Since I wrote you last, I have mingled more with the people (or rather politicians of Ga.) than usual, and have several letters from Washington, since the meeting of Congress, and without attempting to enter upon the details which have led to my conclusions, I feel it my duty, to suggest to you my present views, in connection with passing events, so far as you are necessarily personally concerned. This is due to personal friendship, as well as the high estimation, which I place on your public and private character. And first, let

[94] Charles Fisher, of North Carolina, was a member of the State legislature for several years; Member of the House of Representatives, 1819–1821, 1839–1841; delegate from Rowan County to the State constitutional convention of 1835; declined the Democratic nomination for governor in 1846; died in Hillsboro, Miss., 1849.

me say, it is obvious and clear, that the seeds of discord, confusion and division, have become too deeply rooted, in what we call the Democratic party, for any thing like general Union and harmony to be brought about speedily. Every thing is chaos.

The office holders, office seekers and corrupt press, are at the foundation of the intended Baltimore Convention.[95] If they meet at all, every thing is already arranged. They meet simply for the purpose of forcing the whole party into the support of Mr. Van Buren.

Under these circumstances, I shall regret to see your name go before such a convention. It ought not to be permitted. And I believe, the good of the country will be most promoted, by its being known at once, that there is a portion of the party at least, too pure and patriotic, to be used as the mere tools of political schemers.

Should you concur with me, in the suggestion above made, I submit to your better judgment, as to the best mode of a public communication of a determination not to submit to the intrigues and management of selfish aspirants and managers.

I think this matter requires decision and action, it will be folly to expect, to overturn corruption, by any compromise. The old combination of office seekers, are again linked together, and having Unity of motive, can easily be brought to union of action. I don't know what is to be the result. I fear we shall again be under the yoke of Federalism. Mr. Van Buren, can never again be elected President of the United States.

Since I last wrote to you, I have been surprised to find in Georgia, N. York and Virginia influence so widely spread in this region. I have only time to add, my unabating friendship and sincere regard for your welfare.

From Henry P. Barber

New York *Decr. 29th 1843.*

Dear Sir, Your favor of the 3rd instant has just reached me owing partly probably to a delay of the mails and partly to a slight mistake on your part in directing it Henry P. Baber instead of Henry P. Barber, on account of which it was not brought to me by the postman but suffered to remain in the Post Office and advertised. I am happy to hear that you approve of our circulars—some pains were certainly taken in getting them up, and they were well considered before publication. Numbers of them have been sent throughout every part of the United States principally to the various postmasters and I think I may say their operation has been in some instances successful. We have received answers from various quarters—generally however (for I would not wish to decieve you but give the

[95] The Democratic National Convention met at Baltimore, May 27, 1844.

most correct information) the answers have not been so satisfactory as your friends could have wished. That proscriptive party organization which under the cool calculating selfish and most treacherous policy of Mr. Van Buren has fettered as it were the very souls of political men is hard very hard to break—we find it so every day: in addition all the thirsty bloodsuckers of public plunder who under that dynasty have ever carried on the most shameless and disgraceful peculation expect to rise again with their soulless leader who to the lust of popularity and power would not hestitate to sacrifice every feeling of rectitude: impelled by principles of self-interest the strongest motive power of action for men such as these they watch with an Argus eye every attempt made to disenthral the great masses of the People from this abject slavery—every man who refuses to bend the knee to their Baal to worship that Nebuchadnezzar whom they have set up is instantly proscribed and the dreaded cry of disorganization raised against him—here it is eminently so and the yelling pack are led on first and foremost by Levi D. Slamm [?] of the Plebeian—the personification of contemptible meaness and base treachery—these may be strong terms but for him there is no language sufficiently expressive of the loathing and disgust which every high minded and honorable man must feel. In spite however of this there are a few bold spirits whom this cry has not alarmed and who are doing everything in their power to advance your interests and the cause of those great principles for which you contend. There was a time when the name of Mr. Van Buren was the only one heard in old Tammany—but lately we have given cheer after cheer there for John C. Calhoun and no one dared to say nay! The Democratic party here have just elected their Old, Young, Men's and Ward Committees for the ensuing year. In the young men's committee consisting of 85 there are at least 20 on whom we can depend to advocate your principles and cause. I may say without vanity the talent and perseverance is decidedly with them. In the old men's committee consisting of 51 you have several friends, though I cannot yet state there number—neither of the committees having yet organized. Among the old mens committee is James T. Brady one of the most talented lawyers at our bar and one of your firmest friends—a host in himself. He defeated Peter Crawford Mr Van Burens Baltimore delegate in his own ward by an immense majority. In the young mens committee are Mr. Francis W. Byrdsall and myself two humble individuals whom you may rest assured will watch over your interests there—nail your flag to the mast and fight while a plank remains. In the ward which I represent, the Van Buren men knew that I wished to be a member of the Young Mens Committee, and proscribed me on account of my being a "Calhoun man." The night before election I went to some of my friends made

up a ticket consisting of five firm and tried friends of yours—defeated *two* tickets opposed to us in the ward and returned the entire delegation to the committee. We shall fight the tariff in the committee pari passu with your friends in Washington and in addition strain every nerve for the adoption of the District System. I have heard a rumor whether well authenticated or not I am ignorant that there is a proposition on foot to unite you with Mr. V. B. as Vice President in furtherance of your obtaining the Presidency in 1848 in case of (and so far as that goes without) Mr. V. B.'s success. The V. B. men I know would jump at the idea; and I presume his nomination by the convention is now hardly problematical. Buchanan's resignation has removed one obstacle and Pennsylvania *may* cast her vote for Mr V. B. We have fought hard and well—we have battled every inch of ground, we have contested every debatable point and if the worst comes to the worst, if your friends are at last not conquered but borne down by party organization and fraudently packed conventions I trust you will not at once reject the proposition without mature deliberation. In the hope of seeing you president I for one would suffer much and I speak the sentiments of thousands of others. However disagreeable might be the cold selfishness, the soulless egotism of Mr V. B. surely a master spirit like your own could even with him direct the wheels of government. I presume the resignation of Gen. Cass will be the next news we hear and another obstacle to Mr V. B.'s ambition is removed. I do not however wish for a moment—nor would I on any account give up the fight till the last moment. Presenting as we do a bold front impervious alike to scorn adulation and ridicule we now hold a position that commands and enforces respect even from our bitterest opponents. They *may* ridicule but they *do* dread. Should the result to which I have referred happen it would not be on our side but theirs—that the request would come—we should not appear as suppliants—No! the friends of Mr. V. B. would gladly accord to that salutary dread with which we have inspired them, what at the same time they would most gladly deny if they dared! I have no doubt that at this moment the most earnest prayer of Tom Benton, Buchanan, and Silas Wright, is that you may refuse. The information I received I state to you merely as a rumor and not as coming from any authentic source, but positive I am that the V. B. men would rush to accept it. They would sacrifice every thing except "their Lord and master." The documents to which you refer I will shortly forward and attend to your instructions concerning them. Apropos of the "Gazette". In consequence of some difficulties between the Editors and Publisher it has been suspended for a while and is now in Chancery. I trust however that it will ere long be revived again when I will gladly comply with the request conveyed in your letter. Of any *private*

political matters here I will keep you faithfully advised—and the public political topics here you doubtless often see in the Charleston Mercury of which I am a correspondent from this place under the signature of "Henry."

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From George McDuffie

WASHINGTON [D. C.,] *3rd Jany. 1843* [?] [*1844*].[96]

MY DEAR SIR: Your address [97] was duly received, and after awaiting the return of Judge Huger [98] from New York it was read to the assembled delegation who all approved of your course and the reasons of it, Judge Huger most decidedly. He regards the exposition of your grounds as perfectly unanswerable and as exhausting the argument, and thinks it will place you on very high grounds before the country. Judge Upshur entertained the same opinion and is warmly your friend. He suggested that it might be well to rest your withdrawal of your name upon the organization of the Convention alone, leaving the tariff to be urged by your friends in case V. Buren's friends do not enable us, by co-operating in good faith, to reduce the tariff to a fair revenue standard. We have yet some hope that they will do so, as they are pretty well satisfied that Mr. Van Buren will get but a very small vote in the South and S. West even against Mr. Clay, if they do not. They clearly have the power to do it and must know that the South, twice deceived already by them, will take no other evidence of Mr. Van Buren's and their sincerity.

Under these circumstances we have deemed it our duty to take no position at present, which will destroy the hope, that your friends may ultimately vote for Mr. Van B. if his friends co-operate faithfully on reducing the tariff. Indeed if we were to take that position, it would be confined to a portion of our own delegation. Even Mr. Lewis [99] says he could not sustain himself in taking such a position now. There is an impression here that the administration are negotiating for the annexation of Texas, but nothing certain or definite has transpired. My own opinion is that nothing, but a very high state [of] necessity will justify the measure either on the score of justice or policy. It would be *ipso facto* making war on Mexico, if done without her concurrence, and there would be hazard that Great Britain would take part with Mexico. Make my best regards to Mrs. C. and the family.

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[96] See letter to Armistead Burt, Dec. 23, 1843, Correspondence of Calhoun, edited by Jameson, p. 557.

[97] See Works of John C. Calhoun, Vol. VI, pp. 239–254, and William M. Meigs, Life of Calhoun, Vol. II, p. 279 ff.

[98] Daniel Elliott Huger was a judge of local courts in South Carolina for many years; he was elected to the Senate as a State Rights Democrat to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Calhoun, and served from 1843 to 1845, when he resigned in order to give an opportunity for Calhoun to return to the Senate.

[99] Dixon H. Lewis.

From Duff Green

WASHINGTON [D. C.,] *6th. Jan. 1844*

MY DEAR SIR: I wrote to you from London that I had made arrangements to publish a paper in New York. The party associated with me places in trust subject to my order ample funds to sustain the paper and I have absolute and unlimited editorial control. Upon reaching New York, I found that the delegation from the city to the Syracuse Convention had protested against the organization of the convention and against the appointment of delegates to the convention at Baltimore; that they had reported their protest to a meeting of the people who had organized a committee with full power to call another meeting or to act as they deemed best—that this committee wished your friends in Congress to prepare and publish an address denouncing the Baltimore Convention and the caucus system, to which they would respond through a meeting of the people.

I came on here and found your friends greatly at a loss to know what to do. They were in utter despair of your ever being sustained, and unwilling to lose their own position in the party. They need urging that it would not do to close the door of hope in the face of Van Buren's friends so long as they indicated a willingness to act with us on the Tariff and the slave question. I took my ground that I would go on to New York, and denounce the whole concern, that we must make a movement from the people against caucus and the dictation of party, that Mr. Van Buren if nominated cannot be elected and that we must protect the Democratic party from the influences which have usurped the control and now dictate the candidates to be voted for.

I propose to go to New York tomorrow, and will move immediately. We will call a meeting of the people. We will denounce the caucus. We will recommend the nomination of anti caucus electoral candidates in every district in the United States. We will charge that the effect of adhering to the Baltimore nominations will be certain defeat of the Democratic party, and throw on Van Buren, Benton and Co. the responsibility of disorganization and disunion by proposing that a convention to be chosen by districts and to vote per capita, shall meet at some suitable place and at some day to be agreed on say, July August or September to select a candidate for whom the electors shall vote.

If Van Buren is nominated we will run our own ticket. Van B's election is defeated and we will occupy the Democratic anti caucus platform and be prepared for the next election.

The tendency in the public mind is against caucus—the reaction will be in our favor and we will control events. I have consulted

Judge Upshur and the President and they approve of the movement. The President has consented to make common cause with you, and I am going to see him to night and will urge on him to tender you the Treasury Dept. to be made vacant on Monday by the nomination of Mr. Spencer[1] to the Supreme Court. I do not hesitate to say that he will tender you the office nor do I hesitate to say that you ought to accept it. It will enable you to be on the spot here—to control and guide your friends and to place yourself and your party right on the question of the Currency.

I will write to you from New York. Mr. McDuffie read me your address, the points are well taken. Mr. Lewis tells me that he has written to you to modify it so as to leave a hope that you and your friends will support Van Buren if they go for a reduction of the Tariff. My objection to it is that it is too much so now. You should stand on your objection to the organization of the convention, to the illegal and unconstitutional control of the party caucus. You have done yourself too much injury by attempting to conciliate the party. Benton has resolved to rule or ruin and you have nothing to hope by concession—by placing yourself on the objection of the organization of the caucus, you occupy impregnable ground and you weaken yourself by any other issue. Should Mr. Tyler offer you the Treasury Dept. you ought to accept it. Do not reject it.

From Virgil Maxcy

Tulip Hill, West River [Md.]
7 Jany. 1844

My dear Sir, I wrote you from Washington on the 30th. ulto. the state of things there and what Mr. Upshur's and my opinions were as to the course your friends there ought to adopt.

On my return home from New York this evening I found your letter of the 22nd Dec. I promised Mr. Upshur when I parted with him, that I would keep on from Baltimore, on my return from N. York, to Washington, if I should find a letter from him there, saying my presence would be useful. I found a letter in Balto from him of which the following is an extract. "I have been hard at work here ever since you left me, but with what success is yet uncertain. The Southern members are absolutely asleep. I have never known anything like their infatuation. I have promises, that something shall be done; but I find men always prone to fall back into their old delusions. I will let you know the result."

[1] John Canfield Spencer, of New York, was appointed Secretary of War Oct. 12, 1841, and on Mar. 3, 1843, was transferred to the Treasury Department. He opposed the annexation of Texas and resigned May 2, 1844, and resumed the practice of law.

A servant of mine will go over tomorrow. I shall write to Mr. Upshur, that, unless your friends shall take the course themselves, which was recommended, when I was at Washington, promptly and most decidedly on both the grounds of your address, I am of opinion that your own address should be published without the loss of a day: for I perfectly agree with you, that it is not consistent with your character to leave your position at all equivocal and if your friends at Washington think it best not to take the initiative at once, your address should be published, and then let the responsibility rest where it ought.

I beg you to believe that the opinion I expressed in my last against your taking ground against the Tariff was not for the purpose of keeping your opinions out of view on this subject. Indeed that would be impossible, so well are they known, but simply because it was not exactly applicable as a reason for not going into a convention. I have seen Genl. Green, who has confided to me all his plans. He agrees with Mr. U. and myself as to the course your friends ought to take.

We thought we perceived a disposition with some to say with Webster, "Where are we to go"? but that if a man of so much authority as McDuffie, should prepare an address to the country and propose to your friends to sign it that they would do so and afterwards remain firm to their principles; but that if you should come out first, that the whole of the V. B. press would come out in full volley upon you, denounce you as the destroyer of the Republican Party, impute to you motives of personal hostility to V. B. for becoming so, and that some of our weaker brethren might be frightened out of the true path Perhaps we were wrong in this apprehension of their want of firmness. At all events if your friends do not move at once you ought to do so in my opinion and shall urge its adoption on Mr. Upshur. If I do not hear something is done in the course of this week I shall go over to Washington.

I was frequently asked the question by our friends in N. Y. What course are we to take? Why do not Mr. C's friends at Washington tell us?

I found from Mr. McKeon, the warm friend of Genl. Cass, that his friends had begun to entertain strong hopes, that the convention, would be convinced of the impossibility of electing V. B. and take up him. I told him very freely, if Genl. Cass did not denounce the formation of the convention and refuse to go in it he could by no possibility be taken up, even in the case you should decline.

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From Edward J. Black

WASHINGTON CITY [D. C.,] *Jany. 8th 1844.*

MY DEAR SIR, Your letter of the 27th ultimo was rec'd yesterday, and I have reflected anxiously on its contents. The reasons you present for a remission of duties on the iron for our Rail Roads are the only arguments to sustain a discrimination in their favour. They were of such weight with me that I would not vote against the application of the Petersburg road to the last Congress.[2] That application failed, I think, for the want of Southern Support. I have carefully collated and compiled the amt. that has been remitted to rail Roads and corporations north and East of Mason's and Dicksons line, and in addition to the views you present, it can be shewn that they have received from the government, in this way a much larger Sum than has ever been granted to the South—and we might at least balance accounts with them before we apply rigidly to ourselves a rule they have always rejected for themselves.

I have read your address and prepared as I was by feeling, and inclination, and judgement to approve what you might do in that regard, I was most thoroughly satisfied, after I had read it, with every word you have written. Now that your position with regard to the party is not what it was some months since, I am more at liberty than I ever have been to tell you with what devotion and singleness of purpose I have aspired to your success, not only politically, but personally. Principles *and* men is the version of the old maxim, and Mr. Randolph was right when he said, you might as well talk of marriage without women, as principles and *not* men.

After maintaining my family in comfort at home, and sustaining the country in my political relations creditably and honorably, I have no other motive, that I know of, but to assist in my humble way, in advancing you to the Presidency—and you only—for there is no other prominent man in whom I have any confidence. That event would gratify my personal feelings, and assure the consummation of what I hold to be true in politics. With deep feelings of regret and indignation I have been forced to the conclusion that we cannot succeed in our hopes and efforts at the approaching election. I now look to the election in 1848, and my efforts shall be directed to the contest that will take place then. With that view what you have written about the Baltimore Convention is right, and so far as I am individually concerned, I am disposed to defy them openly—but I suggest that while you condemn the principles on which the Convention is about to be assembled (as you have properly done) that you simply *protest*

[2] The board of directors of the Petersburg Railroad Co. petitioned Congress for an extension of time for admitting railroad iron free of duty, and a bill was reported by the Finance Committee of the Senate for the benefit of the company on Jan. 17, 1843. It passed on Jan. 23 by 20 to 19. See Congressional Globe, third session, Twenty-seventh Congress, 1842-43, Vol. XII, pp. 166, 175, 181, 186, 187, 196.

against the mode and manner of its election, and its proposed action. That will leave us where we are, firmly and consistently standing on principles, without subjecting us to the imputation of abruptly denouncing the *Party*. It will clear your skirts of the Convention, without your seeming to denounce the Party.

In relation to the Tariff, and the policy heretofore maintained by the Van B Democrats upon that subject nothing could have been written more forcibly than what you have said in your address. The instances you have adduced of their double dealing must carry conviction to every honest man, and all that you have referred to to sustain your suspicions of the Van B men would be doubly confirmed by what has transpired during this session of congress. What more convincing than the votes on Mr. Rhets resolution, on my revenue resolution, and on Mr. McDowell's [3] Rhet's was lost by a large majority and mine by one vote, and that too when we have a Democratic majority of more than 60 votes in the House.[4]

Doubtless you have watched the proceedings of the House on the Abolition question. The South has lost more during the short month we have been in session than we have since the days of Henry L. Pinckney.[5] Every step we have taken has been retrograde. The Massachusetts memorial to abolish our three fifth's slave representation has not only been received, but referred to a Select Committee, headed by Mr. Adams.[6] The Petition of a free negro has been received, and referred—and to cap the climax a Van B. Dem. speaker has appointed a Committee on Rules—and after deliberate consultation they have, in committee, stricken out the 21st Rule [7]—and that too by the aid of the votes of two Van B. Democrats (Beardsley [8] of N. York and Doctor Davis [9] of Indiana). When their report was brought into the House, the Van Buren members tried to stave it off,

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[3] Joseph Jefferson McDowell was born in North Carolina; moved to Ohio and was a member of the State egislature for several ycars; practiced law; Democratic Member of the House of Representatives 1843–1847; engaged in agricultural pursuits; died in Hillsboro, Ohio, 1877.

[4] Rhett's resolution in the House, Jan. 3, 1844, contained instructions for the Committee on Ways and Means to report a bill reducing the tariff duties to 20 per cent within 2 years. It was voted dowu by 57 to 112. Black's resolution on the same day was for reduction of the duties to those for revenue only. McDowell's resolution was similar. See Congressional Globe, Vol. XIII, pp. 101 and 102.

[5] Henry L. Pinckney. of South Carolina, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1833–1837; he was mayor of Charleston 1839–1840.

[6] John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, was Senator, 1803–1808; minister to Russia, 1809–1814; minister to England, 1815–1817; Secretary of State under Monroe, 1817–1825; President, 1825–1829; Member of the House of Representatives, 1831–1848.

[7] Number 21 of the standing rules of the House read: "That no petition, memorial, resolution or other paper praying the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, or any State or Territory, or the slave trade between the States and Territories of the United States in which it now exists, shall be received by this House, or entertained in any way whatever." It was adopted in January, 1840, and repealed in December, 1844.

[8] Samuel Beardsley, of New York, was a Democratic Member of the House of Representatives, 1831–1836, 1843–1844; he served on the Supreme Court of New York both as associate judge and as chief justice.

[9] John Wesley Davis was born in Pennsylvania, graduated from the Baltimore Medical College in 1821, and moved to Indiana. He was a Democratic Member of the House of Representatives, 1835–1837, 1839–1841, 1843–1847; elected Speaker of the House, Dec. 1, 1845; commissioner to China, 1848–1850; presided over the National Democratic Convention in Baltimore in 1852; Governor of Oregon 1853–54.

first by endeavoring to postpone the consideration of the report indefinitely. When that did not succeed Drumgoole,[10] with the hope of avoiding a *teste* moved to recommit it, but as good luck would have it, I got the floor, and moved to amend his motion by *instructing* the Committee to report the 21st Rule to the House as one of the Rules for its government. We are yet debating that motion of *instruction*, and we have them in a tight place. Beardsly, Hamlin,[11] Davis, all V. B. Democrats have been compelled to come out, and have made out and out abolition speeches—openly denouncing the rule.

None of the papers have reported my speech. Particularly has the Globe cut it up and misrepresented it. I gave the party warning that their votes upon that subject would be looked to by the South as a test of their truth and loyalty to Democracy. That if they faltered they would be lost, and that I made the motion for the express purpose of making them shew their hands. I will write out my speech, and thus defeat Blair in his attempt to suppress it.[12]

There is no doubt but that if Van was out of the way you would be nominated by an overwhelming majority of the party, and although the majority of the party seem to be at this time in favor of Mr. Van B. yet the course adopted by his northern friends here in relation to the 21st Rule and the Tariff (particularly the latter) is producing some excitement among the better part of the Western Representatives. These symptoms encourage me to hope that we are not yet excluded entirely. This Democratic Congress may yet kill Mr. Van B. If all your friends would stand up in the House, yield not an inch of ground, or a particle of principle, and by concerted action force this Congress to a definite shewing on these two great questions, I believe there would yet be a great revulsion in the Country. Your friends have not yet had even a meeting for consultation as to their course in the House. I am endeavoring to bring about a meeting of that sort. But I fear I have tired you, so I must beg you to believe that all I have written is prompted by the most ardent feelings for you, and your success, and submitted always to your better judgment. As occurrences take place here I will let you know; and if I can serve you in any way here let me know it, and if I do not succeed, it will not be for want of zeal, or an effort, on my part, in your behalf; and I shall always be glad to receive your letters.

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[10] George Coke Dromgoole was a Democratic Member of the House of Representatives from Virginia, 1835–1841, 1843–1847.

[11] Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, was elected to Congress as a Democrat and served 1843–1847; Senator, 1848–1857; elected as a Republican Governor of Main in 1857, but resigned a month later and was reelected to the Senate and served 1857–1861; elected Vice President on the ticket with Abraham Lincoln; again Senator, 1869–1881; minister to Spain, 1881–82.

[12] Francis P. Blair, of the Congressional Globe, the recognized Official Reporter of Congress at the time.

From L. Williams [13]

BOSTON [MASS.,] *Jany. 9th, 1844*

MY DEAR SIR,

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The course taken by the Van Burean party in forcing an early nomination of delegates to the Baltimore Convention, has defeated, in a great measure, the object in postponeing the time of holding the Convention to May next. It remains to be seen whether your friends or the friends of the other candidates will submit to have the question forestalled. Had no election taken place until this time the result would have been very different at the north at least. Aside from the old party organization you were decidedly the most popular man in all New England. A few days before the Connecticut Convention Judge Judson [14] (of the District Court of Connecticut) told me that three fourths of that State were in your favour, yet at the Convention where the delegates had been chosen many months previous, and chosen for another purpose Van Burean received an equal number of votes. I mention this among a great many instances of unfair practice on the part of your political opponents, of which I suppose you may be well informed.

It seems to be the general opinion of the best informed politicians that Van Buren will in no event succeed if nominated.

While I was in Baltimore I saw many well informed gentlemen from whom I learned that Van Buren could not expect to carry Maryland, but that you could carry it against all opposition. McMahon,[15] who presided at the Convention which nominated Harrison told me that he was ready to come out in your favour, and that large numbers of planters who had not recently taken any part in the elections were ready to buckle on their armour under your banner.

I have some business at Washington which will call me there in a few days, when I shall see your friends, and shall be better informed of their and your views than I am at present.

I should be glad to have from you letters of introduction to Mr. Holmes [16] or Mr. Rhett, and McDuffie of your State. I can procure introductions to them at Washington from others, but should prefer being introduced by your letters, that they may commune with me confidentially. If you will send me letters inclosed in an envelope

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[13] Lemuel Williams, a classmate of Calhoun's friend Virgil Maxcy (Rhode Island College, 1804), was collector of the port of Boston, 1842-1845.

[14] Andrew Thompson Judson was a Democratic Member of the House of Representatives from Connecticut, 1835-36; appointed by President Jackson United States judge for the district of Connecticut, and served 1836-1853.

[15] John Van Lear McMahon was a prominent lawyer and politician of Maryland. He took a conspicuous part in the campaign of 1840, and presided at a great ratification meeting, where Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and William C. Preston made speeches.

[16] Isaac Edward Holmes, of South Carolina, was a Democratic Member of the House of Representatives, 1839-1851.

to me and under cover to Henry Williams [17] of the House of Representatives I can meet them at Washington where I expect to be in a little more than a week.

I saw Gen Green on his disembarkation at this place, and had an interesting conversation with him relating to you. He had not then recently heard from you.

From N. Towson [18]

WASHINGTON [D. C.,] *Jany. 16th 1844*

MY DEAR SIR, I received the enclosed yesterday, and called at the Dept. of State to show it to Mr. Upshur, but could not obtain an interview as he was engaged. I left it with a note for him and it was returned this morning without remark. We shall probably meet at the drawing room this evening and if he says anything on the subject I will communicate it to you.

The movement in New York is a bold and important one, calculated in my judgment, to produce a change in the democratic arrangements for nominating a candidate. It will alarm the friends of Mr. Van Buren and may convince them, that the party cannot be united on him, they must be already convinced that without union he cannot be elected. I agree with Genl Green, that so far as your fortunes may be affected by the change this movement may produce, will depend on your coming to Washington. I would not however, advise you to accept a place in the cabinet if it should be offered to you, of which I have strong doubts, for I do not believe the Senate will agree to Mr. Spencers transfer from the Treasury to the Supreme Court. Mr. Henshaw [19] was rejected yesterday and Mr. Porters [20] fate is doubtful, but you cannot in justice to yourself, accept either of the vacancies, nor do I think you could any office or appointment within the gift of the present administration, unless it be, for the purpose of negotiating a treaty with a foreign power. The Senate is of all places the one in which you could be most serviceable to the country and to yourself, and I do not think you should hesitate a moment if the arrangement Genl Green proposes for Mr. McDuffie can be effected. I always thought you should have remained in the Senate and I believe all your friends *now* concur in that opinion.

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[17] Henry Williams, of Massachusetts, was a Democratic Member of the House of Representatives, 1839–1841, 1843–1845.

[18] Nathan Towson, a native of Maryland, served with distinction in the army during the War of 1912; promoted to brevet colonel; appointed Paymaster General of the Army in 1819; breveted brigadier general in 1834, and major general in 1848 for meritorious conduct during the Mexican War.

[19] David Henshaw, of Massachusetts, was appointed Secretary of the Navy by President Tyler, July 24, 1843, but after holding office several months was rejected by the Senate and succeeded by Thomas W. Gilmer, of Virginia, on Feb. 15, 1844.

[20] James M. Porter, of Pennsylvania, served in the War of 1812; was admitted to the bar in 1813 and practiced law in Easton, Pa. He was an active member of the Constitutional Convention of Pennsylvania in 1838. He was appointed Secretary of War in 1843, but was rejected by the Senate; he then returned to the practice of law in Easton. President of the board of trustees of Lafayette College for 25 years.

I have no reason to doubt the attachment of the friends Genl. Green alludes to in his last paragraph, on the contrary, believe they ardently desire your elevation to the Presidency, but have long thought they considered the prospect hopeless, and I think they have shown a want of judgement and tact in not making the most of your political capital both for you and for themselves. They yielded every thing in going into caucus for Speaker and received nothing in return, not even thanks! Out of caucus they could have dictated to it; in it they were worse than powerless. True, Mr. Van Burens friends could have elected their officers without the aid of your friends; but they could not have made the impression on the public that the latter had been whipped into his support, which is much more important than the election of a Speaker. Had your friends remained free they would have been courted. Now they are spurned. There is however one advantage in it, having found by experience, that they are to receive no personal or political favor for submitting they will be more firm hereafter.

Genl. Green thinks Mr. Maxcy should go to Balto. I do not believe he can be induced to do so. At all events it can only be done by you. This is an unfavorable time for a movement in Maryland as the Congressional Elections take place next month and any division in the democratic ranks will certainly give the State to the Whigs. The probability now is, that the Whigs will carry five out of the six districts. The State is democratic, but there has been such an apathy in the party every since the Syracuse Convention that the Whigs have triumphed in all the elections. Our friend Brown can be elected if he gets the party nomination, but I fear Mr. Van Burens friends will oppose it.

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From Virgil Maxcy

ANNAPOLIS [MD.,] *2 Feb. 1844*

MY DEAR SIR, Your address has just been received here and I am glad to find you have modified it. It has not yet been generally read and of course I cannot form an opinion as to the effect it will produce here. It will, I have no doubt, enrage the Van Buren men at first but I cannot help hoping, as there is nothing directly denouncing such of them as support the protective tariff, or rather those, who do not think the ground taken by V. B. in the Syracuse Convention as sufficient reason for descrting him, as whigs, that it will shame and frighten them back to the true faith after their passion subsides, and that they will gradually disown their having departed from it, whereas if a mark had been set on them by a direct denunciation in your address and no locus penitentis had been left, they would

have nourished a strong tho' secret hostility to you personally and be inclined to do all they could to prevent you being a rallying point hereafter.

Under cover of attending to the progress of a Bill here, which I have an interest in seeing passed, I have been trying to find out the currents that are setting here, since it has been considered probable, that you would be out of the field, and tho' I have been sorry to perceive, that the chains of party discipline are still very strong and that there is not as yet sufficient moral courage even among those who prefer you, to break and denounce them, I have been gratified to see, that there is a general disgust at the course V. B. has pursued and that there is very little attachment felt for him by those, who advocate him. The consequence is, as there is a strong desire on the part of both your friends and his to hit upon some expedient (as it is now next to certain that Clay will have a majority in this State and of course all the electors) by which we may not be divided in our *State* elections next autumn, for success in which there is some hope. A current therefore is strongly setting in favor of a nomination by the republican members of our legislature of Genl. Cass, not in the expectation of choosing Cass electors but of preventing any discussions arising between your friends and those of Mr. V. B., which might dampen our united efforts to save the party in our State elections, which come on a month before our presidential election.

Would you approve of a nomination of Cass here? What would be its effect on our prospects for 1848? I have as yet neither discouraged nor promoted the idea, but in the state of things now existing here, altho' I might not be able to prevent a nomination of Cass, I believe I can exert influence enough to ensure it, if you approve of it.

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From J. H. Hammond

Silver Bluff [S. C.], *3d Feb. 1844*

My Dear Sir, I received your letter inclosing an application for the appointment of Assayer and forwarded the latter to the President of the Bank. The power of appointing to that office is vested in the President and Director of the Bank of the State. I received by last mail the papers containing your letter withdrawing from the Baltimore Convention. I concur entirely in all the views expressed in it, and I have no doubt it will meet the approbation of all your friends throughout the U. S. and of all *honest* men. I think too it will do good. The fact of your withdrawing, as well as the striking and unanswerable argument against the Convention, must produce a strong impression, and will have I trust a powerful influence in recalling the Country to the Constitution. I am beginning to fear however

that there is small chance for the perpetuity of a Constitutional Government. The great body of the people neither know nor care anything about the Constitution, and nine tenths of the politicians are nearly as ignorant and still more regardless of it. No class of people except we South Carolinians ever seem seriously to object to anything because it is unConstitutional. Established precèdents have far more influence whether Constitutional or not than the Constitution itself. And sectional and political interests and convenience are rapidly building up a practical system of Government which has already superceded in many essential particulars that formed in '89 and is destined I fear in no long time to supercede it altogether. We Constitutionalists will soon be denominated the "*Ancien Regime*" and laid on the shelf, if we are not wise enough to lay ourselves there beforehand, as behind the age. All that a great and wise man can do is to develope on pages that will outlive the times, the beauty and wisdom of the Constitution, and pave the way for its revival after some future revolution. I have great confidence in the Love of Liberty which still pervades all classes in this Country and I trust that that and the advance of knowledge, which every thing should be done to promote, will secure those who come after us from any Government much worse than the present.

From R. B. Rhett

WASHINGTON [D. C.,] *Feby 21st, 1844*

MY DEAR SIR

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Matters here are pretty bad. McCay [21] the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means showed me a few days ago a huge bill, being a reduction and modification of the Act of 42. It reduces the duties to 30 per cent advalorem, some below thirty to twenty five and twenty, but without any good reason, and when the Bill, if such a Bill is reported, reaches the House whether as a Revenue or protective Bill, the injustice of discriminating, and putting some at greater disadvantage than others, will run all up to the 30 per cent. It then adds three per cent more, by adding ten per cent on the foreign cost, thus making the reduction to 33 per cent. It leaves the free list of the Act of 42 amounting to many millions, for the benefit of the manufacturers, and tea and coffee. It retains specific duties on iron and Sugar and a few other articles, and it has no prospective reduction to a distinct revenue standard like the Act of 33 to 20 per cent. Do write to me at once what you think of such a Bill?

[21] James J. McKay, of North Carolina, was a Democratic Member of the House of Representatives 1831-1849.

I told Genl. McCay that in my opinion such a Bill was only a modified protective Tariff Bill, and as such I should oppose and denounce it. Mr. Woodberry [22] spoke to me in favor of it, and Genl. McCay told me McDuffie approved of it. I told Mr. Woodberry, that such a Bill would be the grave of the free-trade cause for ever. That after a protective Tariff is made by the Whigs, and only modified by the Democrats, the principle will be supposed to be surrendered by both Parties. That I would resist and oppose it with all my might, if such a Bill was reported to the House.

The truth is, the rotten portion of the Party with Silas Wright at its head, is trying to cover themselves by the Report from the Committee. They dare not take position with the Whigs, and move to shape a Revenue Tariff into a protective Tariff. They want the Committee to perpetrate a lie, and under the guise of a revenue Tariff, report such a protective Tariff as they can stand on, and put us in the position of acting and moving in the House, against the report of the Committee which they will say, is voting against the Party.

Do write to me what you think of such a Bill, and what Bill we ought to support. Ought we to vote for any Bill which is not pretty clearly a revenue Bill—which has for instance a prospective reduction to 20 or 25 per cent. Send me your views at once, for the Committee is expected to report next week. Had we all stood firm, we would have commanded. * * *

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From Daniel E. Huger

WASHINGTON [D. C.,] *Feb. 22d, 1844*

SIR You have been kept informed no doubt of the march of events here. The spirit of abolition has become rabid. Not only the District of Columbia but the U. S. must be sacrificed to its fury.

Sectional interests are encroaching more and more on the general wellfare. The manufacturing interest will not be satisfied with less than all it can exact from the Planting States. The Planting States are distracted. There is no one in Congress on whom they have been accustomed to rally, and rally they must or be destroyed.

The services of every Southern man are now required, and they should be employed too in the very position in which they are most available. Your State demands your services in the Senate of the U. States, and I now call upon you in the name of South Carolina to take the position I now hold and afford to your country the benefit of your experience and influence.

Permit me to assure you, that as far as I am concerned, the greatest favour you can confer, is to afford me an *immediate* opportunity of performing a high duty to my country.

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[22] See above, letter dated Oct. 12, 1841, note 31, p. 164, Levi Woodbury.

From Henry Wheaton [23]

BERLIN [GERMANY,] *1 March, 1844.*

MY DEAR SIR: Among the difficult questions involved in our controversy with G. Britain relating to the Oregon Territory is one which embraces a principle of public law of the highest importance, and which, as they pretend, has a direct bearing on the case.

The British claim, as stated by them, is not to the *exclusive* dominion and property of the Territory in question, but only to a right to settle in places not already occupied, a right which they acknowledge belongs equally to us, and the temporary mutual enjoyment of which has been regulated by the Convention of 1827. We claim the whole territory on several grounds, and among others as the assignee of all the rights, claims, and pretentions of Spain north of the 42d parallel of Latitude. G. Britain does not deny the justice of our claim to all that was the exclusive property of Spain, but she contends that by the Convention of the Escurial concluded in 1790 between her and Spain, the latter Power reserved nothing more than the same rights secured equally to G. Britain, namely the right to "navigate and carry on their fisheries in the Pacific ocean, or in the South Seas, or in landing on the coasts of those Seas in places not already occupied, for the purpose of carrying on their commerce with the natives of the Country, or of making settlements there."

The conclusion, therefore, is that the United States possess only the same rights within the territory in question which are common to them with G. Britain.

I am not informed whether any, or what *official* answer has been given by our Government to this argument, unless it be that which is stated by Mr. Greenhow [24] in his Memoir etc. that the Convention of the Escurial was annulled by the breaking out of war between Spain and G. Britain in 1796, and not having been renewed *specifically*, subsequently to the reestablishment of peace between those two powers, was not in force at the date of the Florida treaty by which the rights of Spain were ceded to the U. States.

I perceive it stated in the January No., 1844, of the "*British* and Foreign Quarterly Review," p. 577, that "if Mr. Greenhow were as good a lawyer as he is an historian, he would have known that the Convention of the Escurial is one of those national compacts called *transitory* conventions; that such conventions are not put an end to, or even necessarily suspended by war; but that if suspended, they revive as a matter of course on the restoration of peace, without any

[23] The famous lawyer, diplomat, and publicist.

[24] Robert Greenhow was a scholar and scientist of note who became translator for the State Department in 1828. He published a Report on the Discovery of the Northwest Coast of North America, prepared by order of Congress in 1837 (New York, 1840), and afterwards enlarged it into a History of Oregon and California (1846). He served as translator to the Department of State from 1828 to 1850.

express stipulation. There is no difference on this head among the best authorities in international Law. We shall content outselves with citing a modern authority, which we are sure will be respected in the United States."

The writer then quotes the passage from my *Elements of International Law*, beginning with the words: "General compacts between nations, etc." (Part 111, ch. 2, Sec. 7.) He adds the Preamble to the Convention of the Escurial, to show that it is one of those treaties which are only suspended in case of war, and revive, without any express stipulation, on the return of peace.

I recommend the entire article in the Review to your attentive perusal, and invite you to a careful examination of this question of international Law, which is one of the most important and difficult points of the controversy.

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From Sam. S. Phelps [25]

SENATE CHAMBER [WASHINGTON, D. C.,]
March 6, 1844.

SIR Although a very humble member of the Senate of the U. States I have yet the good of our common country at heart, and although our political opinions have been antipodes that very circumstance induces me to address you in the present emergency. A tremendous calamity [26] which had nearly carried me into eternity as it did better and more useful men has deprived the president of two very worthy confidential advisors. The supplying of their places was and is still a matter of extreme anxiety to all.

Your nomination to the office of Secretary of State relieved me and many if not all of my political friends from deep anxiety. The ready and harmonious confirmation of that appointment by the Senate is the most decisive proof to you of their cordial approval.

I cannot presume to offer you any advice; but I may be permitted to express my own deep sense of the obligation resting upon you to consult in your acceptance or refusal of the appointment the common wish of all parties here and the political necessities of the country.

You are aware of the critical condition of the Oregon question and of the tremendous consequences which may follow an injudicious selection of the individual who shall conduct that negociation.

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[25] Samuel Shethar Phelps was elected as a Whig to the United States Senate from Vermont, and served 1839–1951.

[26] The explosion of the bow gun "Peacemaker," on the U. S. S. *Princeton*, Feb. 28, 1844, while on a trial trip on the Potomac, killed Secretary of State Upshur, Secretary of the Navy Gilmer, Commander Kennon, and several guests.

Save us then if you can from indiscretion and folly and from a war engendered in national pride and of course bitter relentless and in its spirit and consequences interminable.

Sir I will not enlarge on this subject. You apprehend the nature of the crisis better than I do. My object is to assure you that in the present emergency could you accept the office you will be sustained in your efforts which I doubt not would be sincerely and zealously made to extricate us from this embarrassing question by considerate and prudent men of all parties and especially of the party to which I belong.

From Edward J. Black

HOUSE REPRESENTATIVES [WASHINGTON, D. C.,]
March 7th 1844.

MY DEAR SIR Yesterday Mr. Tyler sent your name to the Senate as Secy of State, and it is understood here that you were instantly confirmed, unanimously. This certainly is a high compliment to you personally, to your principles, and your friends. For myself, individually, I hope you will accept the office—not that it is necessary to your fame as a man, a patriot, or statesman—but for the sake of the Country. I believe that the ultimate prosperity, perhaps the very existence, of the South depends in a great degree upon the measures to be adopted during this year by this government towards the republic of Texas. Of course these measures must depend almost wholly upon the incumbent of the State department. It will give you, too, an opportunity of confirming all we have said of your abilities of administration, and to reform any errors you may, and doubtless will, find there. If you were Secretary of State Mr. Elsworth [27] would promulgate no more high protective tariff doctrines through the medium of his "patent reports," and the country at large would feel safe in its foreign relations. Last, but not least, you would be *here; with us.* During all this winter your friends, in this City, have acted without preconcert. If we have agreed in our public demonstrations it was only by the cohesion upon our common principles. There was, and is, no Chief among us—and while we would maintain an individual equality, we yet have certainly felt the want of that concert, which, perhaps, your presence alone could produce among us.

Pardon me for these crude and hasty suggestions—they are prompted by the interest I take in your prosperity, our success; and are submitted only as my reflections, to your better judgment.

The universal hope here is that you will come. The government is without character—and your presence will elevate it, and make it

[27] Henry Leavitt Ellsworth, of Connecticut, son of Oliver Ellsworth, was United States Commissioner of Patents, 1836–1848.

of high consideration, at home and abroad. Your acceptance would be regarded as a special mission for the good of your Country. This want of character is attributed to the present administration by the ultra-Whigs, and Van B. Democrats—while many others, among whom I profess to be one, regard Mr. Tyler as an honest man—disposed to do right, and peculiarly fitted, just at this time, by the circumstances which surround and control him, to be made the recipient of such advice as your friends believe you would give him. I write this in great haste in a confused House.

From George McDuffie

WASHINGTON [D. C.,] *10th March 1844.*

MY DEAR SIR; I received your letter of the 3d of March yesterday, and confess myself quite surprized at Mr. Rhett's letter relative to McKay's bill for reducing the tariff and your own views upon the subject. And frankness requires me to say to you that I now regret as I have long done, that you have made such a man as Rhett your confidential adviser. You could not have selected a worse, not excepting Duff Green. He is vain, self conceited, impracticable and *selfish in the extreme*, and by his ridiculous ambition to lead and dictate in everything, has rendered himself odious in Congress and in the State. I know of no man who is injuring you so much. Everything he does in Congress and writes in the Spectator is ascribed to you. If you should accept the State Department as I sincerely hope you will, I think the Spectator should be stopped. In any event it will do nothing but mischief, as now conducted. Even if McK's bill were as represented by Rhett, I differ with you (as do the whole delegation, except Rhett and perhaps Holmes) as to the propriety of supporting it. By doing so we gain much, *very much* and surrender *nothing*. We shall have as perfect a right and a much better chance of bringing it to our own standard one or two years hence than if we do not touch the tariff of 1842. You speak of the *hold* we have on both parties, as if it was in our power to make them do as we please; whereas it is a mere rope of sand. Did it prevent the Whigs and democrats from passing the act of 1842? Why was not the bond then enforced upon them? And now when we are about to accomplish the greatest free trade victory ever achieved since 1816 not excepting the compromize of 1833, are we to stop short and refuse to vote for and support the measure because we have the pledge of two faithless parties to reduce the tariff still lower? If we had been weak enough to follow Mr. Rhett's lead, and threaten Mr. Van Buren's friends instead of reasoning with them, it is certain the tariff never would have been touched this Session. And if McK's bill is defeated I fear the responsibility will rest upon Rhett and those he can influence.

McK's bill, as you will see, lays the duty on the foreign cost without adding the usual 10 pr ct. But how much better would even the 10 pr ct be than the *home* valuation of the compromise, which you know was very near causing me to vote against that law? McK's bill comes down after one year to 25 pr ct as the maximum, and I regard it as better than the compromize with the home valuation. A large amount of dutiable imports are placed at 20 pr ct and under.

As to tea and coffee I have always [felt] that you and the democratic party committed a great error in voting against the duty proposed by the whigs. Those democrats in Georgia and elsewhere who voted against these duties then and turned out their opponents who voted for them, dare not now vote to impose the duties. Upon the whole we have done all that can be done, and my only fear is that the bill reported may not pass though I have strong hopes it will.

You will see by the papers that no event which has occurred for many years, has produced such a simultaneous and general burst of congratulation and applause as your appointment to the State Department. I hope you will be able to gratify the national wish, as I am sure it will promote the public welfare and extend your own fame and popularity.

From F. H. Elmore

Charleston [S. C.,] *11 March 1844.*

My Dear Sir: I write you in the midst of the business of a very busy day at the urgent instance of many of your oldest and warmest friends, to express to you what I am warranted in saying is the universal desire of your friends here in regard to your recent appointment to the State Department. Every man concurs in the earnest request that you will accept. So many and so important questions are to be in the charge of that Department in which the Union at large is deeply interested and in which the South most especially is vitally affected, and in the arrangement of which you will command more of confidence and have a greater ability to serve the country, that all look on it as the most desirable event that could happen. For your own fame no position they think could be more propitious. Mr. Belser [28] of Alabama passed through yesterday. I did not know it till to-day. Mr. Boyce,[29] who is now sitting with me, saw and conversed with him. He tells me that Mr. Belser says that all your friends at Washington are earnestly hoping [for] your immediate acceptance. He says the Western members most especially are warmly for your acceptance. He says that they freely declare that

[28] James Edwin Belser, of Alabama, was a Democratic Member of the House of Representatives 1843–1845.

[29] Ker Boyce was for several years a member of the South Carolina Legislature from Charleston.

altho' they know you do not altogether agree with them on that point, that you are the *only man* who can settle the Oregon question satisfactorily—for they know your justice and fairness and will be content to stand to whatever you will agree to, and that if you settle it and the Texas questions, nothing could possibly confer a greater benefit on them, nor give you a higher claim upon their gratitude.

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Extract of a letter dated at Paris [France,] March 20, 1844 [30]

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I have learned with great pleasure since my arrival here [of] the appointment of Don Angel Calderon de la Barca as Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States, not only because I consider him as eminently qualified for the place, but on account of his intimate relations with you and other persons in the Union. I trust that you and they will induce him to convey to his government at Madrid more correct notions in regard to the proper method of administering the affairs of the island of Cuba.

You have seen how completely all my predictions in regard to impending troubles in the island have unfortunately been verified. Insurrections among the blacks succeed each other with frightful rapidity, and have assumed so alarming a character that the most intelligent planters are constantly expecting some tremendous catastrophe. The danger is increased by the fatal blindness—to give it no other name—with which General O'Donnell connives at the slave trade. At the very moment when the conspiracies which had been formed at the Sabanilla were made known at Matanzas and Havana, fresh importations of blacks were introduced into those ports, and ships were being fitted out for still farther supplies. This open violation of the treaties with England exasperates the British government, while the abolitionists scarcely attempt to conceal their hostile intentions upon Cuba. They publicly avowed in the anti-slavery convention, held last year at London, that, instead of sending agents and books to the island, they should in future employ other means, which they did not specify. Their nature is sufficiently explained by the existing insurrections. The conspiracy which was brought to light by Oviedo on the Sabanilla estate was most artfully contrived; and it is shown beyond a doubt by the confessions of the leaders that there were whites engaged in it. The local authorities, acting under the direction of the Captain General, have inflicted sanguinary punishments upon the leaders. This is the amount of what has been done in the way of repression, and this only serves to produce additional irritation. In the meantime the plantations

[30] See letter below by A. H. Everett, June 17, 1844.

throughout the island, all of which are now so many hot beds of insurrection, remain without defence, for the troops never leave the capital. To complete the picture, there are daily new importations of Africans. The remonstrances of the wealthiest and most respectable planters of Matanzas and the Havana have been very badly received by the Captain General. He has also imposed silence upon Mr. de Bétancourt, a most enlightened and respectable citizen of Puerto Principe, who, as I mentioned to you, has been attempting to solve, theoretically and practically, the important problem of introducing white labor into Cuba. * * *

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From Richard Hawes [31]

PARIS, KENTUCKY *March 21, 1844.*

SIR, I presume so far on our acquaintance formed at Washington to address you on the subject of the annexation of Texas, to the U. States. I am induced to this particularly, from the information, that you have been nominated and confirmed as Secretary of State, an appointment which I hope you may be willing to accept.

It is known to you that there is a belt of country extending across our continent peculiarly adapted to the production of cotton, and perhaps the only portion of the Globe, where it can be successfully and extensively cultivated, and that it is a staple which in value far transcends any other to which human labor can be applied. I am firmly persuaded that it is our policy to own all the cotton lands of North America if we can. I fear that Texas cannot subsist as a separate nation, and that she must become [united] by incorporation, or by alliance of some kind with some foreign power, if we decline to be united with her.

Her people are our brethren, our neighbors, fathers, sons, brothers, etc. etc. and we should and will sympathise with every suffering they endure, and must be embroiled in all her quarrels and wars. While this state of things exist[s] is it not best that she should at once be united in the Confederacy with us? If she should form a foreign alliance, will not the natural bonds of friendship to us be dissevered, and like all family quarrels will it not be turned into a most virulent hatred, which will be constantly aggravated by commercial rivalry in the cotton market? If as I suppose she will if rejected by us be driven to a foreign alliance, will not that alliance necessarily conform to the miscalled and distempered philanthrophy of the day, and be based on the abolition of slavery in Texas. In this event Texas will be a den of runaway slaves from the South and South West, etc. etc.

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[31] Richard Hawes, of Kentucky, was elected to the House of Representatives as a Whig and served 1837–1841

The Northern states now have possession of the markets of the U. S. in cotton manufactures, and will ultimately get ahcad of England and Francc with foreign nations. Is it not to their ultimate interest that we should own the country and the whole country which produces the raw material?

Is it not a miserable truckling to abolitionists to allow their interference with our slave propcrty under the hypocritical cant of liberty, to alarm us out of a great national policy?

Is it not disreputable to the spirit of the South and West, to be bullied by the North in a question of slave and non slave holding political ascendancy?

Let the treaty be once made, and the gallant enthusiasm of the South and West, with the whole influence of the army and navy will accomplish the confirmation of it. It may be deferred and defeatcd at first, but it must be ultimately confirmed. The constitutional question, thc grcat extent of territory, etc. urged against annexation, are mere bug bcars. The North is quite willing to get up any agitation to the north, so as to get the Canadas, and when the Canadians are ripe for such an event, they will drive us into a war on that matter to a certainty.

There is no danger of a war with England. She is constantly despoiling India, and China, and she cannot part with our commerce, much less can she allow our manufactures to ripen in to that maturity, which a war would inevitably produce.

I make thcse hasty and loose suggestions, which will pass with you for what they are worth. They are only a part of what might bc urged. The only difficulty in the entirc success of annexation is its association with party. Mr. Clay is against it, and he is a host with his friends, but lct the treaty be once made, and the national pride, and thc ardor of the South and West, coming in unison with their sympathies, and interests will do the work.

From C. A. Davis [32]

New York, [N. Y.,] *3 Apr., 1844.*

My Dr. Sir, I venture to wait on you in this form with rencw'd assurances of my high regard and estecm, but not to impose on your valuable time (occupied as you must be) than merely to ask your acceptance of these assurances.

I was unfortunately present at that appalling sccnc on board thc Princeton, but escaped with only a slight injury on the lip and a

[32] Charles August Davis was a merchant in New York City. For many years he was in the iron trade with Sidney Brooks. He was well versed in commercial and financial affairs, and wrote brilliantly and intelligently upon those subjects. He wrote the "Peter Scriber Letters" and "Major Jack Downing's Letters" (N. Y. 1834), first published in tho Daily Advertiser, which detail his interviews with President Jackson and the plans for overthrowing the United States Bank. For many years his house in New York was the rcsort of the poet Hallock and other of the Knickerbocker writers.

hole in my hat and my head somewhat disturbed by the concussion, and return'd home the next day with melancholy feelings. I almost began to think that amid the conflict of parties and threatened convulsions that this was only the beginning of a *blow up*, and that it would be follow'd by others, and I found the most of our citizens indulging in awful forebodings, stocks falling, and people looking confounded. But in a few days a new and cheering light broke in upon us, your nomination and unanimous confirmation was rec'd here with one spontaneous approval, and so striking was this, that I could not refrain from addressing a Letter to the President and so stating it to him, not doubting that it wd. gratify him, as I always like to communicate agreeable intelligence.

The fact is there is only one point on which any number of our people North and East differ with you in opinion, and on this of late many of them begin to think you are more than half right and they more than half wrong. So I suppose in good time public sentiment (guided by public practical inteligence) will settle down on a line satisfactory to all parties. I allude to the Tariff, which has heretofore been regarded as *the only means* of developing an advancing home industry—they begin to find now by late investigation, that a Tariff alone had been and would continue to be a most *oppressive nulity* if it had not been for the introduction of a system of artificial channels of intercourse at home, developing our sources of production and cheapening the cost of transit from points of production to points of consumption—this is clearly shown in a warm controversy now going on between the Ultra Tarifites and the *Railroad interests* which latter finds itself tax'd by a duty of $2000 per mile on an article, our Iron makers can't make yet and need not so long as they are unable to supply the home demand for all other kind of Iron. And it is shown now that instead of "a Tariff for protection" being *primary*, and internal channels of intercourse being *secondary*, it is exactly the reverse, and as a proof [of] it, it is demonstrable that if our present roads and canals, (tho' only begun as it were) were removed, every mine of coal and Iron wd. close, and every factory and water fall cease their labor. Even if we had a Tariff higher than the present, it wd. fail to accomplish its design of *protection* to the leading branches of labor, against the diminish'd prices of Europe.

It is an important feature, tho' not new to you, yet it strikes many minds here with conviction that 1st without cheap transit at home no *source of production* at home can be developed and unless developed, may as well be in the moon. 2nd That a Tariff *alone*, did not and never could accomplish this.

But I will not trouble you further, than to repeat my thanks that you were induced to sacrifice the quiet enjoyments at home to the labor and anxieties of public duties at Washington, and to assure you of my profound respect esteem and regard.

From Thomas Scott [33]

CHILLICOTHE [OHIO,] *April 4th 1844*

DEAR SIR, The announcement in the papers just received that you had arrived in the city and entered upon your official duties, has been read with sincere pleasure by your friends here, as it assures them that our Western interests are now confided to safe hands. We consider these interests as identified with the interests of the South and therefore go Heart and Soul for the annexation of Texas and securing every foot of land west of the Rocky Mountains to which we can assert a just claim. These acquisitions instead of weakening will strengthen the chain which unites us as a nation. The whole country drained by the Gulf of Mexico from the Sabine to the Rio del Norte is essential to the perfect security of Western and Southern interests and those interests will be greatly promoted by the establishment of our title to the country west of the Rocky Mountains to such an extent along the shores of the Pacific Ocean as will secure a sufficient number of good Harbors on that Ocean and the shortest and best routs by land and water from thence East to different parts of the country drained by the Gulf. The tide of emigration is still rolling on towards that Ocean and at no distant day will spread along its shores for hundreds of miles. That country when once thoroughly explored may be found to be much more valuable for aggricultural purposes than it is generally represented to be, and it may possess treasures of incalculable value to the nation. It will, at no distant day, be intersected with roads and canals connecting with the Mississippi valey. These roads and canals at the same time that they extend will strengthen the chain of the union. And although there may and necessarily will, at times, be some little confliction of interests, yet as the different sections of the union will find that each will derive advantages from keeping up a friendly intercourse and exchange of commodities with the others, it is believed that these conflicting interests would eventually be compromised and settled. But should it so happen in the course of human events, that the chain which so happily binds us together as a nation be rudely severed, it requires but little foresight and sagacity to perceive that a union of two seperate and distinct confederacys could never be formed, one on the one side, and the other on the other side of the line which seperates the slave holding from the non-slave holding states. On the happening of such an event the whole country drained by the Gulf would find it necessary to unite in a confederacy in order to protect each other, and your own state would soon perceive that her true interest would be promoted by joining that

[33] Judge Thomas Scott, of Chillicothe, Ohio, was elected secretary of the first Constitutional Convention of Ohio, Nov. 1, 1802. He was later a judge of the Supreme Court of Ohio.

Confederacy. On the question of slavery the South and South-western States have nothing to fear from the States West of the Allegheny mountains. Ninety nine hundredths of the people of these States, you may depend upon it, are sound to the core on that subject. You may therefore look well to and confide in the people of the west. If the South and West would unite and draw together, the interests of each would be greatly promoted and they would have no cause to fear the power of any adversary.

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From Robert I. Alexander [34]

St. Clairsville O. *April 18, 1844*

Dear Sir I do not now write to you, expecting that you will trouble yourself with answering me, knowing the extent of the labours of your present station, but merely to say to you that your friends in this region of country, and who are rapidly increasing, are well pleased with your entire course in relation to the contest, if I might so call it, for the Presidential nomination, and especially with the frank, just and indisputable views presented by you in your late letter to your friends on the subjects of the Tariff, Abolition and the organization of the so called national democratic nominating convention to be held next month in Baltimore. However some of your friends doubt the propriety of entirely withdrawing your name from the list of Presidential candidates.

I can also assure you that your friends in Ohio are much gratified that you accepted of your present place in the cabinet, and when all things are considered we believe that much good may result to the country from your labours in that situation.

As to the next Presidential election the opinion is very general that Mr. Van Buren cannot in any event obtain the electoral vote of this State, and but few electoral votes in the Union, though Mr. Clay is undoubtedly very unpopular. There appears to be very little enthusiasm indeed with the mass of the people to restore the possession of the Government to Mr. Van Buren, and the old horde of office holders who have heretofore so successfully and unscrupulously plundered the public teasury, and who have lately literally packed conventions to bring about a "Restoration": and in fact it would be very strange if there should be, when it is so evident that the result would be to replace and perpetuate in power an old selfish proscriptive and rotten dynasty. It appears sometimes even to me that it would be almost sinful to aid in such an enterprize, and that there is no remedy adequate to the curing of the disease, unless it is an en-

[34] Robert Alexander was one of the pioneers in building up the iron industry in Ohio.

tire and thorough breaking up of the old corrupt organization, and this I am lead to believe would prove ineffectual if left to be performed solely by the whig party. I do not by this mean that we should aid the whigs, but that in some way we ought to stand at least indifferent—making principles and not party our motto, as of old.

We are also much, very much gratified with the nomination and confirmation of our friend and fellow citizen Gov. Shannon [35] as Minister to Mexico. The selection was I think a fortunate one as he may be relied on and is right on all questions now existing in reference to our relations with that Republic.

The Govr. will leave here on Monday next for Washington City, and I hope you will form a more thorough acquaintance with him, as you can confidently rely on him as your friend, and if the Governor had but remained the fast friend of a "Restoration" rely upon it he never would have been villified by some selfish aspirants of our State, and through them even by the Globe, and even now he can wield a greater influence with the democracy of Ohio, than any other man within her borders.

Hoping that you may have great success in your present situation, and that our old fashioned republican principles, and a strict integrity and accountability in the administration of our Public affairs may soon regain complete and permanent ascendency.

From F. W. Pickens

CHARLESTON [S. C.,] *22 April 1844*

MY DEAR SIR:

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I hope you will take the highest grounds on the Oregon question. It is the only question where we of the South have nothing to lose. It gives us the sympathy of the non-slaveholding states of the North-West and separates them from the Middle and Northern States. Besides if it is to be settled up it drains the Middle and Northern States and does not weaken the Slave States at all. The country is ours by all the laws of possession and settlement, and cannot be yielded to England without weakening our moral position before the world, particularly after the Ashburton treaty. It seems to me that you might also keep open the question of the seizure of our slaves in the Bahamas and the W. Indies, and the promise made by Ashburton [36] on that point, so that if the negotiation is to be arrested let it be arrested on as many points as possible so as to keep the South at least united. And if it is to be unsettled at present let the highest

[35] Wilson Shannon was Governor of Ohio 1838–1840, 1842–1844; minister to Mexico, 1844–45; a Democratic Member of the House of Representatives, 1855–1857; Governor of Kansas Territory, 1855–56.

[36] Alexander Baring Ashburton, first baron, was sent by the British Government to the United States in 1842, and in that year the Webster-Ashburton treaty was concluded.

grounds be taken upon all points, and let the next Admr. meet the questions in such a shape that they cannot sacrifice our honor or our interests.

As to the Texas question I fear you will be defeated on its ratification at present. If Mr. Clay and the Whigs see it is to strengthen you they will do everything to give it the go-by and they have the power in the Senate. Their struggle will be to let you do all the foundation work and incur all the odium that is to be incurred and then keep things in the hands of Clay as to the final action, supposing that he will certainly come in, etc. Mr. Clay said in Columbia,[37] so I hear, at a private table that the Texas question was exaggerated greatly—that the South expected too much from its admission and the North feared too much—that from his information the country would make but *two slave states* and *three free states*. So this is to be the policy—it speaks much as to the future. They will make the issue upon creating 3 free and 2 slave states.

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From Isaac Van Zandt and J. Pinckney Henderson [38]

LEGATION OF TEXAS, WASHINGTON [D. C.],
April 22nd. 1844.

SIR We have the honor to submit for your information a brief outline of some of the efforts which have been made by the British Government to effect a settlement of the difficulties between Mexico and Texas.

By a convention concluded between Texas and Great Britain on the 14th day of November 1840, the British Government agreed to offer its mediation for this purpose, conditioned that, if the mediation should succeed, the Republic of Texas would "take upon itself a portion, amounting to one million pounds sterling, of the capital of the foreign debt contracted by the Republic of Mexico prior to the 1st day of January 1835." This tender of the mediation of Great Britain was rejected by Mexico, and the Government of Texas notified of the fact.

Afterwards, in 1842, representations were made to the Government of Great Britain, France and the United States, asking their joint co-operation and interposition for the termination of the war between Mexico and Texas. To this request France and the United States acceded with alacrity and friendly zeal, but Great Britain declined to be thus associated, suggesting, at the same time, that each should act separately. In the spring of 1843 the British Government again

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[37] Henry Clay visited Columbia, S. C., on his second southern trip, in the early part of 1844.

[38] Isaac Van Zandt was chargé d' affaires from Texas to Washington. J. Pinckney Henderson was sent to act with Van Zandt in concluding the treaty of annexation.

informed the Government of Texas that the mediation, as before pursued, was utterly hopeless; and that Mr. Doyle,[39] the British Chargé d'Affaires, in Mexico, had been instructed to propose a settlement, based upon the abolition of slavery in Texas, and directed to urge upon the Mexican Government as an inducement to its acceptance, that such a result would be a great moral triumph on the part of Mexico.

Shortly afterwards it was made known to the Government of Texas through Capt. Elliot,[40] the British Charge d'Affaires in Texas, that Genl. Santa Ana, upon certain representations being made to him by Mr. Doyle, had agreed to an armistice or cessasion of hostilities for the purpose of negotiating as to the terms of a final peace. It was in pursuance of this arrangement that the Texian commissioners were ordered to Mexico. Pending their negotiations, the British Government invited France to unite with her in pressing upon Mexico the propriety of concluding a permanent peace with Texas. The reason of this invitation, by Great Britain, to France to unite with her in the mediation to the exclusion of the United States, when it was known that the United States were equally desirous for a peace between Mexico and Texas, may be accounted for on the ground, that the British Government was satisfied that the United States would not co-operate with them upon the proposed basis of the abolition of slavery.

We communicate these statements confidentially but you will be permitted to show the same to such gentlemen as you may deem prudent under proper injunctions, not in any manner to be made public.

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From J. H. Howard

COLUMBUS [GA.,] *May 2nd 1844*

DEAR SIR I wrote to you but a few days since, which I hope you have rec'd, and replyed to. This morning I have seen Mr. Clay's letter[41] in regard to Texas and look upon it under the circumstances as not only fully sustaining Mr. Websters views, but having the merit of some peculiar follies in addition. I have also heard that Mr. Van Buren has written a letter[42] identifying himself with the Northern prejudices against our institutions, in which he comes out distinctly against annexation,—we have not yet seen the letter, it may not be so, or may be very much perverted, but if it has been correctly repre-

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[39] Percy W. Doyle.

[40] Charles Elliot.

[41] The famous Raleigh letter, written Apr. 17, 1844, to the editor of the National Intelligencer, was published Apr. 27.

[42] Van Buren's letter on the annexation of Texas appeared in the Washington Globe, Apr. 27, 1844.

sented to us, we *must* have a third candidate for the presidency. What say you to this proposition? We may be weak since Southern people will give up their interests, when called upon by their party to do so for party purposes; yet I believe there are now a sufficient number of both parties to constitute a decided majority in this State in favor of the treaty, and that they would if an opportunity was afforded them, make annexation a sine qua non. Tyler will not in our judgement answer the purpose, but if you would consent to be brought forward, although I cannot flatter you, that you would succeed with certainty, yet I believe it would create a great diversion, and produce an excitement, that would place the election more upon principal and more upon measures than upon men. And I do hope the argument might be made strong enough to produce a happy result. I may have overrated the consequences of rejecting the treaty,[43] but if I have not and it be allowed to pass away without a strong manifestation of dissent by the Southern people to the action of the majority, we had as well surrender at once. It is a surrender of all our rights, if we permit Texas rejected because she is a slaveholder. A third candidate might fail of success, or be crowned with success, as we cannot anticipate exactly the effects of the agitation of so great a question, but if a third candidate should be unsuccessful he would do much good by breaking up in some degree the arrangements of parties for power. I should be pleased to hear from you in confidence before I set out for Baltimore, which will be on the 19th inst. I have written to Colquitt today making the same suggestions.

From Eustis Prescott

New Orleans [La.] *11th May 1844*

My Dear Sir As you will have discovered from the *Herald*, and *Republican* of this morning that one of the largest public assemblages ever convened in this city, last night placed your name before the Union as the *Peoples* candidate for the Presidency, connected with the all absorbing question of the reannexation of Texas, it is due to you that one of your warmest and most steadfast friends should assure you that this movement does not emanate peculiarly from your attached friends, (altho of course they have given to it all their aid) but that it is a spontaneous movement of the people, the mass, and that the announcement of your name was received with a burst of such applause, continued and reiterated with an enthusiasm that I never remember ever to have previously witnessed in a political meeting.

[43] The treaty of annexation was rejected by the Senate June 8, 1844.

Caucusscs and Conventions were rcpudiated in toto. No Committee was appointed to announce this movement to you, as it was avowed that you had not been consulted, but that as a public man, and patriot, you could not refuse a call of your countrymen, when you were satisfied what their will was.

The meeting was presided over by Genl Plamtu [?] one of the oldest, most respectable and consistent Democrats of the city who was a candidate for Elector on the Van Buren ticket, but who at the meeting declined being longer considered as such. Genl Felix Huston formerly a devoted Whig was one of the Vice Presidents and addressed the meeting in the most animated strains in support of the resolutions, and in condemnation of Mr. Clays letter and course. Chas Watts is Judge of the Commercial and A. M. Buchanan of the District Court. The other Vice Presidents were Lawyers, Merchants, Mechanics, etc., nearly all men of very considerable influence.

It has been industriously circulated here that you have addressed a letter to your friends advising them to support Mr. Tyler. I am wary of all such reports, but when we see such a letter, it will be time enough for your friends to determine as to their course—in the mean time we shall issue an address to the people of the State and form our Electoral ticket.

We are confidient that we can give *you* the Electoral vote of the State, but I very much doubt if under any circumstances it could bc obtained for Mr. Tyler, whom *next to yourself I* certainly would support. If Mr. Van Buren should be the nominee of the Convention, his defeat is certain. Under no circumstances do I believe it possible for him *now* to receive the electoral vote of this State.

You may perhaps ask what effect we anticipate that this movement will havc north and east of us. I believe that it will rouse *the people*, and that the ball here set in motion will roll on with a rapidity, which has never been equalled except in the casc of Genl Jackson, and that it will cause the Baltimore Convention to adjourn without making a nomination.

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From L. A. Hoe

Somerville Te. *May 11th 1844*

Sir, The letters of Messrs Clay and Van Buren upon Texas annexation have just reached us. It is unnecessary to say they produce great dissatisfaction. Many of Clays friends would drop him for any friend of Texas. The Democrats almost en masse avow their determination to drop Mr. V. Buren. They feel more deeply because the party character this question had gradually assumed of late led them to expect a different course.

It is time Sir that the South should set up for herself. A large majority of our people are determined to have Texas cost what it may. We feel that the opposition to Texas is a concession to abolition and to the fears of Tariff monopolists. We have submitted to the open insults of the one and grinding oppressions of the other long enough. To yield the Texas question is to agree quietly to be tied hand and foot and oppressed in all time to come.

We must have a Southern ticket for President and V. Prest. If we cannot elect by the people, we send them to the House with as large or larger a vote than neither of the others can get.

We look to you to hold the helm and pilot us through the difficulties which surround us. By the next mail I will withdraw my name as candidate for elector for the state at large. But ready to assume the same position upon a different ticket from the one contemplated when I was nominated.

From James H. Campbell [45]

OFFICE OF THE MORNING HERALD
New Orleans [La.] May 14th 1844.

DR SIR I hope you will excuse the liberty I take in enclosing to you the resolutions passed at a mass meeting of the citizens of New Orleans at which you were nominated for the office of president of the United States subject to no convention but your own decision and the will of the sovereign people. This step sir has been taken without as you are aware the slightest consultation with yourself or indeed I may say with your special friends who are advised of your views and wishes. If such you have here we have not been advised by them. You will then I hope sir not consider this a party movement but the spontaneous voice of the people of this great city—that voice I am well assured will be responded to from every parrish in the State. In this meeting (which was one of the largest ever convened in our city) there were to be found as active members of that meeting whigs as well as democrats.

I assure you sir that the subject of annexation is the all absorbing question with us and that in refference to it all former party lines will be abolished—at least to a great extent. That Mr. Tyler cannot carry the friends of annexation belonging to the Democratic party in this State is almost absolutely certain. I think also that the same would be the case in Georgia Alabama and Mississippi to say nothing of other southern States. These statements are of course made to some extent conjecturally but not without pretty reliable means of information.

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[45] James H. Campbell was editor of the New Orleans Morning Herald.

Whilst it would be foreign to the wish of your friends (one amongst the humblest of whom I claim to be) to place you in a false position, the demonstrations of public opinion are so strongly in your favour that the anxious enquiry is constantly made "Will Mr. Calhoun permit his name to be run as the *peoples* candidate." This question we are not able to answer. We can simply say to them that your known fearlessness of character will not long keep us in doubt.

You may have perceived before this that the journal (The Morning Herald) at the head of which I am has already droped the name of Mr. Van Buren and raised yours. It will therefore become material for me to know either in the strictest privacy or otherwise whether I have been justifiable in that course. It is true that in seeking this confidence I ask much but I beg leave to refer you to the Hon. Walter L. [?T] Colquitt Senator from Georgia and whom I know to be one of your friends to show you that such confidence will not be abused.

I have had the pleasure of meeting you myself in the upper part of Georgia during my long residence in that State but am not vain enough to suppose that you remember me.

If however you would favour me with a reply designating whether it should be made public or strictly private you would confer a lasting obligation upon [me].

From F. W. Pickens

EDGEWOOD [S. C.,] *16 May '44.*

MY DEAR SIR On my return a few days since from my River place I found yours which I ought to have recd a week ago. I will try and get a meeting 1st Monday in June. You know we can get no meetings of importance except on Sale days.[46] However I think it well that we do not meet too soon. We ought to see the whole ground and give others in Va. and N. C. Geor. etc [time] to move if they will, for whenever So. Ca. moves first there are thousands who fall back under the everlasting slang of "So. Ca. ultraism, So. Ca. Disunion, etc." There is no difficulty in our taking the highest position. As I hear nothing from any one at Washington I am ignorant of all the under currents that are running there now.

I am rejoiced to see Va. moving as she is at this time. By a high and bold course at this juncture she can do much not only to save the Union but to give permanent protection and tranquility to the South, and if she vacillates and betrays her power and her honor into the hands of New York, this Union is gone and God only knows the blood and ruin that must follow.

If the Texas treaty is lost (and I take it for granted it will be and I never for a moment believed otherwise from the first) it will make

[46] The first Monday of each month.

a new division of parties, and even if Clay comes in now (and I think he will) his Admr. will be broken up in the first three months—it can not stand together. I am inclined then to think that your name will be placed at the head of the most powerful party that has ever risen in this country not excepting the party in 1828 that brought Jackson into power. It will give you the government under the very best possible condition of things that could happen.

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From J. S. Barbour[47]

CATALPA [VA.,] *May 16th, 1844.*

MY DEAR SIR At my return last night yours of the 11th was put into my hands. I agree thoroughly with you in all that you say. In some respects promptness and energy will be our duty, in others the Augustan maxim *festina lente* will give a wise precept for action. Hitherto we have in some measure committed ourselves to the forutnes of Mr Van Buren. Publick opinion is rapidly evolving its discontent with him. Yet your friends who were committed to him will be vulnerable to harsher suspicions than those of any other party. We must show that we were willing in good faith to *redeem honorably* our pledges. But that the new developments present us the alternatives of life or death. And the treachery of a man (who ought to have been grappled to us of the South by the ties and plies of gratitude with hooks of triple steel) releases us from every purpose or promise of and to his support. We need the support of the whole party. Let us show that we deserve it, by our fidelity to all reasonable expectations, until imperative duty compelled us to quit his support. This is the true ground on which to stand and it is the ground on which we may honourably stand and successfully combat.

We agreed to go into State Convention. We did so and were outnumbered. We yielded to the influence of the principle expressed and implied that carried us into Convention. *We* have done the best battle for *their cause*. Our adversaries admit and applaud our fidelity. There is no treachery to stain us, no suspicion to impeach us in the secret thoughts of open acts and words of the friends of V. B. Our escutcheon has no blemish on it, in the eyes of friends or the distrust of foes. The new position of parties, the treason of our leader, his abandonment of the *sanctum sanctorum*, and the conservatism that is in it; have all combined to withdraw from him his best friends—his original friends. In this withdrawal (and the manifestations of it), we prefer that his original friends shall take the lead. When they are

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[47] John Strode Barbour, a State Rights Democrat of Virginia, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1825–1833; chairman of the National Democratic Convention of 1852. His son, John Strode Barbour, jr., was a Democratic Member of the House 1881–1887; Senator, 1889–1892.

the first to cry out that "we are betrayed," we can without crimination, maintain our first position, and support our known and primary choice. We go into the contest with all the moral power, that lofty and unsullied motives can give us. I regret that I was not a delegate to Balto. I did not think it proper after signing the address of your friends at Richmond. And it wd. have been inconsistent with your publication. I now think that I will go there. I have other business both at Washington and Balto. It is the season for spring purchases for my family and I will probably go on with part of my family. * * *

I agree with you perfectly as to Tyler. His ambition has warped a candid mind, that nature and early education put in a true place and gave to it a true direction. These are my views, but I agree with you that he is greatly preferable *if we could get him.* That is impossible but we can do better.

From Wm. G. Austin

St. Francisville La *May 16th 1844.*

Dear Sir You might ask with some degree of propriety why an humble individual like myself should attempt to solicit a correspondence with yourself or rather I would say solicit you to become a candidate for the Presidency. Sir you will pardon me when I say I have been a strong State rights man ever since I was entitled to a vote which was in 1832 and long before that when a boy I was taught to revere the name of Calhoun the advocate of Republican principles and the rights of the States. Sir I saw with regret the course pursued by some of the would be leaders of the republican party in some of the eastern States in order that they might defeat your nomination and nominate a man who has done but little for his country and one that can not possibly succeed, I mean Mr Van buren. I heartily approved of your course at that time, in refusing to let your name go before that packed convention, but now Sir matters and things are changed the South will not support Martin Van Buren and still further will she be from supporting Henry Clay. You Sir are the onley man we can look to for success. The Texas question has killed Clay and Van buren in the South. Allready have large meetings taken place in New Orleans and various parts of our State for the purpose of nominating you for the presidency. Living on the Mississippi river as I do I have a great opportunity of learning from western men there views relative to Vanburen or Clay, and I am told that you are decidedly more popular than either of them, and besides you are there choice (among all other men) for the presidency and I do hope you will pay no attention to that Vanburen Convention in Baltimore. But will come out for the good of your Country. By

suffering your name to go before the people you have nothing to fear your election is certain. I would be glad to see someone answer Vanburen and Clay on the Texas Question. If you are not a candidate many of your friends will not vote in the elections and the consequence will be Clay will be elected and then we will have his odious measures palmed upon us, such as Tarriff etc. I would be glad if you would give me your views relative to this war with Mexico. Have we not a right to anex Texas. If you will, please give me a few lines directed to St Francisville West Feliciana Louisiana. I have lately mooved to this Parish from Mississippi.

From Wm. Hale

DETROIT MICH *May 18, 1844.*

DEAR SIR, I trust no apology will be required for obtruding myself briefly upon your attention. I desire to submit for your consideration, at this peculiar crisis in the Democratic Party, a few ideas gathered from observations that I have made upon the interesting questions, now agitating the party and the Country. If productive of no other good, they may tend to furnish a clew to public sentiment here, or confirm and render certain, what, in the conflict of parties, is involved in doubt.

The leading and primary questions that agitate the Democratic party of Michigan, more than all others at the present moment, and which are deemed vitally important to our future success, are, 1st, the Re annexation of Texas, 2d, Opposition to a Protective Tariff. The other leading questions of the Democratic creed, are considered so far settled as to be of lesser interest. In whatever light then, we may be regarded at Washington, such is the position of the Democracy of Michigan, and I believe I may safely add, of the entire Northwest.

With reference to the first question, the reannexation of Texas, I believe our views are not fully understood or fairly appreciated by many of our Southern friends. I make this inference from the tone and language of Southern papers. They discuss the question too much, as if its chief merits rested on local grounds. They seem to view it too exclusively in reference to its bearing on Southern interests.

They forget or overlook the relative position of the west to the South, their strong affinity in other interests, our national pride, our love of acquisition, and hatred of British power and control. These various influences, combined with the intrinsic merits of the question itself, are making the annexation of Texas the strongest issue we can tender to our opponents. It is true the project was not re-

ceived at first, with any very decided tokens of favor. Many among us even looked up on it with distrust. We wanted time for inquiry and deliberation. But the result has been as might have been anticipated. A few weeks since it had only here and there an advocate; now the almost entire Democratic Party of the State, are virtually committed in its support. It is now looked upon as important, not only as tending to promote the welfare of the whole country, but as the question, that is to save the Democratic party from defeat in the coming contest, if anything can. I hazzard nothing, therefore, in saying that when the voice of the Democratic Party in the West can be fairly heard, it will be found to be in exact unison with that which we already hear from the South. We shall be found to a man united in favor of the great measure. Let not then our Southern brethren look upon themselves any longer as its sole guardians, nor treat it so much in reference to its sectional bearbearings. If I might venture the suggestion, I would say, that a more enlarged and national turn to the discussion at the South, while it would not retard its progress there, would have the effect to hasten it more rapidly at the West and North.

With reference to the other question, opposition to a protective tariff, there is with us an entire unity of sentiment, as well as identity of interest, with the South. We are fellow sufferers, under a common system of oppression and extortion, imposed by a common task master. The machinery and ingenious contrivances of the present tariff, by which the West and the South, are made to pay tribute to the Manufacturers of the East, are as well understood here, as with the citizens of your own state. The term incidental protection, grates just as harshly in our ears. We regard it as a mere subterfuge, by which the ends of a protective tariff are sought to be secured, while the obnoxious principle is concealed or disguised. We are in favor of a tariff as a means of raising a revenue for the support of the Government, but in imposing duties, we discard the doctrine that it is proper or just to discriminate below a certain maximum, for purposes of protection, or with a view to protection. The recent votes of our northwestern delegation in Congress, are stronger proof of our sentiments even, than appear on their face. Some of our representatives are tinctured from early association, with tariff views, but their keen sense of the views of their constitutents, has constrained them to vote as they have done. Such then is the aspect of our party in this section with regard to these measures, but with reference to men it has been less clear and distinct. My own preferences are not unknown to you, and I adhered to my favorite flag as long as it waved. But a majority of the party, following old leaders and what seemed to be the preferences of our friends elsewhere, had generally acquiesced in the nomination of Mr. Van Buren. Such

was the case until the disastrous result of some recent elections was known, and especially until the appearance of his Texas letter. This feeling is now changed, and an impression that some other candidate should be selected prevails among reflecting Democrats. If your own name had not been withdrawn I think that a majority of our party in this State, would desire your nomination. But as it has been most of us have turned our eyes toward General Cass. There may of course be some local feeling in the preference. But under all the circumstances, I am inclined to regard him as the most eligible man. He can doubtless bring to the aid of the party in this crisis, a greater degree of personal popularity, than any of the Gentlemen who have been named. His views on public questions are not less satisfactory. He is an open and decided friend of the immediate annexation of Texas, and his well known views respecting English encroachment, will tend to place that question on the strongest and most popular grounds. On the subject of the tariff his official career in the Executive offices alone, has afforded him less occasion to express decided opinions on either side, but I have reason to believe that his administration would be generally favorable to the principles of Free Trade. His views I am aware have not been as clear and explicit as some of our friends and as I could wish, but his practical conduct I believe, would be found quite as acceptable as those of any Democrat, whose nomination can now be secured. Certainly he is as little objectionable on this score even as Mr. Van Buren, with his tariff associations, and sympathies; while in regard to the Texas question and to ulteriour considerations, he is surely far preferable.

Of course I know nothing of the intended course of our Southern friends in the Baltimore convention, but with their aid I believe that Gen. Cass might obtain the nomination. He will receive a large vote from Western delegates, which, with the united vote of the South and with some aid from the middle and Eastern states, would doubtless control the result. The decision in my judgment, will rest with our Southern friends, and their choice must be made between Cass and Van Buren. Neither Stewart,[48] Johnson, Buchanan or Tyler can command sufficient strength to compete with the latter, and if the Southern vote should generally be cast for either of these, it must result in Mr. Van Buren's nomination. Cass alone has friends enough in all sections of the Union to stand any chance of success. Stewart is unknown, Buchanan supposed to be withdrawn, and Johnson regarded as scarcely equal to the position. It is then for our Southern friends to choose between Cass and Van Buren. In all respects Cass, it seems to me must be equally or more acceptable, and so far as any reference to the future may be taken into the ac-

[48] Probably the reference is to Andrew Stewart, a Pennsylvania Democrat, Member of the House of Representatives, 1821–1829, 1831–1835, 1843–1849.

count, he is perhaps all that could be desired. He is committed to the single term principle. He lives in a western and non Slave-holding State. His successor would reasonably and justly come from an eastern and slave holding State. It would be naturally his policy to promote harmony and good feeling during his administration, by favoring such a result. I know of no method by which the designs that have been formed, for transferring the succession from the banks of the Hudson to those of the Missouri, could be so readily and effectually conteracted. But it does not become me to enlarge on this point.

I have been tempted to trespass upon your time much farther than I intended. I beg you to pardon the freedom with which I have written, and to believe that I am actuated solely by a desire to promote the success of our principles, and of him who has done most to illustrate and defend them.

From L. W. Hastings

New Madrid Mo. *May the 20th 1844.*

Dear Sir, I have just received your favor of the 11th inst. for which please accept my thanks.

You expressed a wish to receive from mc, any information which I have in my possession, in relation [to] Oregon and California, not having time at this moment, to communicate to you as fully as I would wish to do, I have thought proper, at this time, merely to forward to you, a letter that I have in my possession, which I wrote immediately upon arriving in the United States from Oregon. This you will observe gives you briefly, the present political condition of Oregon, also a brief description of California. I shall write to you more fully however, in reference to both those countries, at some future period.

There are some revolutionary arrangements, now being made, in California, of which I stand fully advised. If you are of the opinion, that information in relation to that matter would be of any importance to the U. S. Government, I shall feel myself in duty bound, as a citizen of this government to inform you more particularly in reference to everything appurtaining thereunto.

From the seeming neglcct of our government, of her citizens in Oregon, great dissatisfaction exists throughout the entire country, hence the question is constantly discussed, (among our citizens there, and others also,) whether it would not be more conducive to the interests and happiness of all citizens and subjects there, of all governments to abolish all allegiance to their particular governments, and to form and organize a separate and independant government. If the U. S. do not give the pcople of Oregon, a government of some

kind soon, an attempt will be made at an organization of an independant government.

That you may the better know who it is that addresses you, allow me to remark that I am a native of Ohio, a lawyer by profession. I think I remarked to you in my last, that I have reeently returned from Oregon via California the City of Mexieo and Vera Cruz, also that I intend returning to Oregon and California next spring.

Permit me further to remark, that it is absolutely neeessary that the people of Oregon have the aid of the U. S. soon, in establishing a government: without such aid, it is impossible for them to protect themselves against the ravages of the numerous tribes of savage and barbarous Indians, with whom they are everywhere surrounded.

I propose publishing a small work, in pamphlet form, to be entitled The Emigrants Guide, to Oregon and California. This will eontain a description of both Oregon and California, also of the intermediate eountry between the U. S. and those countries. The work above alluded to, will give a more full and aeeurate description of those countries, than I shall be able to do otherwise, however as you request, I shall write to you in referenee to the subjects to whieh you allude previous to the publieation of the above mentioned work.

From Wilson Shannon

St. Clairsville Ohio, *May 25th 1844.*

Dr Sir

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The question of annexation is much stronger in Ohio than I had supposed it would be when I was in the eity. The great body of the demoeratie party with a respeetable portion of the whigs, are sound on this question. They go for the treaty and the publie servant from this State who goes against it will have a fearful responsibility to encounter. The manifestations among the people are so strong in favour of the measure that I hazard nothing in saying that a large majority of the voters of Ohio are in favour of it. It is a question that enters deep into the feelings of the great mass and will eontrol more votes in the approaehing presidential election than any other great question of public poliey before the eountry. No demoeratic eandidate for the Presidency will be sustained in this State who is opposed to the Treaty. It is folly to think of running sueh a eandidate. Nay it is worse—it is treason against democraey. Let the friends of immediate annexation be of good eheer. On this great question they have the people, if not the aspiring politieians with them.

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From H. Bailey [49]

CHARLESTON [S. C.,] *30th May, 1944.*

DEAR SIR The inclosed letter for Baron Von Raumer was handed to me at Columbia, and was forwarded by me to Charleston, but unfortunately did not reach this place until an hour or two after the departure of the Baron and his son for the North. I take the liberty of forwarding it to you, as it is probable you may be able to give it proper direction. It is from Dr. Hazelins[?], who is filled with inexpressible chagrin at learning that Baron Von Raumer had been in Columbia for three days, and had departed without his seeing him.

Your favor of 29th ult., conferring upon me the pleasure of an introduction to the Baron was forwarded by him to me at Columbia, where I was in attendance on the Court of Appeals, and as he subsequently visited that place I had the pleasure of there making his acquanitance, and that of his intelligent and accomplished son, who combines with excellent gifts and extensive attainments a modesty which adds much to their lustre. It gave me great pleasure to offer any attention to them; and I believe that the utmost hospitality and attention were extended to them both in Charleston and Columbia. They arrived at the latter place in season to witness a highly creditable exhibition by some half dozen orators of the senior class, of the college, which impressed them very favorably. They also were hospitably entertained at the plantations of Hampton and Tailors, which they examined very minutely, and they had a very full and fair opportunity of seeing something of the economy of a cotton plantation, and the treatment of our slaves. It was too late in the season to venture into the rice culture region. They made good use of their time in Columbia, and examined every thing worth seeing there; they even attended our Courts, and had our system explained to them, in which the young man, who is a jurisprudent took great interest. In a word we have shown them every thing there was to see, and I trust that when they come to report these matters, if they extenuate nothing, they at least will not set down aught in malice.

We are awaiting here in trembling anxiety the intelligence of the doings at Washington and Baltimore at this most eventful crisis of our political history. I cannot, in the midst of much doubt and darkness, avoid indulging strong hopes; and perhaps for no better reason than that it seems to have been *providential*, that you should [be] so unexpectedly placed at the centre of movement at this juncture.

The rumor is, that Mr Buchanan will be nominated by the Convention, which is I think the best nomination, but one, that could be made; but I doubt much whether it will avail for much more than to enable us to keep our friends together during the coming contest.

[49] Henry Bailey was attorney general of the State of South Carolina.

There is but one name that can kindle enthusiasm of feeling anywhere, or rally even the South, upon the Texas question with sufficient energy to rescue us effectually from the trammels and delusions of whiggery. Mr Buchanan is our next best, but Mr Tyler wont do at all.

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From J. H. Hammond

SILVER BLUFF [S. C.,] *7 June 1844.*

MY DEAR SIR, I inclose you as you request the letter of Mr. Pakenham [50] forwarded to me by mistake. I should have been glad to have seen his note in the case of Brown. Having seen it you have no doubt formed a proper estimate of its character. But it strikes me as most extraordinary that a British Minister should in any Capacity either officially or otherwise attempt to interfere in any terms whatever with the execution of the Criminal laws of the U. S. and more especially of one of the States. The Federal Government would seriously endanger itself by such an interference with the mere municipal and domestic regulations of a State and is it to be tolerated from a Foreign Power for a moment or in the smallest degree? Henceforth we may expect all our laws about Slavery to be discussed in the British Parliament and perhaps made subject of official correspondence. Unless Mr. Pakenham's note was of such an inoffensive character as I can hardly conceive a note from such a source on such a subject to be, it constitutes an era in the Slave question and ought perhaps to be known to the Slave holders to put them on their guard by pointing out fresh dangers. These dangers are accumulating so rapidly that a crisis seems to me inevitable and political events appear to march in concert to the same point. The Texas Questoin is an immense stride in that direction. You need not have the slightest apprehension that you will not be fully promptly and enthusiastically sustained by the whole South in all you have done or propsoe to do in reference to it. There never was such unanimity on any question before, or such determination *to act.* I have no doubt that four fifths of the South prefer Texas to the Union and are prepared to stand by that issue if made. For one I think it the true issue and that it ought to be made speedily. We must set the North seriously to calculating the value of the Union or we shall be embroiled in a civil war and possibly to some extent a servile one, tho' of the latter I have not much apprehension. You have seen that almost every section of this State has spoken out very plainly. We had two meetings in this district neither of which I could attend being confined

[50] Sir Richard Pakenham was British minister to the United States.

to my bed as I still am to a great degree. You may depend on my warm and decisive co-operation in the matter in every way I can and to the utmost extent that it may be deemed proper for me to do so officially or privately.

The mail yesterday brought the results of the Baltimore convention. They are to my mind pregnant with the most important consequences. No union or enthusiasm can be excited among the masses for Polk and Dallas. They will lose New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Ohio and be worse beaten than Van Buren was. But this will be the least important consequence I apprehend. The Northern Democratic Party will dissolve entirely I fear. Those who constitute it must with a few exceptions become Wigs or Abolitionists or both, and never will again act with the Southern portion of the party as they never have done cordially or for any disinterested purposes. The Southern Democrats will I trust unite thouroughly and rally on the true principles and give us a sound party if a small one. Larger however than the Nullification Party and on substantially the same grounds.

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From A. G. Danby

Utica [N. Y.,] *June 13, 1844.*

Dear Sir, The importance of the subject upon which I write is my only apology for addressing one with whom I have a slight personal acquaintance, but for whom I have for years cherished the most profound sentiments of respect, and who I am convinced occupies, at this time, a position that enables him to save the Democratic party from a most calamitous defeat. You have more than once come to the rescue in the time of its greatest need; but never has it required the Exertion of your great talents and patriotic services, more than at this period, to save it from destruction. The nominations of Messrs. Polk [51] and Dallas [52] have every where been received with decided marks of approbation, and it is confidently believed that their Election will put an end to a political dynasty, which has become odious and intolerable to a vast majority of Republicans in almost all the States of the Union.

I appreciate fully the delicacy of your position. You are a member of Mr. Tyler's administration, and no doubt will honorably perform all the duties which grow out of your personal and political relations with him; but none of these I trust and believe, will be found incom-

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[51] James Knox Polk, of Tennessee, was a Democratic Member of the House of Representatives, 1825–1839; governor, 1839; President, 1845–1849.

[52] George Mifflin Dallas, of Pennsylvania, was a Democratic Senator, 1831–1833; Attorney General of Pennsylvania, 1833–1835; minister to Russia, 1837–1839; Vice President, 1845–1849; minister to Great Britain 1856–1861.

patible with your higher obligations to your country and your party. I profess to be a true friend of the President and believe that the Democratic party owe him a great debt of gratitude—a debt of honor, which must and will be paid; and while I condemn those selfish politicians who have so unwisely and ungratefully persecuted him, who has done so much for the rescusitation of the Democracy from its overwhelming defeat in 1840, I can not be insensible to the dangers which menace it from having two Republican Presidential candidates in the field to divide and paralise its strength.

Should Mr. Tyler run on an independent ticket I fear the result would be the success of the Clay electoral tickets in several States, where the Democratic party, single handed, would be victrious. This course the friends of Mr. Clay are exceedingly anxious should be pursued, and there are some who at this time, are *clamorous* Tyler men, (in profession merely) who assert that they had rather die in such a cause, than triumph under any other leader. We have a few such individuals here, but they are known not to be the sincere friends of the President, but the decided friends of Mr. Clay, whose election they hope to secure by keeping the Republican party divided. I wish to prevent this result by combining the whole strength of the party upon one individual; and this it seems to me can be done in a manner highly creditable to Mr. Tyler; and certainly no friend would ask him to make a sacrifice incompatible with his interests, his honor or his fame. Under existing circumstances, however, it appears to me, he cannot hope to be elected; and conceding that he cannot be, what can he or his friends gain by his remaining a candidate. By withdrawing at this time, he may not lessen the malignity of his persecutors; but he will unite the Republican party; ensure its triumph; and win the gratitude and favor of every member of it not callous to every magnanimous and generous emotion; and he will occupy a position which must, in the event of the election of Mr. Polk, secure for him and his friends all that they may, with propriety, desire to obtain. I will not enlarge on this subject; but submit it to your consideration, with a perfect confidence that whether my opinions are or are not in unison with your own, that they will be regarded by you as the honest convictions of one who has no other object in view than the interest of the party to which he has for the last twenty years devoted his best energies of mind and body.

Altho' at the late Baltimore Convention the *united vote* of this State was given to Mr. Van Buren, there are many Democrats who would have been gratified with your nomination for the Presidency; and they are looking forward to 1848 to see their wishes, on this subject, realised; and in the meantime they are anxious that you should occupy such a position in the coming contest as will enable them to act with as little embarrassment and as much efficiency as possible in your

favor. There may be relations and circumstances, which I do not understand, but from the imperfect view I have taken of our public affairs, it seems to me that your interests, at this time, are identified with those of Mr. Polk, and that his success cannot fail, provided he acts with fairness, to strengthen your position.

I think you may calculate with considerable certainty—I may say with entire certainty should Mr. T. decline his nomination, that the Electoral vote of this State will be given for Polk and Dallas.

From A. H. Everett [53]

BOSTON, [MASS.,] *June 17, 1844.*

DEAR SIR: I transmitted to your department during the course of the present and past year, at the request of the writer, extracts from several letters, which I had received from a most intelligent and respectable correspondent in the island of Cuba, concerning the present critical situation of that superb colony. The writer has since temporarily left the Havana, and is now at Paris. I received a letter from him a short time since, dated from that place, of which he wishes me to make a similar disposition, and of which I now enclose a translation.

I am not at liberty to mention the name of the writer, which, if known, would stamp his communications with a character of the highest authority: but they carry with them, in their style and substance, internal evidence of the sagacity, liberality, and patriotism, by which they are dictated.

The troubles now existing in the island of Cuba have verified the anticipations expressed in these letters, and render its present situation a matter of the deepest concern to this country. They have also an important bearing upon the question of the re-annexation of Texas. The policy avowed by the British government in regard to that republic is the same, upon which they have acted for some years past in regard to Cuba. The troubles now existing in Cuba, exhibit the practical operation of the system, and afford the means of judging with certainty how far it may, with safety to us, be carried into effect in a contiguous territory.

I have requested my correspondent to send me a copy of the memorial on the situation of the island, which he has laid before the Spanish Ambassador at Paris, and if I obtain it, I will take the liberty of communicating it to you.

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[53] See letter above, dated at Paris, Mar. 20, 1844.

From H. Bailey

CHARLESTON [S. C.,] *30th July, 1844.*

DEAR SIR At a meeting of the Committee of Vigilance etc, on the subject of Texas, which was held last evening, Col. Gadsden, a member of the committee, presented and read a letter he had just received from General Jackson, a copy of which he placed at the disposal of the Committee. Whereupon it was resolved, that the copy should be sent to you, for reasons which will appear upon its perusal. I have now the honor to inclose it to you conformably to the instructions of the Committee, and am further instructed by them to say to you, that they concur fully in the views of General J[ackson].

The Committee have appointed a subcommittee to prepare an address to the people of Texas, and they would be glad if you would suggest any other mode of action by the committee in furtherance of the object of their appointment. The general impression seems to be, that it would be best to merge our operations in those of the democratic party, inasmuch as the election of the democratic candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency seems to us the most efficient means at this time of promoting the annexation of Texas; and the committee, being embarrassed in this respect, by their original appointment, which was by a public meeting of the citizens "without distinction of parties," we see nothing that we can do which would be useful, and fear that any movement might embarass the election.

As I am writing I will take the opportunity to say that some symptoms have recently been exhibited here, and elsewhere, of a disposition to agitate the subject of resistance to the tariff, by nullification, or other State action, Southern Convention, and the like; and this disposition has received some (perhaps unintentional) countenance from the answers of our representative Mr. Holmes [54] to certain inquiries propounded to him through the newspapers. My opinion is that this feeling meets with no sympathy from the great majority of Mr Holmes constitutents; and I think I might venture to say with confidence that 9/10ths of the democratic party in Charleston, are of opinion, that sound policy and good faith both require, that for the present we should confine our attention to the election of Mr Polk and Mr Dallas; and that all agitation of modes of resistance, although professedly with a view to future action only, are exceedingly unwise and pernicious; tending to impair the success of our efforts for the election of these gentlemen, to put in question our good faith in relation to the pledges we gave when we accepted their nomination, and finally to render more difficult and less probable, that union, among

[54] I. E. Holmes printed a strong communication in the Charleston Mercury, July 26, 1844, urging resistance—combined southern resistance. See Mississippi Valley Historical Review, June 1919; The Annexation of Texas and the Bluffton Movement in South Carolina, by C. S. Boucher.

the Southern States, from which alone any effectual and beneficial relief can be expected from the evils we labor under. Under these circumstances measures I think will be taken to set the party here right, in so far as its position may be misunderstood in consequence of Mr. Holmes letter; but as union among ourselves is all important we shall endeavor to have the correction made by Mr Holmes himself. We are so accustomed however to find wisdom in your views and success in your recommendations, that I should be very glad, if you could spare the time, to favor us with your suggestions as to the course which it is advisable for us to pursue in the present state of affairs.

From F. H. Elmore

CHARLESTON, [S. C.,] *July 30th, 1844.*

MY DEAR SIR: Mr. Hart goes to Washington and I had intended to write to you fully by him, but I have been away until a few days since and have had so much to do that I could not be as full as I desired. I must only sketch.

First. I found on my return a very fermented feeling—a fretful temper—disposed to commence agitation and carry it to the point of immediate resistance to the Tariff. I think I have had the good fortune to change the feeling and perhaps directed it more safely. At any rate our friends are by no means so impetuous. If you could find time to give some of us a letter containing your views in such a shape that we could show it, it would perhaps be well. The idea is industriously urged by the Whigs here under the lead of Yeadons [55] paper (the Courier) that your opinions have undergone a change as to State action, as a principle—and that your views are against action of the State, at any time and under any circumstances. I would suggest that a word or two from you on this point would be well at this time.

Col. Wigfall [56] of Edgefield was here a few days ago. He is very excited and represents his District as equally so—that McDuffie and Burt are equally so—and that since Polk's unlucky letter [57] he thinks they will break all bounds, denounce him and begin agitation for immediate action by the State. I can hardly think so. Wigfall is himself too much inclined for such a course to be a good judge of what others think. Still I mention these things that you may judge what is best and if you think advisable, advise with them. The ground of

[55] Richard Yeadon, jr., a Whig, was editor of the Charleston (S. C.) Courier.

[56] Louis Trezevant Wigfall, a native of South Carolina, moved to Texas to practice law and became active in local politics; he was Senator, 1859–1861.

[57] Polk's letter to John K. Kane, of Philadelphia, published in the National Intelligencer, July 25, 1844, was written for the benefit of Democratic protectionists of Pennsylvania for use in the campaign.

our Legislature in 1842 [58] is strong and it is perfectly consistent with it that we wait the events depending on the coming election.

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From F. W. Pickens

COVINGTON GEO. *10 August '44*

MY DEAR SIR, I am this far on my way to Nashville, but have been so disappointed about stages etc., that I fear I cannot get there in time for the meeting on the 15th.[59] But I shall go on at any rate as I am started and see the leading men. Elmore could not come but met me in Augusta. He showed me your letters and seemed to be with us fully and yet the Mercury moves strangely. I assure you it is ruining us in this State with our best friends. I was with Col. J. Howard of Columbus last night and you know he is a nullifier, yet he says the Mercury is killing us in Geo. They say if we lose the State it will be from the course of some of our friends in So. Ca. Judge Dyer *a Whig* from Augusta told me last night that a letter had been received in Augusta which stated that Mr. Rhett had split from you and had said you were bought off by the Presidency. Something of the same kind was said a week ago at Edgefield by Col. Wigfall who is for disunion open. I asked Elmore expressly what Rhett was doing, etc. He told me *he knew nothing of him.* This may all be exagerated, but there must be something wrong somewhere. I see by a letter published from the White Sulphur Spring Va. in the Mercury that the same idea is suggested of your deserting your old friends, etc., and if so another must be looked to to save the State, etc. I wrote you some time since but recd no answer. I seriously believe that many of the Whigs of this State are desirous to run you immediately after this election is over let who will be elected.

I shall take the highest ground at Nashville against the Tariff, but at the same time against all separate action of the state at present; that we will wait the result of the Fall elections, and if against us we will organize with our Rep[ublican] brethren of the South who have fought the battle with us in good faith, and consult freely as to the grounds of conserted action.

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[58] Resolutions reported by the committee on fedcral relations, December, 1842, on the tariff, denouncing the new law as a breach of faith pledged at the time of the compromise act of 1833, and a violation of the principles of the Constitution; stated belief in a tariff for revenue only; expectation of a returning sense of justice to cause the repeal of the tariff of 1842; look to the Democrative Party for relief; if reasonable expectations are disappointed, the state will adopt whatever measures seem necessary.

[59] A movement was launched in South Carolina in midsummer, 1844, to promote a convention at Nashville of delegates from the slave-holding Statcs to form a united determination in the South to dissolve the Union "sooner than abandon Texas." Latcr it was suggested that it be a meeting of all States interested in annexation of Texas—especially the West and the South. Sometimes Richmond was suggested as the place. Counter movements both in Richmond and Nashville were started to protest against such a meeting to raise the issue of "Texas or Disunion." The movement for the convention failed. See Niles' Register, Vol. LXVI, March-September, 1844.

As to the Tariff of 1842, without an inflated currency it cannot stand. Without a Bank (and they cannot get that in the present state of the country) it must fall. Clay cannot sustain his Admr. 6 months upon the Tariff of 1842. Va. separated from N. York will have give us a united South and I believe we can right the Gov. let who will come in. If we are to split with some of our rash friends we must do so firmly but mildly, and we must take ground soon or the injury will be perpetuated—our course will in reality be thrown back instead of advanced.

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From John Tyler

[Washington, D. C.,] *August 13th, 1844.*

Dear Sir, Your despatch to Mr. Everett,[60] relative to felon slaves, is clearly right; and the subject is well argued. I suggest whether a full illustration of the principle might not have been impressively enforced by referring to the case of forgery of Bank Notes. We have no law to punish the forgery of the Notes of the Bank of England, or the public securities of England, and yet can it be doubted, that the forger would be delivered up by us.

As you write not only for Sir Robert Peel, but the mass of mankind I suggest the illustration. Its adoption, with others, such for example as may be drawn from the case of an impressed seaman, etc. etc., would make the paper unanswerable.

From Wm. M. Gwin [61]

Vicksburg [Miss.,] *August 20th 1844*

My dear Sir I rec'd this morning the enclosed letter from General G. W. Terrell the Attorney General of the Republic of Texas. All except the first page is on private business. Altho General Terrell from his position and enthusiastic and enterprising character is well calculated to produce a decided effect in favor of any cause he espouses yet I should not attach much importance to his opinions on this question but for other and unerring indications that the feeling in favor of annexation is on the wane in Texas. My intercourse with the citizens

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[60] Edward Evcrett, the famous scholar and pastor, of Massachusetts, was elected to the House of Representatives as a Whig, 1825–1835; minister to Great Britain, 1841–1845; president of Harvard College, 1846–1849; Secretary of State, 1852–1853; Senator, 1853–1854; defeated candidate for the Vice Presidency on the ticket with John Bell in 1860. See Calhoun Correspondence, edited by Jameson, p. 603, for dispatch to Everett, dated Washington, Aug. 12, 1844.

[61] William McKendree Gwin, a native of Tennessee, moved to Mississippi and was elected as a Democrat to the House of Representatives, 1841–1843; moved to California in 1849 and was elected as a Democrat to the Senate, 1850–1855, 1857–1861; he was connected with the Confederacy and the Mexican Imperial Government of Maximilian; returned to California and engaged in agricultural pursuits.

of that Republic is very great and I have been not a little surprised at the evident and great change in the opinions of those who were so ardent in favor of annexation. All they ask is for peace with Mexico and they intend to unfurl the banner of Free Trade and invite commerce with the whole world. Our last chance is passed I fear to get that great Country.

I must plead the freedom with which you have always permitted me to express my opinions to you on making the following suggestion. Before Congress meets again the limitation put in the Treaty will have expired. The calling of an extra session of Congress is a fearful experiment. If I mistake not I was informed that the Texan Plenipotentiaries had powers to extend the limitation put upon the period of ratification. If they have this power still, would it not be well to make the expiration of the treaty without ratification twelve instead of six months.

If Polk is elected it will give him time to submit it to a new Senate or Congress which ever is deemed most advisable, should the present Congress refuse to act. The authorities in Texas would not interfere with such a treaty while if it does not exist they may make other arrangements which will put annexation out of the question for ever. From that quarter we have all to fear not from the people of the United States who will prove themselves in favor of annexation at the polls in November next.

From Francis Wharton [62]

PHILADELPHIA [PA.,] *August 21st, 1844*

MY DEAR SIR On my return, yesterday, from a month's journey to the Eastward, I found your letter, and the enclosures on my table. I cannot tell you of my thanks for the kindness you have shown me. I hope I may live to show you under what strong ties of obligation you have placed me.

I have lately had a good deal of conversation with Mr. Dallas and Mr. Gilpin,[63] who are very anixious about your position. The developments,—or rather, the hints,—in the Charleston Mercury, have gone a great way to leave in the minds of your friends in the North that you have neither part or lot in the wild movements in which Mr. Rhett is engaged. Mr. Holme's letter, and Mr. Rhett's speech, which I saw at the White Mountains, alarmed me exceedingly; but when I saw how blindly the movement [64] was conducted,—how it stumbled and groped along,—I was clear that your countenance

[62] The famous lawyer and publicist.

[63] Henry Dilwood Gilpin, a Philadelphia lawyer, was Attorney General of the United States, 1840-1841; he was interested in history, literature, and the fine arts.

[64] The Bluffton movement, led by R. B. Rhett, in South Carolina.

and guidance had been withdrawn. What good can we do now by throwing fire into our own camp? With *your* aid, as the acknowledged head of the States-rights party, the republicans will be guided into the right path, but without it, I fear they will run to ruin. On the question of a bank and the sub-treasury, both North and South are orthodox enough; and I am clear that on *that* point, at least, there is no fear. The tariff looks badly, I confess, and the leaders in Pennsylvania, (the interior) are playing a treacherous game; but we cannot too highly praise the boldness with which our New England friends have supported us. If we refuse to cooperate with the republican party, we will secure its defeat, and make probable its demoralisation; if we act with it,—if you act with it, warmly and urgently,—if the majority is not obtained, the regeneration of the party will [be] brought about. I think of preparing a short article in the Democratic Review on the union of the States-rights and Democratic parties, but I feel somewhat disheartened and turned back by the very unhappy manifestations in the Beaufort district.[65] In what light may I look upon you in relation to so great an issue? If you will take the lead on the republican side,—and no one else can take it, while you are in the way,—if you will allow the people to look upon you as the head of a great national party, fraught with national measures,—if, as the Rhett clique have withdrawn from your guidance, you will allow the republican party throughout the land, once more to proclaim you its leader,—can we not know it, and be armed in the conflict by the consciousness of your presence?

Suppose I prepare an *editorial* for the Review on the subject of the Union of the two sections, would it be the proper place to note and insert either from you or through you, any declaration or indication?

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From R. F. Simpson [66]

August 24, 1844

Dr Sir, The Charleston Mercury gives to day a rumor that a Cabinet counsel had recommended a call of congress. I should be very glad to know the truth of the matter as far as a prudent disclosure will enable you to give.

I have delayed writing for your opinion on several matters that I feel great solicitude about from hearing that you were expected home every week for a month past, and for the same reason have delayed giving you information of our political actings and doings. You are aware that the Whigs make a show nowhere in the State but in my

[66] South Carolina.

[66] Richard Franklin Simpson, of South Carolina, was a Democratic Member of the House of Representatives, 1843-1849.

election District. I have now made a tour into all my Districts and am satisfied I shall beat Butler [67] something like 1000 votes more than my majority before. The feeling in favour of Texas is so general here that Butler has been compelled to come into it and now in his speeches declares himself as much in favour of Texas as I or any one else. I have heard of no one who is clearly out in open opposition to the annexation but Genl Thompson.[68] In a speech recently at a Barbecue at Chicks Springs in Greenville he asserted there was not a section of Land in Texas worth a groat that was not covered over with one if not more grants, and that he would not give a county in Maine for the whole of Texas. That he has conversed with the President, Mr. Calhoun and Mr. McDuffie in Washington and the reasons given for the Treaty are so futile as to induce a belief that some other object was aimed at by the leaders in Annexation and read a part of Benton's speech [69] to prove that a dissolution of the Union was aimed at, and particularly that the leaders of the Democratic party in S. C. aimed at that. And asserted that if the Treaty had been confirmed we would now be at war with Mexico, England and France.

The Speech I could see, as well as hear from the opinion of others fell still-born and such has been the effect of his course on that subject since his return from Washington and his Albany speech and letters, that even his old friends acknowledge that his influence is gone. It is confidently asserted that in Greenville Butler cannot get more than 600 out of 1500 votes and that the Democratic party are very firm and decided. In our District election Maxwell, Harleston, Maj. Broyles, Orr, and Miller [70] are certain of election, and the whole ticket would have been but from the fact that we have two more candidates than the right number and from want of concert in the voters, in selecting the same 7 to run all over the election District.

I have taken the views expressed by you the evening before we left Washington so far as I could recollect them. And altho I found my friends here generally pretty warm they have quietly and very cordially come into them. In our discussions before the people I have refused to be led off by Butler to old issues but have kept him to the new ones which I find disarms him altogether. I have taken the grounds that this State should make no move now, but wait the lead of some other State; that the Texas question

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[67] Dr. William Butler, of South Carolina, was elected as a Whig to the House of Representatives, 1841–1843.

[68] Waddy Thompson, of South Carolina, was a Whig Member of the House of Representatives, 1835–1841; minister to Mexico, 1842–1844.

[69] See Thomas H. Benton's Thirty Years' View, Vol. II, pp. 600–619.

[70] J. Maxwell, Edw. Harleston, J. T. Broyles, J. L. Orr, and J. C. Miller were elected in October as here predicted. All seven of the representatives elected were Democrats. For Congress, Simpson, the Democratic candidate, defeated Butler, the Whig candidate, by 5162 to 2912. Pendleton Messenger, Oct. 18, 28, 1844.

was to us now the most important of all, particularly as the slave question must rise or fall with it, and that it was really a Brittish and American question; that for this neither Nullification nor secession would answer; that a conciliatory course to unite the South was the true one; that nothing could be done during the pendency of the Presidential election. Unite on Polk and Dallas and if elected the political influence of the South would be to some extent restored. And that after the election and Texas admitted the prosperity of the South might be hoped to return. That the tariff would cease to be serviceable to the manufacturers after two or three years more, then they must clamor for more; if Polk is elected they can't get it; if Clay is and grants it, it will kill both him and the Tariff. At all events then will be the time to resist it, when the South may be expected to make a united opposition that will be effectual.

I have not hesitated [to say] that the views I've expressed I learned from you. I therefore mention them with the hope, if in any point I have mistaken your meaning, you will do me the favour and yourself the justice to correct me. The only difficulty I have had in giving my friends satisfaction is in not being able to point to any ultimate course as a remedy. And on this point I would be much gratified to have your views. The truth is I have been long so thoroughly convinced of the extraordinary soundness and depth of your political opinions that I am not satisfied to drink at any other fountain.

Rhett and Holmes have given me some trouble to resist the imputations of disunion which Butler has endeavored to fasten on our party in this State, the evidence for which he deduces from their writings and the Bluffton toasts. However he has not as yet been able to satisfy any but the Whigs of such design and I doubt whether they believe it.

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From M. M. Noah

New York [N. Y.,] *8 Sep 1844*

Dear Sir, Public opinion in this section, is not in favour of an Extra Session of Congress, unless there are powerful considerations of public safety that call for it; and our political friends are also apprehensive, that any obstacles thrown in the way of the Presidential Canvass, may have an injurious effect, and if this result should occur, there are some who would endeavor to fix the responsibility upon you. Still they think, that a call of Congress at an earlier period than the commencement of the Session, say Nov 11 would be productive of good results, and would be in time for any action on Mexican affairs, without taking anyone away from the political field. Rely

upon it, that England has marked out the Campaign in Texas which will be discreet and forbearing. The heads of the proclamation on entering into the territory, have been drawn out by the British Minister in Mexico, and are exceedingly pacific, inviting the Planters and others to continue their occupations, and guaranteeing protection of persons and property, renewing the same offer of the Constitution tendered originally to Gen Austin,[71] and declaring their intentions to change nothing but the flag, and thus allay all apprensions and prevent opposition. Indeed the contemplated invading forces, and the unprotected position of Texas render defense hopeless. Mexico has no intention to retain possession of Texas; we can have it, but we must purchase it of her; England is in favour of the independence of Texas and a commercial treaty. Mexico has no interest in seconding the views of England; she would rather arrange with us for the purchase and fix the boundary. Jones[72] has been elected President. He and Houston[73] understand the ulterior views of Mexico, and I think will do little on the defensive.

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From J. Hamilton

Oswichee Bend *Sept. 12th 1844*

My Dear Sir Your kind favor of the 28th ulto. I received a few days since. I am gratified that my Bluffton letter accords with your own views of sound policy. I think Rhett is injuring the cause by premature action, for it is quite obvious that he has neither the sympathy nor support of the other portions even of South Carolina in his ill timed move.

I am gratified to hear you say that Polk's prospects are rising for I concur with you in the opinion that his election and Clay's defeat will be a revolution in itself. The tariff and high expansion party can rally under no other man.

I am sorry I could not attend the Nashville Convention. I think I might have done some good in cementing the Union between the South and West. I found on my return a most urgent letter from the Committee to attend, accompanied by a very complimentary one from a Mr. Southhall of the Committee to which I have replied not at any great length but to some effect (I hope) on the great work of conciliation between the West and South, or rather between

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[71] Stephen F. Austin.

[72] Anson Jones was active in the movement for, and war of, independence of Texas; minister from Texas to the United States, 1837–1839; President of the Senate and ex officio Vice President of the Republic in 1840; Secretary of State, 1841–1844; President from 1845 until annexation. His opposition to annexation affected his popularity and destroyed his political influence.

[73] Gen. Sam. Houston was the first President of the Republic of Texas, 1836–1838; reelected 1841–1844; United States Senator, 1846–1859.

Tennessee and South Carolina. I think I have given Benton a dose of arsnec, and whilst I have not named him, "He who runs may read." Whether they will publish or not I know not but I think they will.

I am very much gratified that France has withdrawn from the foolish *position* she was at first disposed to occupy in reference to Texas. This I suspect has arisen from some ill will that has taken place between herself and G. B. I do not believe the Republican Party in France will allow the two countries to remain long at peace.

I have no doubt, My Dear Sir that Mexico will make a most formidable invasion of Texas this winter and that in consequence of the annexation question, for which our own Govt is responsible. What are we to do? The Govt. of the U. S. would be powerless without the assent of Congress and this is hopeless. I see no other hope for Texas but for the brave spirits of the South to rush to the *rescue*. What in strictest confidence are your views on the subject? *They shall never be quoted.* I feel the strongest disposition to make a dash if I could see my way clearly.

I think the crop (of Ala) will not be equal to the one she made last year. The cotton has shed a good deal from the August rains.

Should Mr. G. B. Lamar of Savannah now in Alexandria, D. C., call on you, you can speak to him without reserve. He is a true Southron. A man to be relied on and a firm friend of yours.

As the within letter relates to some *public business*, I will thank you to forward it for me under your frank to New York.

P. S. Direct your reply to Savannah where I shall be in about ten days or a fortnight. I shall have to go to look after my rice crop.

I shall leave early in Nov. as soon as it is safe to visit Galveston and Houston, where my letters inform me the yellow fever prevails to a dangerous extent, which nothing but frost will check. You may rely on it that the moment I get there, I will give such a direction to public affairs as may be in conformity to President Tyler's views and your own. I can carry the country in the direction we desire against Houston. But my friends will be in power and he will be out of power on the 1st Dec, and we will carry matters with a rush. Houston goes out of office on the 1st Dec. and I will aid Genl. Howard in getting a new treaty through which before President Tyler goes out of office will checkmate the Whigs and yet give his administration I hope the renown of annexation. What do you think of Waddy Thompson's Eulogium on Santa Anna? And that too in the presence of Ladies!!! Of the Mexican chieftain I think the same may be said as was said of Caesar Borgia "That he never spared a man in his wrath or a woman in his lust."

If the Nashville Committee publish my letter I do not see well how Benton can refrain from calling me personally to account, as I

give him the lie direct on his charge of Disunion against So. C. If he does I mean to make up the issue with him with the hope of punishing him for his brutality to McDuffie.

From John Hogan

UTICA N. Y. *Sept. 15, 1844*

MY DEAR SIR With this letter you will receive the result of the Election in Maine. That Election is an index to Mr. Clay's prospects in November. No one can doubt what the result will be and as I said to you some time ago this State will give her vote to Polk and Dallas. The nomination of Mr. Wright [74] draws into the contest all the friends of Mr. Van Buren. There were two or three causes for his nomination which weighed strongly in his favour at the State Convention in this State. They are as follows. Mr. Wright did not wish to be in the U. S. Senate when the question would come up as to the Annexation of Texas. I have no doubt he was fearful that should he in the Senate pursue the same course he has done it would prove his overthrow (as no doubt it would.) Therefore he was anxious to be out of that Body the coming session. Another cause in my opinion is that the present Governor Bouck inclines to be opposed to him (Mr. W) together with a strong minority of the Democratic Party in this State. The principal cause of Bouck defeat was his want of talent and decision and other things combined produced his defeat as well as the nomination of Mr. W. Our man Judge Gardiner the Candidate for Lieut. Gov. is in a great measure as able a man as Mr. W. and I believe would poll more votes at this Election were he the Candidate for Gov. with our Lieut. Gov. We will be able to keep the other gentlemen in check and we may get a U. S. Senator probably Judge Gardiner himself. There is another point in this matter which I will not pass over in order to put you in possession of the whole ground. Mr. Wright will meet with a bitter opposition in the office of Govr. from the friends of Gov. Bouck who will watch him closely and will if possible defeat him. My own opinion is from the distracted state of the Party in this State and from the position of her internal improvements etc etc and the great swarm of office seekers which will crowd around Mr. W. when elected the chances are his election of Gov. at this time will prove prejudicial to his *future prospects*. There will be as many as 12 applicants for every office and he must necessarily disappoint 11 of them who will return to their homes embittered against him. Combining this with the opposition of Bouck's friends you need not be surprised if Mr. W has mistaken his future interest. I understand that the opposition to his adminis-

[74] Silas Wright was a Democratic Senator from New York 1833–1844, when he resigned to become governor 1845–1847, but was defeated for reelection; died 1847. He was nominated by the Democratic National Convention in 1844 to run on the ticket with Polk, but declined and Dallas was nominated.

tration is already organizing. Now to my mind our position in the Melee is to keep quiet and let these Gent[lemen] place themselves in a hostile attitude towards each other and in the course of 2 years we can step in and take with us which ever of those interests we think proper and by that means carry the State with us. I thought it was due to you to know the true position of matters in this State and our future prospects.

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From George W. Houk [76]

DAYTON O. *Oct 1st 1844*

DR SIR * * * You are not unaware perhaps of the feeling which pervades the North regarding the question of the annexation of Texas and your course upon that subject. That measure has met with the most unrelenting opposition from the Whigs, chiefly based upon the ground of the extension of slavery, (a far different ground I apprehend from that assumed by the same party upon the same question in the South). It is also denounced here as a pretext upon which the South seeks to dissolve the Union. South Carolia is accused of taking the lead in the move with you at her head. Such are the base, baseless, tho' high sounding charges here made daily when this great question of reannexation is bro't up for discussion.

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From J. Hamilton

OSWICHEE BEND *Oct. 4th, 1844*

MY DEAR SIR:—Your most kind and friendly favor of the 20th Sept was forwarded to me at this place where I have been detained by indisposition having taken a severe cold in the late change in the weather.

I need scarcely reiterate my sincere satisfaction at the appointment of Major Donelson.[77] Nothing could have been more judicious. It is possible that some domestic circumstance may make it inconvient for Major Donelson to accept the mission. As I know no man

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[76] George Washington Houk was born in Pennsylvania, 1825; moved with his parents to Dayton, Ohio, in 1827; studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1847; later he was a member of the State legislature, and was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1876; Democratic presidential elector in 1884; Member of the House of Representatives 1891–1894, the time of his death.

[77] Andrew Jackson Donelson, of Tennessee, graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1820 and for two years thereaftor served as aide-de-camp to his uncle, Gen. Andrew Jackson, when the latter was Governor of Florida. He studied law and was admitted to the bar. When Jackson was elected President, Donelson became his adviser and private secretary. The annexation treaty between the United States and Texas having been rejected by the Senate in April, 1844, Donelson was asked to undertake new negotiations and was appointed chargé d'affaires to the Republic of Texas. He was later minister to Prussia, 1846; to Germany, 1848. Editor of the Washington Union, 1851. In 1853 he abandoned the Democrats and joined the American Party and was nominated for Vice President on the ticket with Fillmore in 1856. He was a nephew of the wife of Andrew Jackson. See American Historical Review, Vol. XXIII, pp. 355, 356.

except Genl. Jackson who can exercise more influence on the question of annexation than myself in that country, if backed by that official authority which a U. S. appointment would give me, I say without mock modesty. If therefore Doneldson declines and you want me, I will guarantee that I will go down to Texas by the first of January next bring to Washington with me a better treaty than your last—one more likely to pass the Senate.

In reference to the mission to St. James allow me to remark, that with all Everetts learning and accomplishments for he undoubtedly is one of the most highly educated men in our country, he is as you say "an unfit representative of this country to Great Britain." I am satisfied that his tone is at best nothing more than apolegetic on the Slave Question whilst all his secret *sympathys* are against us.

If you were President it would indeed be the height of my ambition to represent the country at St. James, and to endeavor by a Treaty of Reciprocity to modify the tariff by a compact which would carry the whole West and So. West, with the South, in the overthrow of that base system of plunder. I should glory in doing something so catholic in behalf of our principles. Whilst I feel proud that you should deem me fit for such a *post*, I hope that in your esteem I shall not be regarded as indulging in an inordinate self [love] when I say that for the mission, I should not consider that I brought small advantages from the past intimate associations which I formed with the public men of England during a residence off and on of nearly four years in that country. For my associations with the ministry of Sir Robert Peel were quite as close as with that of Lord Melbourne. Should Polk be elected and you remain Secy of State, I will go out to England if he thinks proper to appoint me Minister on the 1st of April, and conclude under your instructions and directions a new commercial treaty. At the moment I have perfected such a Treaty which I believe I can do before the meeting of Congress, I will return, as it would not suit me to be a *resident Minister*.

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From J. A. Stuart

Beaufort, S. C., *Octr 25, 1844.*

Dear Sir, You will confer a great kindness on me, if your important duties allow you time, to write me a letter defending the present mode of electing Governor and President in this State against the proposed innovation.[78] I made use of your suggestions, in a speech I made before the meeting subsequent to our election in Charleston, and I think with some good effect; but as it is a matter I have much

[78] The existing method of election was by the legislature. The proposed change was to election by the people. See Sectionalism, Representation, and the Electoral Question in Ante-Bellum South Carolina, by C. S. Boucher, in Washington University Studies, October, 1916.

at heart, and which I wish to be fully prepared to discuss, I would avail myself if possible of your full argument on the question, when it comes up in the legislature, making my maiden, and, as I *now* purpose, *only* speech on that subject. Your letter if you write I will, unless you otherwise desire keep to myself, by way of *cramming*. If you can not spare time, say so, in five lines, and I will do my best for *old* South Carolina, God bless her! out of my own limited resources.

I would wish particularly to meet the proposal to get over the objection to General Ticket voting by having the *people* vote by Districts. It would amount I think to the same thing, sacrificing the Republican to the Democratic principle. They will propose that each District elect *one* elector, and the legislature *two*, and give it plausibility as the mode which *we* proposed in choosing delegates to the Baltimore convention. I wish to shew that the legislature is already chosen in the best mode for giving the voice of all classes of the State: and that had it been feasible we would have been content that the states should have chosen delegates to Baltimore through their legislatures. If you write give me a view of the whole ground.

Though you abstain from local politics, it may interest you to know that if we fail to elect our old friend Seabrook [79] Governor on the first ballot, some of us think of naming Robt. W. Barnwell [79] for Governor. He is in excellent condition, and it would be a brave blow for our good State to get him back at once into the political traces. I think Allston's [79] and Seabrook's friends will have to come to some compromise in caucus, for I am sure the Old Subs are too cunning to split their vote, and will unite on McWillie,[80] or more probably on Aiken,[79] whose purse and good feeling will weigh, and who though a Democrat and assenting to all we say is under old union influences which he is too weak to rise above. Both Allston and Seabrook would prefer, I presume declining in favor of a new man, than either of the two to yield to the other.

From Wm. C. Brown

BOSTON [MASS.,] *Oct. 31, 1844.*

DEAR SIR, The writer of the enclosed is Rev. Charles T. Torrey, now in a jail in Baltimore, charged with aiding slaves to escape from bondage; an act which would call forth your highest gratitude, were

[79] William Aiken was Governor of South Carolina, 1844–1846; Whitemarsh B. Seabrook, 1848–1850; Robert F. W. Allston, 1856–1858. Robert W. Barnwell was a Representative and a Senator at different times, but never governor.

[80] William McWillie, a native of South Carolina, began the practice of law in Camden, S. C., in 1818; member of the State senate, 1836–1840; moved to Madison, Miss., September, 1845; a Democratic Member of the House of Representatives, 1849–1851; Governor of Mississippi, 1858–1860.

you a slave in Algiers, and were some philanthropic individual to effect your escape. Is it any less a virtue in Mr. Torrey's case? No candid man can show that it is.

The *Christian Citizen* is published at Worcester, Mass., and is edited by *Elihu Burritt*, the *Learned Blacksmith*, one of our "*white slaves.*"

I have been taught, my dear Sir, to look upon you as a man of great talents, and of pure character. Are the charges made in the enclosed true? If not true literally, are they true in substance? Or are they totally untrue?

We look upon such things with great horror in the North. We can not see that they are any less crimes than if done to white persons. The idea that color makes any difference is too absurd for an argument.

I sign my proper name to this note. I have a brother in Washington city, attached to the library of the H. R. and an unflinching adherent to the Democratic party, who knows me well.

[*Enclosure*] *From the Christian Citizen*

JOHN C. CALHOUN

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *March 30, 1844.*

ELIHU BURRITT, ESQ.—I notice that you speak of John C. Calhoun, in a recent paper, in terms of commendation in regard to the purity of his character. That Mr. Calhoun is the greatest man living, if merely reasoning intellect is the standard of greatness, I have long believed; not the less firmly from having had the opportunity to see and compare him with Birney,[81] Clay, Webster, McLean,[82] Wright, Buchanan, Evans, and other really eminent persons in different parts of the country. I cannot hear that he ever was a gambler, or a lewd person, a profane man or intemperate. He is by no means a temperance man, however. Still I object to the commendation of his moral character. He holds a large number of human beings in bondage. He refuses them the rite and rights of the MARRIAGE STATE. He keeps them in utter ignorance of letters and deprives them of their entire earnings. But even all this is not my strongest objection to your commendation of him as a man of "pure character." It is

[81] James Gillespie Birney, the antislavery leader and publicist, was the presidential candidate of the Liberty Party in 1840 and 1844.

[82] John McLean, a Democrat of Ohio, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1813–1816; Postmaster General, 1823–1829; Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, 1829–1861. His most celebrated opinion was that in the Dred Scott case, dissenting from the decision of the court as given by Chief Justice Taney. He was long identified with the party that opposed the extension of slavery, and his name was before the Free Soil Convention at Buffalo in 1848 as a candidate for the nomination for President. He received 196 votes for the same office at the Republican Convention at Philadelphia, against 359 for Fremont. He also received several votes at the Chicago Convention of the Republican Party in 1860.

this: Three years since he sold another man's wife for a harlot. She was the wife of his coachman, a beautiful and pious girl, a member of the Methodist Church. The purchaser was a planter in Alabama; the price $1400. Some months after the sale, the poor husband having been sent into the upper part of South Carolina with the coach, for a member of Mr. Calhoun's white family, took the opportunity to flee. He went to Alabama, sought and found his injured wife, and fled, in the night and on foot. After weeks of hunger and toil they reached the upper part of Maryland. The wife, a delicate woman, was taken sick and died. Three days the sorrowing man wept over her remains. At last, he buried her, with his hands, by the river side; and then toiled onward towards Canada. He is in a Canada city. I saw him some months ago, a sad, gloomy, heart-broken man. Is the man who can perpetrate such a deed worthy of commendation? John C. Calhoun was not even educated in a community where such atrocities are lawful. He was a kind-hearted humane man in his youth. Slaveholding has debased him. If my evidence is not satisfactory in kind and degree, I will give you more and better!

Yours, for Christian citizenship,

C. T. T.

From William Hogan

Boston [Mass.], *Nov. 12th, 1844*

Sir We have had, this morning, returns from nearly all the Counties in this State. A Whig Governor [84] and Electors have been chosen by a large majority, say five or six thousand, over the last election.

I partly congratulate you, Sir, on the election of Mr. Polke for the Presidency; I say partly, because I believe that the bell which announces this event tolls the death-knell of southern slavery. You will perhaps say—should you deem it worth your notice to give the subject a thought—that I am a dreamer or prejudiced; but I think I am neither and that time will bear me out in the truth of my observation. Mr. Polk has been elected by Irish, French and German Roman Catholics, every man of whom, especially the former, is an abolitionist. The success of Mr. Polk is owing to a union between Papists and abolitionists, a union conceived in Hell and brought to partial maturity by the Pope and his Agents in this country. But this union, corrupt and infamous as it is, is as yet only in its crysalis state. It will soon unfold itself, it is taking wing, it will fly over your State and mine too, carrying death and destruction in its train over all we value there. True, it is, we have gained a victory in the election

[84] Marcus Norton, a Democrat, was Governor of Massachusetts, 1843–44; George N. Briggs, a Whig, was governor, 1844–1851.

of Mr. Polke; but look at the cost. We have paid dearly for it. We have given for it, at least the property of our children, probably their lives and their blood. We have now let loose amongst us, the bloodhounds of Abolition and mark what I tell you, Sir, in sorrow that causes will cease to contain or produce effects, if the Abolition of Slavery—that darling object of England and the Pope of Rome—shall not be the consequence in less than ten years from the date of this scrawl. I see but one way of preventing it. Let the Natives unite as a body against foreigners and let them nominate a Southern man for the next Presidency. Let us narrow down the question for the next Presidency to native and foreign influence; this can and will be done. Whig, Democrat, Bank, Tariff will soon become obsolete in our political vocabulary. Let the great question be—and it will be—shall natives or foreigners rule this country; in other words shall Abolitionists trample under foot the Constitution of this country, or shall we give it up to the Pope and James Burney,[85] to be remodelled or amended as such political and religious miscreants may think proper. Or shall we send for Daniel O'Connell to draft a new one and give us "an American Code of Laws"?

Listen, Sir, I beseech you to the voice of an humble individual. Pause before you oppose the *Native party* though many of them are Whigs. Much is expected from *you;* the powers of your mind are great; let your judgment have time to give them a proper direction and all will be well. I have been busy among the Natives of this City, New York, and Philadelphia; they will in due time write to you to ascertain your views on Nativeism and should they be what we expect, it will confirm us in our course and under your flag, the cause will triumph. Should you think differently a few more and myself may withdraw from the party, though I believe, as far as my judgment goes, the party will triumph. You, Americans, know nothing of European Roman Catholics. All the energies and all the powers of the Roman Church, have, for twenty years and upwards been employed in trying to acquire ascendency in this country. During all that time I have been proclaiming the fact, but never until now, did even the people of New England believe me. During all that time I have been trying to obtain from our Government a Mission to Austria and other Catholic countries, with a view of laying before it the *facts* which would satisfy my fellow citizens, that I was right, but some one who understood intrigue better, defeated me. But, Sir, you never will know the intrigues of Catholic Europe through any other agent than myself. If the facts were before their eyes they could not recognize them. They are always shrouded in symbolics with

[85] James G. Birney.

which Americans have no more acquaintance than they have with the ravings of the *latter day saints*. Had I a fortune, I would spend my days in travelling through Catholic countries with a view of evolving the schemes that are on foot for the overthrow of this Government; but I do not want that so much as I do the protection of this government, without which I could not travel in safety, even in cog. I tell you now, Sir, on the honour of a man, that when I departed from Ireland to this country as a Catholic Priest my instructions *were never to cease* in trying to abolish Slavery and overthrow this heretical government, nor is there now in the United States a single Catholic priest or Bishop who is not engaged in the same work.

Under all these circumstances I trust you will take some time to consider what party you will support.

From B. Tucker[86]

WILLIAMSBURG VA. *Nov. 13, 1844.*

I beg that Mr. Calhoun will pardon the liberty I am taking. The importance of the subject of this letter must plead my excuse, as there is no other person to whom I could so properly present it.

When the Missouri question was agitating the Union, I was an inhabitant of that State, holding a high judicial office, in intimate communication with the first men of the country, and exercising, in my own person and thro' them, an extensive influence among the people. Having a large and fixed interest there, and animated by an ardent zeal for the rights of the States, and especially of the South, it was not less my inclination than my duty to study the subject, to endeavor to acquaint the people with their rights, to rouse them to resist the purposed wrong, and to bear an active part in the controversy. Of that affair then I may say "pars fui." I did much of what was done, and was privy to all that was done by others, and fully understood the reasonings which prevailed with the people to assert and maintain their rights.

They were these.

By the Treaty of 1803, France, in ceding the Country to the United States had stipulated that the inhabitants should be admitted into the Union *on the same footing* with the other States, whenever they should be in condition for admission. Hence it was denied that Congress had the right to refuse admission to Missouri, because of a feature in her Constitution which was found in the Constitution of nearly half the existing States.

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[86] Judge Beverley Tucker, the author of The Partisan Leader, was professor of law in the College of William and Mary from 1834 until his death in 1857, and an influential writer of political and other essays. He was a judge of the Circuit Court of Missouri, 1815–1830.

Moreover it was contended that all the other States had come into the Union as free sovereign and independent States; that Missouri had a right to be admitted on the same footing, which could not be, if any power out of Missouri should presume to dictate to her in the highest act of Sovereignty—the formation of her own Constitution.

The idea that Missouri was already a Sovereign State was at first startling to men whose habits of thinking had been influenced by the tameness manifested by other new States. But it was corroborated by an appeal to the Constitution, which was a compact fully entered into by States fully established in all the rights and functions of Sovereignty. In inviting Missouri to make a Constitution for herself and to apply for admission into the Union, Congress had virtually and most effectually established her in a state of complete independence; because in no other state could she exercise that freedom of will necessary to a binding consent to the obligations imposed by the Constitution of the United States. Had not the treaty then stipulated for her admission *on the same footing with the other States*, it would have made no difference. It was enoguh that she was to be admitted, as she could not possibly be admitted on any other footing.

It is a striking instance of the authority of precedent, not only over the judgment, but over the feelings and conduct of men, that when the claim of Missouri for admission was first laid before Congress, these ideas were all overlooked; the thing passed *sub silentio;* and she was rejected without debate, and almost without thought. Her delegate wrote home that there was reason to believe that Congress wuld admit no more Slave States, and this letter was published without comment in a paper edited by Col. Benton. A fortnight passed away before a word appeared to assert the right of Missouri to decide that matter for herself. The reason was that they who afterwards led in the contest were in an obscure corner of the State attending a distant court. As soon as they reached St. Louis they drew their pens on behalf of Missouri, and strove to enlighten the minds of the people, to rouse their spirit, to check the influx of Yankeys, and to awaken the whole South to their common interest in the controversy. How they succeeded you know. An article embodying the ideas set forth above was published by myself, and is believed to have exercised a decisive influence on the minds of the People of Missouri. I enclosed a copy of it to Mr. Clay, to whom I was then a stranger, and he did me the honour to write me a long letter expressive of his approbation of my views. I afterwards had the satisfaction to find that they were adopted by our Southern friends, who saw that the very funamentals of the Constitution were involved in the controversy, and acting together as one man, in defense of the rights of the South and the Sovereignty of the States, drove the spoilers from their prey.

Meanwhile Missouri had organized her government, and was administering it under her own laws. Her competency to do this was made a question before me by certain factionists. It was fully discussed by the whole bar, and decided to the satisfaction of the profession generally, that she was and of right ought to be, and, from the necessity of the case must continue to be a Sovereign State and *until* Congress should admit her into the Union would be no otherwise connected with the U. S. than N. Carolina was connected with the other States until she adopted the constitution. The correctness of this opinion no one has ever presumed to question, tho' many are, to this day interested to do so. Much property was then sacrificed under Executions issued in the name of the State of Missouri, and not, as before in that of the U. S. which are utterly void if that decision was wrong.

I have made this statement with a view to proposing to Mr. Calhoun the consideration of this question. Assuming that the whole of the Country between the Rio del Norte and the Mississippi was embraced in the cession made by France to the U. S. wherein does the situation of Texas now differ from that of Missouri then? Is Texas an independent State? So was Missouri. Did she become so by the recognition of the U. S.? So did Missouri. Is it to be said that in 1819 the U. S. ceded Texas to Spain, in derogation of the rights of the people of Texas, and in disregard of the plighted faith of the U. S. to France? What is this plea but an attempt to take advantage of their own wrong? If the U. S. were bound to admit the people of Texas into the Union, they could not free themselves from this obligation by their own act. They wrongfully and faithlessly surrendered Texas to a foreign despot. The people of Texas shake off this yoke, and come again to the U. S. demanding the long deferred fulfilment of their pledge to France. Can any argument be framed to justify them in refusing this demand?

This view of the subject is new, but not more so than was the same view when presented for the solution of the Missouri question. It satisfied the people then. Why not now? I have, of late, presented it to very intelligent and devoted partisans of Mr. Clay, who admit that they can see no answer to the argument. I offer it to Mr. Calhoun that if he think favorably of it it may be used for what it is worth by those who have to manage this important question.

But it may not be enough that Mr. Clay and others of his school have said that Texas is part of Louisiana. Is there any other proof? There is, ample and precise proof in the French bureau of foreign affairs. About 1762 just before the cession of Louisiana by France to Spain the Rio del Norte was established as the boundary by treaty. The subsequent cession made that treaty of no consequence, and it was forgotten. But mean time a copy had been furnished to the

vice-regal government of Mexico, where Branch Archer [87] told me, in 1835, it had been seen by many persons of his acquaintance during the connexion between Texas and Mexico. But Jos. M. White,[88] about the same time assured me that a *copy* of the article had been *furnished* him by the *French Minister* of foreign affairs.

Now when France ceded to the U. S. "by the same boundaries by which Spain had ceded to her" (these are the words) Spain having ceded to France "by the same boundaries by which France had at first ceded to Spain," France came under an obligation to furnish any evidence in her power to show what those boundaries were. She has it. It ought to have been demanded then. The very words show the existence of some known boundary, and France if properly called upon, is bound to produce, and will produce the treaty of boundary.

But the Texas debt? It is properly the debt of the U. S. incurred by the Texans in defending themselves from dangers to which the bad faith of the U. S. had exposed them. It was as much the duty of the U. S. to defend Texas as Florida, and she has the same right to reimbursement of any expense incurred because of the default of the U. S. as the people of Florida.

But what does Texas want but to have the debt securred? Let Texas be admitted to the Union, and the Texan auditor will ask no better security than a pledge of the nett revenue of the ports of Texas to the payment of the debt. Will this take a cent from the people of the U. S.? Certainly not.

Knowing these things, soon after the battle of San Jacinto and the recognition of Texas by the U. S. I purchased lands and sent slaves there, nothing doubting the final reannexation. Were Mr. Clay, whose expressed opinions on this matter influenced me and so many others, now President of the U. S. and I should present a memorial demanding the assent of the U. S. to the application of Texas for admission, what answer could he make me?

I have said that these thoughts are offered, to be used for what they are worth, by those to whom it belongs to adjust this important interest. But I have another object. My acquaintance with the subject, my deep interest in it, my knowledge of individuals in Texas, and the knowledge of me by many there from Missouri whom I never saw, seem to make it my duty to offer myself for a mission to Texas. Not now. At Mr. Tyler's hands I would not receive it. As his minister I could have no weight. A private letter from Mr. Polk expressing his approbation of my person and views would

[87] Branch T. Archer was born in Virginia in 1790 and died in Texas in 1856. He studied medicine in Philadelphia and was for some years a physician and politician in Virginia. In 1831 he moved to Texas and became a leader in the movements preliminary to revolution. He was a member of the first Congress of Texas, and secretary of war in Texas 1839–1842.

[88] Joseph M. White was born in Kentucky, but began the practice of law in Florida. He was elected as a Democratic Delegate to Congress 1825–1837. He died in St. Louis, Mo., 1839.

be far more efficacious for all purposes of usefulness, than any credentials Mr. Tyler could give. I do bit offer this suggestion to Mr. Calhoun. If he approves of it, and the ideas set forth above, he will act upon it. If not he will take no notice of this letter, and this, like other attempts to serve my country will come to nothing. Mr. Calhoun will know to sympathise with one whose honorable ambition is condemned to that fate. He will not rank in the despicable class of office-hunters, one who sought none, when his most intimate friend was Secretary of State, and the Presidential chair was filled by one he had helped to place there.

It would be folly to deny that in this matter I am not influenced by my own large interest in Texas. But it should be remembered that while this enhances my desire for justice to that country, it would decide me to leave the management of her interests to others, if, on full reflection, I did not feel assured of ability, as well as my disposition to advance the common interest both of Texas and the U. S. It is clearly best for me that the negotiation should be placed in the most competent hands.

I do not presume to dictate the use Mr. Calhoun shall make of the ideas set forth in this letter. He will cast them from his mind, and me from his memory; or use both as he shall think best for the public good. With Mr. Polk I have no acquaintance, and cannot even claim the merit of a partisan. In the last election I did not even vote. I am a States Right man. No more—no less. My admiration of Mr. Clay could not reconcile me to his open renunciation of principles, of which he has sometimes seemed to think favorably, and I never have brought myself to support the authors of the Proclamation [89] and force bill [90] or their adherents. * * *

From Francis Wharton

PHILADELPHIA [PA.], *November 17th, 1844.*

MY DEAR SIR, Paradoxical as it may appear to the old leaders, Pennsylvania would have been lost to Mr. Polk had it not been for the energetic action of the anti-tariff republicans. A very false game was played in the tariff districts. The tariff of 1842 was admitted to be perfect, and a question of fact was raised as to who passed it. That question was determined against us, as was very natural, in a majority of instances, and had the true state of the case been known better, the State would have been gone. In the northern tier of counties, however—where, by the way, several of the most influential men, who were brought up at the feet of old Judge Scott, profess to

[89] Jackson's nullification proclamation of Dec. 9, 1832.
[90] Passed at the same time as the compromise tariff of 1833.

be your friends,—we gained largely, because we met the issue fairly. Your late letter, as published in the Mercury, went a great way to give to your friends, and to those who agree with you in opinion, energy in support of the republican nominations.

The whig party is breaking up with a rapidity that justifies your prediction that when Mr. Clay was gone the party would dissolve. The great question is, where is it to go? The native American coalition has been fatal to both of the uniting elements; and the leading Whigs here, Mr. Sargeant,[91] particularly,—are backing out of nativeism with all quickness. But it is the impression of many of the most discerning politicians that a coalition between Whiggery and Bentonism is by no means improbable. Whether you remain in the cabinet or return to the Senate, it is clear Mr. Benton will not brook your superior genius when supported by the more intimate relations you will bear to the administration. The Bentonites here say that Mr. Benton will not follow your lead. I suspect that Texas will be used again, as it has been already, to be held out to the country as the wedge which has produced the split which, in fact, has arisen from the political and personal jealousy of the chief intriguer. I only trust that the Texas negotiations will be conducted in such a way as to rob the mal-contents of much of their supposed strength.

Would it be agreable to you for me to prepare an article for the Dem Review on the Texas treaty, as a diplomatic effort? I think the literary and diplomatic character of the correspondence has not been yet examined, and it seems to me that the unjust attacks on one or two of your letters require notice. If it should please you that such should be given, and if you can send me the papers connected with the treaty, I will be much honoured in exceuting the commission. My professional engagements are now rapidly increasing, but whatever I have, whether of time or labour, I most cheerfully put at your feet. If there are any other literary points in which I can be of use to you, I hope you will give me your commands.

Let me ask you, in your goodness, to let me know what is the situation of Judge King's nomination before the Senate, and whether it is now so far out of the presidents hands as to make its withdrawal out of the question. Judge King is a man of consummate ability, and a lawyer of remarkable accomplishments, especially on the equity side. He is, by our peculiar system, the chancellor of the eastern district of Pa, as well as the presiding judge of an important common law court. Do let me press his claims upon your attention, as I am sure I can safely do, as he is already nominated, and only waits confirmation. He has saved us lately, by his manly and bold

[91] John Sergeant, of Pennsylvania, was candidate for the Vice Presidency with Henry Clay for the Presidency on the national Republican ticket of 1832.

conduct during our late melancholy disturbances, from much danger; and I cannot but believe that he will be an ornament to the Supreme bench. It is a matter of great importance to the bar here that a satisfactory judge should fill the vacant seat, and I am sure you excuse my importunity. Judge King is with us in politics.

Let me know whether I may be of service to you about the Texas correspondence, as I will be able, before the Jany. term sets in, to put it to press.

From Wilson Lumpkin

ATHENS [GA.,] *Nov. 18th 1844.*

MY DEAR SIR I have my full share of gratification in the result of the late Presidential election. But much remains yet to be accomplished, before the strife between the *Tax payers* and *Tax consumers* are settled and adjusted.

I discover already, that the *Old Office Seeking* faction are in the field, and unless the Patriotic portion of the Republican Party are on the alert, they, the selfish, will do mischief, and destroy the harmony of the friends of the President Elect.

A great effort will be made, by the *faction*, or *clique* to whom I refer, to gain a controuling influence in the New Administration. And as one means to accomplish their object, they are disposed to detract from your merit. I felt it my duty to say this much to you, on hearing of some of the expressions of Cobb [92] (re-elected from this Dist. to Congress) who was so devoted to Mr. Van Buren and the Globe, that he very reluctantly, was forced into the support of Mr. Polk.

They have no specific charges against you, but deal in loose sayings, intended to disparage. As soon as the Members of Congress begin to arrive at Washington, the faction to which I allude, will commence their work of mischief, and covertly, if not openly sow the seeds of strife and discord amongst the dominant party. Unfortunately we have in our ranks *spoilsmen*, whose only object is the *loaves and fishes—pilage and plunder*. May God in His mercy, deliver the Country from the Controul of Selfish and bad men. Every true patriot who may be at Washington, should be on the alert. The destiny of the coming administration, and the prosperity of the Country, depends mainly on the events of a few weeks to come.

My solicitude and anxiety will not cease, until I see the complexion of the New Administration. I have great confidence in Mr. Polk, but I foresee the difficulties, with which he will be surrounded.

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[92] Howell Cobb, of Georgia, was a Democratic Member of the House of Representatives, 1845–1851, 1855–1857; governor, 1851–1853; Secretary of the Treasury, 1857–1860.

From H. M. Solomon

NEW YORK [N. Y.,] *Nov. 28, 1844*

DEAR SIR

* * * * * * *

In respect to personal political matters I have attached to this a paper cut from a morning journal—see further in our New York Aurora which daily gives further and more proof of the duplicity and venality of Northern Van B. democrats.

Of this fact I can assure [you] once more that had Van B been up he would have lost this state by scores of thousands. But still with the fact well known to them He and his friends were determined that no prominent man like yourself, Cass, or Johnson should be put up, fearing *they* could be elected and their official influence cease. Having opposed all of these they contrived to place Polk as the candidate whose vicinity to Genl. Jackson gave them a hope that if chance elected him they could continue to act some part of their drama. In which object 'tis said that Butler [93] visited the parties months before, as Cambreleng [94] and Van B. did with Crawford [95] on a former day to elect Jackson on condition of stifling Mr. Calhoun.

Whether they have gained their object time will shew. But who dare deny that they are uniformly opposed *to all men* of good principles. Already they claim the next nomination for Mr. Wright whom I think would disappoint them after all if he were to become President. It is probable he will ruffle them a little too, now he is the elected *Governor*. Benton is a man truly of their gang.

From W. R. King [96]

PARIS [FRANCE,] *Nov. 29, 1844*

MY DEAR SIR I have just received the gratifying intelligence that New York, Virginia, and Pennsylvania have cast their vote for Polk and Dallas. This must render the triumph of the Democracy certain; saves us from the dictatoral rule of Harry of the West, and insures as I hope and believe the prosperity of our country. To insure this last however, it is of the utmost importance that Col. Polk should surround himself with able counsellors. You will I trust continue in the State Department, and use your influence to

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[93] Benjamin F. Butler, of New York, was Attorney General under Jackson and Van Buren, 1833–1838.

[94] Churchill C. Cambreleng was a merchant of New York and a Democratic leader in the city; Member of the House of Representatives, 1821–1839; minister to Russia, appointed by Van Buren, 1840–41.

[95] William H. Crawford, of Georgia, was Senator, 1807–1813; Secretary of the Treasury, 1816–1825; defeated as a candidate for the Presidency in 1824; judge of the Northern Circuit Court of Georgia, 1827–1834.

[96] William Rufus King, of North Carolina, was a Democratic Member of the House of Representatives, 1811–1816; moved to Alabama and was a Senator from that State, 1819–1844; minister to France, 1844–1846; again Senator, 1848–1853; elected Vice President of the United States in 1852; died 1853.

keep down all ultraism, to cause the administration to be national, not sectional. If this is done, Whiggery can never raise its head again. The news of Col. Polks election has created no little excitement in England; and the papers, particularly the Times, has a long article abusive of the Democratic Party, and speculating freely on the prospect of a war with the United States on the Texas question. Here all is quiet; I saw Mr. Guizot [97] yesterday, having dined with him, and from his conversation have no reason to believe that the views of this Government have, or will undergo any change on that subject. Mr. Guizot seemed to be rather pleased at Col. Polks election as it held out a prospect of a modification of the Tariff, which would be favorable to the commerce of France; which I did not fail to impress upon him; adding should we reduce our duties, we shall expect the French Government to adopt a similar policy. To which he replied take the first step, and we will follow suit. Since I have been in Paris I have had an opportunity of becoming intimately acquainted with Mr. Wheaton our Minister at Berlin, and I have come to the conclusion that he is decidedly one of the ablest of our diplomatic agents. His long experience and great industry peculiarly fit him for a representative of his country abroad. Jenifer [98] will I suppose ask for his recall; in that event would it not be well to transfer Mr. Wheaton to that Court. I take the liberty to make the suggestion, because I really think the public interest would be promoted by it. Of that however you and the President are the best Judges: and I must ask pardon for having made it.

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From Sam R. Thurston [1]

BRUNSWICK [ME.,] *Dec. 2d 1844*

DEAR SIR: You will recognise, from my signature, that I am the person who addressed you a note, a year or two since, enquiring after some of your confidential friends with whom I could safely correspond. Without any preamble, you will allow me to say, that there was a strong push made in this State in your favor, but in this State, as in most others, the systematic organization of the old office holders, under Mr. Van Buren, was effectual in packing caucuses, and carrying the delegates to the national convention in his favor. Without

[97] Francois Pierre Guillaume Guizot, the French historian, orator and statesman, was at this time the master spirit of the French ministry; he was Minister of Foreign Affairs.

[98] Daniel Jenifer was a Whig Representative from Maryland, 1831–1833, 1835–1841; minister to Austria, 1841–1845.

[1] Samuel Royal Thurston was born in Monmouth, Me., 1816; attended Wesleyan Seminary, Readfield, Me., Dartmouth College, and graduated from Bowdoin College in 1843; studied law and began practice in Brunswick, Me.; moved to Burlington, Iowa, in 1845, where he practiced law and became editor of the Iowa Gazette; in 1849 he moved to Oregon City, Oreg., and was elected as a Democratic Delegate to Congress, 1849–1851.

stopping to trace the history of those times further, I am frank and happy to say, that Mr. Van Buren got thrown off the track; and why I am so is, that if nominated, he could not in any event have been elected. The more immediate cause of his overthrow, when he had so nearly attained a renomination, was, as no one knows better than yourself, his remarkable and unexpected position upon the re-annexation of Texas. I think I have the honor (for honor I call it to be in favor of any step which would promote the glory of my country) of being the first man in this State who came out in print in favor of this important move. And when the veteran Richie, in revolt from Mr. Van Burens ranks, sent his thunders over the union, and the Eastern Argus of Me, conducted by one of Mr. V B's office holders, came out and informed Mr. Richie, that there was no man in this quarter in favor of immediate annexation, and that no man in favor of it could carry this State for President, I immediately drew up a pe[ti]tion praying the immediate ratification of your Treaty with Texas, and in one hour, in this little village, procured the signatures of 50 or 60 good and substantial names and forward[ed] the petition to Washington.

It would be idle for me to apprise you, how the Whigs of the North have made, and did make this question, their formost engine of War in the late campayn, in this State, and for the reason that there are, in Me, quite a large number of Abolitionists. We were pushed hard and we met it like men. And I think I know some what of the feelings of the people in Maine upon this question. For, every day, except Sunday, for the 3 or 4 weeks next previous to the Sept Election, when *our* great battle was fought, I addressed the people from four to seven hours pr. day, and in every case, the Whigs made the question of Texas their hobby horse to ride over the Democracy. The brilliant result of the battle in Maine, you know Me. is for re-annexation, immediate and unconditional; and no influence can make her otherwise. Therefore, now that the great battle has been fought upon this ground, and the whole country has spoken in its favor, the enquiry is now being made, if something is not to be done about Texas. I therefore write to you, with as much frankness, as tho' I had enjoyed your acquaintance for years, and remind you, that no step of yours could be more acceptable to the Democracy, than to take a high handed, honorable, but an energetic course upon this subject. We always have to lay our plans according to the means we have. Now if any step made in the path of duty, could bring over such a *rash* (certainly rash in this particular if no other) man as Mr. Benton, why it should be made. Depend upon it, Sir, let Texas once be annexed, and he who effects it will live always in the hearts of his countrymen. I will not, cannot, suggest ways and means to you of effecting this,

but you must allow me, neverthe less, to exhort you to bring it about, if it is within the reach of honorable possibilities. One thing, however, allow me to say. It would be good policy, in all correspondence which may come to the public eye, to advocate it as a great national question, and not as being about to be, in the event of its success, more favorable to one section than another. If this be a fact, it can be made known to those particular sections, through other channels. Also it would be policy not to advocate it on the ground that it would make secure Southern Slavery. If it would, that can be made known through other channels. You cannot look upon the abolition move with more disgust than I do, but we have to survey the lay of the land after all, in counting the Presidential Electors. My sheet is failing me. I could hope you will be Mr. Polk's Secretary, for the safety of this question at least. Prudence would forbid me to ask any reply to this note. But if at any time, you would like to know the tide of popular feeling on this or any other question, let a confidential [friend] of yours address the enquiry, and you shall be correctly informed. * * *

From H. M. Judge [2]

TUSCALOOSA [ALA.,] *6th Decr. 1844*

DEAR SIR It gives me pleasure to inform you, that after an arduous struggle, it is settled that your friend D. H. Lewis is to retain his seat for the unexpired term of Col. King.[3]

The opposition came from the old friends of Mr Van Buren, assisted by the Whig members en masse. The former regard you as the destroyer of Mr Van Buren and the latter think, that you decided the late controversy for the presidency in favor of Mr Polk.

The opposition used the name of Col. King, supposing that his aspirations to the Vice-presidency, would ensure permanent opposition on his part, to yourself. An old letter of his, written from Paris, when he supposed that Mr Clay would be elected, expressing a desire to return to the Senate, was the pretext under which his name was introduced. A caucus was held last night to settle the conflicting claims of the candidates, at which Lewis received nearly nine tenths of the party over Col. King and Mr. David Hubbard his two opponents for the seat. The election will take place in a few days at farthest. Your friends hail this result, as a demonstration in favor of your peculiar views, over those in our party, who differ with you. The Whigs and malcontent democrats regard it in the same light.

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[2] Hilliard M. Judge was a supporter of Calhoun in Alabama.

[3] Dixon H. Lewis, of Alabama, served in Congress as a State Rights Democrat, 1829–1844, when he resigned; appointed and subsequently elected Senator to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of William R. King, and served from 1844 to his death in 1848. King resigned from the Senate in 1844 to become minister to France.

We expect also, unless policy forbids it, to place a States right man, in the gubernatorial chair.[5] The Northern part of the State claim the right from custom, to fill the chair and are presenting two very unworthy candidates to us, neither of whom we will take, unless absolutely necessary to preserve harmony in the party.

The Whigs are unrelenting in their hostility to you, and regard the whole South as swept away from Mr Clay, through your influence. I hope this will subside after the first burst of disappointment, as there are still many in their ranks, entertaining opinions not foreign to our own, on the subject of the tariff and on the annexation of Texas.

There is a great deal of speculation on the subject of the Cabinet to the next administration. The Whigs and "Hunkers" are exceedingly anxious to have your place filled by Buchanan or some one entertaining views hostile to the "Chivalry," as they are pleased to denominate those entertaining opinions in common with yourself.

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From Duff Green

WASHINGTON (TEXAS) *Decr. 13th. 1844*

MY DEAR SIR I enclose you a letter for Mrs. Green, which I will thank you to send to her.

By an act of the Texan Congress, merchandise imported in American vessels, pays a discriminating duty of five per cent. This has cut off the greater part of the trade with the United States.

I have made a personal interest which will I believe cause this act to be repealed, altho there is a disposition on the part of many to use every pretext to annoy the United States, by angry legislation. Some because they believe that it will promote annexation and others because they believe that it is the interest of Texas to give a preference to European trade, under a notion that the interests of Texas and the Southern states are opposed.

I believe that the United States should not postpone the question of annexation beyond the *next* session of Congress and I can see many reasons why it should not take place *sooner*. Indeed it cannot take place sooner except by a joint resolution or act, authorizing the admission of Texas, as a new state, and that cannot be consummated before the *next* session. It is our interest that the Texas question shall constitute an element in the reorganization of parties.

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[5] Joshua L. Martin was elected governor to succeed Benjamin Fitzpatrick, who had been governor for 4 years. Martin was a Democratic Member of the House of Representatives, 1835–1839; he practiced law in Athens, Limeston County, on the northern border of Alabama.

From W. B. Seabrook

EDISTO ISLAND [S. C.,] *Dec. 16th 1844*

MY DEAR SIR, With the result of the gubernatorial election you have long since been acquainted. To the decision of the representatives of the people I bow with submission, but against the means adopted to elevate the incumbent I do solemnly protest. Unfounded charges, log-rolling, the untiring labours of interested individuals, inactivity on the part of my friends, and above all, money, *profusely expended,* were the agents that discomfitted me, and put another into office. The citizens of South Carolina would be astounded at the information which it is in the power of hundreds to impart in reference to this matter. By bank accommodations to the country merchants, they were released from their present embarrassment, and for this favor conferred, they used the most zealous efforts to induce the members from their sections of the State to support Aiken. I will not however particularize. The recital would disgust you, if it do not create despair for the future welfare of So. Ca. In 24 hours after the election, the "South Carolinian" was in the hands of the new party, under the editorship of Summer of Newberry, one of the governor's aids. The Charleston Patriot too has been purchased, and for the Mercury a bid had been made by B. Carroll.[6] Whether he be a friend of Aiken or not I cannot inform you. Thus in subsidizing the press they hope to consummate their real object. Rhett and Elmore are to be trampled under foot, and Pickens, the acknowledged leader of the Aiken party, is to go to the U. S. Senate. Let me in passing assure you, that So. Ca. has at last recorded on the journals of the Legislature (in her selection for Governor) her submission to the Federal aggression. All hopes of resistance to the black tariff are at an end. We must forever wear the yoke which Boyce and his moneyed associates of Charleston has fastened on our necks. 'Tis true before I left Columbia a reaction had taken place and very many were regretting the course they had unwittingly taken. As far as my information goes, and it is extensive, but one feeling, and that of indignation, has been expressed by the people. Even the old Univ[ersity] men, among them Dr. Dickson, declare that the state is disgraced by putting the executive power into the hands of Aiken.

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From J. S. Barbour

CATALPA [VA.,] *Dec 18th 1844.*

MY DEAR SIR, I thank you for your letter of the 15th. My son James will have reached you before this.

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[6] B. R. Carroll was an attorney in Charleston, S. C. He was the compiler and editor of Historical Collections of South Carolina, in 2 volumes, published in 1836.

I am thoroughly of the opinion you advanced that Mr Tazewell [7] will have great weight with Mr Polk. I learn that an effort is making to urge Stevenson [8] to your extrusion. I do not believe in this. He wd gladly come in as a subordinate Secretary. I have Mr. Ritchie's pledge to stand to you. He is a man of honour whatever you may hear to the contrary. *And if he were not I have satisfied him that your remaining in the Cabinet is indispensable to the ascendency of the party in this State.* Here, Wright and Benton and McDowell, etc., are utterly powerless. *You are strong.* The slightest intimation to the public ear that "*old Hunkerism*" is to prevail, and it is the death warrant of the Democracy. We have a recognizance (with abundant security) so far as Virginia is concerned, that your stay in the Cabinet will be demanded by all her power. Because it is indispensable to the interest of every branch of the Democracy. *We have the power of controul*; for with the exception of Smith, there is not a friend of yours known to me, who desires, or expects or wd. take any part of the spoils. They want nothing, but a fair honest and faithful administration of the Govt. on the principles upon which the late battle was fought and won. I think the spirit which prevails in Virginia, and the interests, whose peril make up our guaranty, exist also to some extent, and like effect and tendency, in Georgia and Alabama.

This view of the subject, properly urged upon the party, is sovereign in its omnipotence and so it will be with Polk. They dare not touch a hair of your head. *And it is this view, which exerts a master's sway over them all.* Before the sun sets, I will write Ritchie again, but I have the best reason to think that with him, all is right.

Do you know Judge Bagley of this State? I do not know him. But from all that I know of him through others I have a very high opinion of him.

The difficulty with Mr. Tazewell is to rouse him to service—an inertion, consequent on age, with most men; and to which there is a natural proclivity with him, at all times; defies every attempt to stimulate him into active [?] life. I would rather write him *direct*, than ask the interference of any Richmond friend. The incidents that carried his election for the office of Govr a few years past, and my agency in them, created kind relations between us, that have been confirmed since then, rather than weakened.

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[7] Littleton Waller Tazewell was born in Virginia in 1774; Democratic Member of the House of Representatives, 1800–1801; Senator, 1824–1832; governor, 1834–1836.

[8] Andrew Stevenson, of Virginia, was a Democratic Member of the House of Representatives 1823–1834; Speaker of the House, 1827–1834; minister to Great Britain, 1836–1841.

From John Beard

NEWMANSVILLE, E. FLORIDA, *Dec. 20th, 1844.*

DEAR SIR, Aware that a multiplicity of important subjects claims your attention it is with much reluctance that I encroach upon your time. And the only apology I can in truth offer is my confidence in your minute acquaintance with all that pertains to every great interest in the country, and especially *that one* so vital to the peace and prosperity of the South.

Under the belief that Iowa will ere long apply to be admitted into the confederacy as a State, many entertain the opinion that Florida should make a similar application at the same time. Hitherto I have thought that the prosperity of Florida would be promoted most by her continuing a Territory until she shall have recovered from the effects of the war, and shall have made greater advances in population, in wealth, and in those qualities so essential to wise self-government: and that then both her own local interests, and the policy of the whole South, would recommend the formation of *two* States out of her extensive Territory. Nevertheless if this scheme be hopeless, and the policy of the South requires that Florida should be brought in with Iowa, I would cheerfully submit to the burdens incident to such a change; but would wish that the act of admission might contain a provision for her future division, on some contingency not too improbable or remote. Feeling deeply interested in this matter both as a Floridian and a Southerner I would feel gratified to have your view of it.

Is it important to Florida to be admitted now? Would she, by postponing her admission, risk the loss of any advantages?

Would she not, by coming in as *one* State hazard the chance of a future division?

Is it important to the slave-holding States that Florida should be admitted *now* even at the *hazard* of a future division?

This subject is one of pressing importance to Florida, and, I think, to the whole South. I confess I entertain doubts as to our proper course which may be removed by one who has looked over the whole ground.

I trust it is unnecessary to assure you, Sir, that, if you have leisure and the inclination to write to me in regard to it, no improper use will be made of what you may communicate.

From Duff Green

WASHINGTON TEXAS, *20th Decr 1844*

MY DEAR SIR Capt. Elliot [9] reached here last night. He speaks in the most open manner against annexation, and promises that if

[9] Charles Elliot was the only chargé sent by Great Britain to Texas; his letter of credence was dated June 28, 1842; he reached Texas in August, and remained till the eve of annexation.

Texas will give a pledge against annexation England will obtain an acknowledgement by Mexico of the Independence of Texas. He told me that a friend of his direct from Lexington, had said to him that he had heard Mr. Clay say that Mr. Wright is to be Mr. Polk's Sec. State. This argues that the Whigs will unite with Benton in drafting a resolution or bill for annexation which Texas will reject and thus defeat annexation. A friend from Galveston tells me that letters had been received there, stating that Mr. Crittenden [10] had said that the question must be settled and that he would vote for annexation.

It will be impossible to carry the question here clogged with either of Mr. Benton's conditions,[11] and the public mind should be informed on the plan of the new coalition. It is to drive S. Carolina into nullification that the next Presidential election may turn on that issue. All the elements of opposition will combine against you and among them Mr. Tyler. I see that he has planted Doctor Miller in the Post office, for which he is utterly incompetent and he will devote the whole patronage of the department to build up a Tyler party.

Nine tenths, aye 99 of every 100 here are for annexation. You need not fear one years delay; if Benton's influence does get a bill through the Senate containing any obnoxious features, amend it in the House and throw the odium of defeating it on the Senate.

From Burton Craige [12]

LINCOLNTON (N. C.), *Dec. 23rd, 1844.*

DEAR SIR

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The result of the vote on the 21st rule in the Ho. of Reps., makes us all feel rather gloomy as to the future prospects of the South. We fear the agitation of the subject of slavery by the Northern fanatics sustained as they are by some few [of] the South, will eventuate in a dissolution of the Union.

I see Benton is again likely to oppose serious obstacles to the annexation of Texas.[13] Can nothing be done to drive him from his course of madness and folly? Will he permit his feelings, his personal feelings, to govern his conduct upon this all important measure

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[10] John J. Crittenden was Senator from Kentucky, 1817–1819, 1835–1841; Attorney General under Harrison, 1841; Senator again, filling the vacancy caused by the resignation of Henry Clay, 1842–1848; Governor, 1848–1850; Attorney General under Fillmore, 1850–1853; Senator, 1855–1861; elected as a Unionist to the House of Representatives, 1861–1863; died 1863.

[11] See Benton's Thirty Years' View, p. 619 ff. Also Appendix to Congressional Globe for Twenty-eighth Congress, first session, June 15, 1844, p. 611.

[12] Burton Francis Craige, of North Carolina, was a Democratic Member of the House of Representatives 1853–1861.

[13] See Theodore Roosevelt's Thomas Hart Benton, pp. 299–317.

for the South and West? Will he lend himself to the abolitionists to aid them in defeating a measure upon the success of which rests the future safety of his own constituents?

I for one begin to despair of ever seeing any legislation by the national congress for the benefit of the slaveholding part of the Confederacy, and for one I am ready to go with our old state rights friends for any effective action that will bring the majority in Congress to their senses. I am utterly opposed idly to sit by and daily see nothing but insult added to oppression. I had hoped, fondly hoped, that much would be gained by the late triumph of the Democratic party, but the vote upon the 21st rule has left me but little room for further hope.

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From A. J. Donelson

NEW ORLEANS, [LA,] *December 28, 1844.*

MY DR SIR, The boat is not yet off, and leaves me a moment to say to you in addition to my last private letter, that I am satisfied the Whigs are becoming afraid of the responsibility of a further postponement of the measure of annexation.

A Gentleman of extensive business connections here and of much influence in Tennessee, has recently written a letter to Mr. Foster[14] of the Senate, in which he urges him to give up opposition to Texas, and take the measure of immediate annexation. He says Foster will not be a candidate for reelection to the Senate, but will be the candidate for his party in Tennessee to succeed Gov. Jones,[15] and he will be made to understand that he cannot be so used unless he now goes for Texas. My belief is that the Tennessee votes in the Senate may be counted in favor of the measure.

I mention this that you may not too readily yield any essential feature of the bill for the purpose of securing its passage. I know not what further instruction you may send me, but if I see that a new expression on the part of the Congress of Texas can be of avail in strengthening the true friends of the measure in our congress, I shall endeavor to profit by it promptly.

I do not think it worth while to send you the newspaper accounts which are just received of the overthrow of Santa Anna. I told Genl Green that this would be the effect of his attempt to dissolve the

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[14] Ephriam Hubbard Foster, of Tennessee, was private secretary to Gen. Andrew Jackson, 1813–1815; served in both branches of the State legislature; appointed as Whig to the Senate, 1838–1839; reelected, but declined to serve, not wishing to obey instructions given by the State legislature; reelected to the Senate to fill the vacancy and served, 1843–1845; defeated as Whig candidate for governor in 1845.

[15] James C. Jones was a Whig Governor of Tennessee, 1841–1845; Aaron V. Brown was a Democratic Governor, 1845–1847.

chambers, but Green had so poor an opinion of the public morals of the country, that he still believed Santa Anna would be sustained.

Parades [16] you are aware reproaches Santa Anna with cowardice and treachery in not pushing the war against Texas. Whatever Parades may say or threaten on that subject, my impression is that the moment of his success will be the true one, for obtaining a disclaimer of the orders given to Wall, and if the British influence is not in the way there will now be a general assent to the cessation of hostilities preparatory to the adjustment of boundary with us, and a formal acquiescence in the measure of annexation.

But the main point is the passage of the bill with our Congress. This done, all other trouble on the subject ceases, and Mexico will soon see that whilst she has done us injustice heretofore, there is no hope in the future for her except what may be based on our friendship and protection.

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From Eustis Prescott

New Orleans, [La.,] *4th Jany 1845*

Dear Sir: Altho I am aware that you must be at this moment much engrossed with public affairs, still you doubtless think of your Cotton interest, and it is on that subject principally that I have now ventured to intrude upon you. The rapid decline in price within two months in Liverpool has awakened the South from a sleep of security which had nearly proved fatal to the Cotton growers, but it is not too late—a remedy can be provided; overproduction, the cause of all their disasters can be arrested, but to do so, the pen of a powerful and influentual mind must be exerted, and from no man in the country can a plan emanate which will command the attention of those interested so fully as from yourself. I do hope therefore that you will find time to suggest some plan by which the apprehended evil may be averted.

In this section a great reformation ought to take place in many things—first, the Planter should make his own food, which he does not now do; then, all the clothing possible for his negroes; next, it has occurred to me that a limitation of hours for work might be introduced, say *nine hours*. This would reduce the production in a small degree, but there must be something more, and I feel that my mind is not sufficiently capacious and that I have not sufficient knowledge of the subject to suggest it. I think that an overestimate of the present crop is made, from my information I doubt whether it

[16] Mariano Paredes y Arrillaga was a Mexican general who led the revolution against Herrera, and after an overthrow of the latter was elected President *ad interim*, Jan. 3, 1846, serving until July 28, when he was forced to resign.

will reach 2,250,000 bales, and many Planters will keep back their crops at the present price 4½ cts for good middlings. Indeed if a half million of bales could be held in this country for six months it would enhance the value in Europe at least one cent, perhaps more per lb. Southern interests ought to be represented in Liverpool, and I have the vanity to believe that if the Executive had conferred the consulship upon me, it would have been in my power to have obtained much valuable information, and such as an old practical Merchant is more likely to discover than persons of other occupations.

I have placed my business here in such a position that I can leave it on very short notice, if my services can be made available to the Government in a position sufficiently lucrative, and respectable, and indeed, if encouraged by you, I will be an applicant to Mr. Polk, after his inauguration, for the Consulship at Liverpool or Havre, but should prefer the former, as I could there be more useful to my Southern friends.

Our Legislature commences its session on Monday and an effort will be made to induce them (altho a Whig majority) to pass resolutions instructing our Senators to vote for the annexation of Texas. We however entertain strong hopes that after the receipt of the late news from Mexico, that you will be able to carry the measure thro Congress on 8th Januy.

Genl Terrell [17] was in the city several days *en route* to France and England on a special mission. I had several conversations with him, he avowed himself strenuously opposed to annexation, but acknowledged that *nine tenths* of the people of Texas were in favor of it. Major Donaldson [18] (whom I also had the pleasure of conversing with on the subject) is of the same opinion, but fears that if postponed again, the people will be discouraged and form foreign alliances from which it will be difficult to recede. The people of Louisiana are heartily with you.

You may possibly have discovered that we have succeeded in uniting the two Democratic morning [?] papers, and I beg leave to recommend the "Jeffersonian Republican" to the Department for any advertising they may be enabled to bestow. The Editors and Proprietors are *our* friends, and when the time arrives, we can command its columns. . . .

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[17] Gen. George W. Terrell was sent from Texas as chargé d'affaires at Paris. He later wrote home complaining of "discourteous" treatment and "insulting neglect" on the part of the French Government. See G. P. Garrison's Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas, American Historical Association Reports for 1908, Vol. II, index.

[18] A. J. Donelson.

From R. R. Hunter

New York [N. Y.,] *Jany. 14th 1845.*

Dear Sir It is now openly asserted and generally believed here, that an agreement has been entered into between Clay and Van Buren to the effect that their friends in Congress shall unite in opposition to the annexation of Texas in order to defeat it, and the late movements of certain individuals in the interest of Van Buren here and in Albany are well calculated to confirm that belief.

It appears that Van Buren was the first mover of this plan, to form a coalition of Whigs, Van Burenites, and abolitionists in order to vanquish you on the Texas question; and I am somewhat apprehensive that Silas Wright will allow himself unwittingly to be used by Van Buren as an instrument for the accomplishment of this base design.

I presume you have seen a very sneering Commentary which appeared a few days ago Editorially in the "Evening Post" on the late letter of Genl. Jackson to "Blair." The article is intended and well calculated to ridicule Genl. Jackson and destroy the effect of his letter with the public to the great injury of the cause of annexation, for who can refute a sneer? or sufficiently expose the disparaging insinuations which a newspaper writer may crowd into an article.

The information I received from Albany today leads me to believe that Van Buren procured the introduction of the Resolutions relative to Texas, by Genl. Clarke in the Senate last week, for the purpose of *defeating their passage*, and in relation to this subject and the appointment of two United States Senators, Silas Wright is playing a part which his great partiality for Van Buren, prevents him from discerning the danger into which it will lead him.

P. S. Our mutual friend Wm. Lynn Brown, Esqr. of Philadelphia is about to proceed to Washington, and will communicate to you some private information from me which may serve your interest as well as mine.

From Mark A. Cooper

Mount Hope Murray Co Geo *15th Jany '45.*

Dear Sir After some weeks absence from home I had the satisfaction on my return to receive your letter in reply to mine dated at Athens. In regard to the vacancy in the Marine Corps, Dr. Daniel was my informant. He has been misled by supposing that the Lieutenant who died belonged to that Corps.

I am pleased to hear you say Carolina and Georgia are one, expressing a hope also that they may remain one. If your friends in Georgia can have influence to effect it, it shall be so. And for this purpose they are endeavoring to fortify. They look to you as the only sure

reliance, to establish the ascendency of Democratic Faith, by Republican *Acts*. To realize their expectations so far as Georgia is concerned they must strive to strengthen themselves.

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From William Crump

KINGSTON, JAMAICA *Jany. 16th, 1845*

[DEAR SIR:] You will doubtless be somewhat surprised to be informed that Mr. Bryan the chargé d'affairs to Para [?] and myself are here at this date. We arrived here on the 19th of Decr. last, four days after the British mail packet had left this port for Chagres. There has been no mail from this to Chagres since that date. Owing to some new arrangements entered into at that time by the mail agent here, the *Liffry* a new vessel will take her departure with the mail this forenoon for Chagres, going by Carthegena and St. Martha. Mr. B. and myself have taken passage in her. Two days after we arrived here we received a polite note of invitation from Lord Elgin the Govr. of the Island to spend three days with him at Spanish town at the Queens House, twelve miles from Kingston. We accepted his invitation and spent our time there most agreably. His Lordship is a plain and agreeable gentleman, and seemed to take great pleasure in conversing on agricultural subjects. He has established several agricultural societys, as he informed me, in the Island since he came out to take charge of the government.

The condition of this once productive Isle has undergone many sad and disastrous changes, within the last few years. The fine fertile sugar and coffee estates that once produced their proprietors lordly annual incomes have become unproductive, and in some instances are abandoned to the wild bore and the reptiles of the Island. In my excursions into the mountains I have seen large quantities of cain and occasion[ally] coffee fields nearly abandoned and the rich products actually rotting on the ground for the want of labour to gather them. Thousands of the negroes cannot be prvailed on to labour but for very short periods at any price, and then but for a few days at a time. I have seen one of the Duke of Buckingham's estates, that contains twelve miles square, that was said to be the most productive estate in this vicinity, the superintendent of which informed me that it formally produced a net income of forty thousand dollars a year to its proprietor, that at this time it did not pay expenses, and he was making arrangements to convert it into a stock farm.

I have been informed by all of the more intelligent gentlemen here with whom I have conversed on the subject, that the present prostrated condition of this rich and productive Isle is owing entirely to

the emancipation of slavery. The street and public highways are constantly filled with fine looking men and women, ragged and half starved, with a bit of sugar cain in their hand as food, perhaps the only time they have eaten for days past. I wish old Mr. Adams, Giddings [19] and their associates could but see the miserable condition of these once happy, but now miserable people. Be pleased sir to accept assurances of high respect from your obedient and humble servant.

From Robert Walsh.[20]

PARIS [FRANCE,] *1st Feby. 1845*

MY DEAR SIR Yesterday, I committed to a gentleman going all haste to London, a packet for you, with some matters enclosed which I supposed would be acceptable. It will be forwarded to the Steamer. This day, I offer a few more, and an autograph of Mr. Thiers pressing the service of an important member of the opposition, for the struggle in the Chamber of Deputies. The member handed it to me—under injunction of secrecy in regard to his name. It may be curious in your private album. Some danger has been experienced by the Cabinet, here, owing to the antipathies of not a few of the Conservatives to England and her power. The majority desire to retain the Cabinet; they detest, however, the *entente cordiale* carried to the Guizot or Louis Philippe extent. This renders the situation of the cabinet more or less precarious at all times, as the opposition operate upon the public feeling with it, and the Conservative Deputies fear their electoral colleges. The cabinet would have given you precious little satisfaction about Texas, if King and ministers and the whole legislative majority had not perceived that the nation would not endure a warlike league with England against the United States. Featherstonehaugh,[21] so significantly appointed British consul at Havre, has been introduced in all form at court, and most graciously received. He owes the double distinction to his *Excursion through the Slave States* replete with invention and exaggeration. On the evening of the day after I received your communication of the 27 Decr I went to the stated soiree of Mr. Guizot, in order to observe the aspect of things in relation to the Cabinet perils. Crowd, men, tone, prediction were all auspicious—indicated confidence in the

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[19] Joshua Reed Giddings, of Ohio, was an antislavery Whig member of the House of Representatives, 1838–1859. He resigned in 1842 when a vote of censure was passed upon him by the House, but was reelected to fill the vacancy caused by his own resignation.

[20] Robert Walsh was a lawyer, author and editor of some note, who resided in Philadelphia from 1809 to 1836, when he went to Paris to reside; he was American consul there 1845–1851. While in Europe he corresponded with the Journal of Commerce and the National Intelligencer.

[21] George William Featherstonehaugh was the author of "Excursion Through the Slave States from Washington on the Potomac to the Frontier of Mexico, with Sketches of Popular Manners and Geological Notices." 2 vols. pub. 1844, London.

King's declared protection. Mr. Guizot asked me, what American news. I told him that I could say on your authority that the Texas bill might pass both House[s] of Congress, this session. His countenance at once indicated vexation: he made no remark. I have held of late much conversation with principal members of the two Chambers, chiefly conservatives, and the others of the Left Centre and the Gauche. All seemed to wonder at the resistance made in Congress to the acquisition of such a region as Texas, with the concurrence of its inhabitants; and none could believe that the adversaries were serious on the topics of Mexican right and Mexican war. Some mentioned spontaneously that no one of the European governments—no division of any party in any of those governments, would have hesitated a moment under like circumstances. The creation of the mixed commission respecting the conventions between France and Great Britain about the Slave trade is regarded on all hands as a studied respite for the French cabinet, and an expedient for a better concert for the abolition of slavery itself pursuant to the British plan. A Dr. Lushington, or a Lord Brougham, and a Duke de Broglie are the very pledged, determined, capable zealots for the purpose. The intelligence, arrived this morning, of Mr. Gladstone's withdrawal from the British cabinet, produces a sensation. He was the ablest member, except Sir Robert [Peel]. Mark the following language of the London Globe (Whig organ) of the 30 Jany, "How could Mr. Gladston take the prominent part in reversing which he took in *advocating* the policy hitherto *affected* in favor of the Colonial and Free labor interests, as regards the admission of tropical products?" It is constant matter of regret to me that your Southern delegation have not provided some fund for a proper, frequent exposition of the question of American Negro-slavery according to realities; to truth, justice and fair international judgment and dealing. For many years you have been assailed by the British press and Societies countenanced or stimulated by statesmen of all parties, and the object has been, on the continent, to render the slavery so hideous and the communities of masters so generally odious, that open war on you, destructive of both[?] Southern and Northern prosperity, would not in the end prove[?] unwelcome or suspicious to the continental nations. You have scarcely been defended or excused at all. At Paris, at London, at Madrid, in the middle parts of Europe, the chief stations, in Germany, say Berlin, you have not of late been so represented as that any systematic, earnest manifestations in your behalf could be expected. Nationality is called a *sentiment* more powerful than a principle: it is not a mere official sense, or a general impression of the injustice of foreign denunciations, that you needed, so much as a direct, positive, sympathy—a native community of

feeling and concern. Your letter to Mr. King [?] is widely efficacious: the impulse, however, must be repeated diffusively.

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From W. M. Corry.[22]

CINCINNATI [OHIO,] *14 Feb. 1845.*

DEAR SIR: The result of the election has been to establish for the present your opinion of the nature and policy of the general government. Before that election "the government had been divorced from the banks" and even the Whigs abandoned any re-union. He who is competent to interpret great events, must see in Mr. Polk's election the decided ascendency of "Free trade, low duties, retrenchment, reform, and a strict construction of the constitution."

Another and a weightier question comes up. Prepared by previous events, the Texas contest involves the continuance of slavery. That pretext alone was wanting to set the North, especially N. England, northern New York, Penna., and Ohio against any longer union with the South, and its peculiar institutions. As soon as annexation takes place, we will have the right of the majority of the people of the U. States asserted to dissolve the national compact, if indeed that act shall not be held a virtual dissolution. Our city is a stronghold of the anti-slavery feeling, and a daily press and gifted *young* leaders make the abolitionists very formidable. Their legal gentlemen think that a majority of the R[hode] Island adults had the perfect right to overthrow the existing constitution of that State; and of course apply that doctrine to every other State; and to the Union of the States. Equally remarkable are their notions of slavery. In a case of *habeas corpus* for enquiring into the detention by his master of a fugitive slave from Arkansas who escaped into this State, now actually before Judge Read of our Supreme Court in this city, the most startling enquiries are pursued.

1. Arkansas was no state at the adoption of the F[ederal] Constitution; and therefore slavery cannot exist therein.

2. A fugitive slave cannot be recaptured in Ohio, because the Ordinance of 1787 forbade slavery throughout the N. W. territory.

These and like questions will be presented often, and when decided against the Petitioner, will be incessantly reiterated by the agitators for the purpose of sapping slavery in all the slaveholding States.

Space will not allow me to enlarge on the certainty of an imminent struggle between North and South upon constitutional slavery itself. And when it does come, you may rely upon it, the battle must be fought by the West. Her position and responsibilities in the coming

[22] William M. Corry was a distinguished lawyer of Cincinnati, Ohio.

contest are of the very highest. It should therefore be the motto of the Administration to *fortify the West.* If the President at all comprehends the crisis, this will be his inclination; and it is the true policy of the whole Southwestern section of the Union from which he comes. As yet that section is very little known in the genl. government. She has indeed the political power in the House of Representatives, but her resources, moral, intellectual, physical, and especially her present position demand a much larger share of the weight in the national affairs. In the lap of the great West lie the keys of the Republic, and in her vast realms of power, and her attachment to the Union, are to be found its chief defense. It is but wisdom, however, instantly to re-inforce this section for the coming attack on our system, which will be more formidable than any which has yet threatened its existence. Nothing but the fine [?] democracy here with every advantage, can withstand the shock. That democracy should be strengthened, and its voice made irresistible, by the selection of ardent, able and orthodox young men of the party for office under the genl. government. And nothing will require more judgment than the exclusion of the unworthy members of the party who either have no opinions, or who are incapable of upholding the true theory of our institutions. But the work must be done. From usurping Virginia, and grasping Massachusetts much of their ancient power is gone never to return, yet they, and vacillating N. York absorb the Federal patronage: henceforth let a portion of that fertilizing stream flow with kindred tides down the valley of the Mississippi.

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From J. S. Mayfield [23]

Wood Lawn [Tex.,] *Febry 19th, 1845*

My Dear Sir Some weeks since, I promised Genl. Duff Green in Texas to address him under cover to you at Washington City.

The subject related to his late difficulties with the President of that Republic;[24] they as I am informed by Major Donaldson [25] who arrived here a few days since have been adjusted not wholy however to Genl. Green's satisfaction.

The basis of the misunderstanding between them arose from supposed menaces, and the indisposition of the President to favour annexation, and a strong inclination manifested to favour the line of British policy indicated of late by Capt. Elliott.[26] Genl. Green's

[23] J. S. Mayfield was a member of the Texas Constitutional Convention of 1845 and was chairman of one of its important committees. At this time he was connected with the Department of State of Texas.

[24] Sam Houston was Governor of Texas, 1841–1844; Anson Jones, 1844–1846.

[25] A. J. Donelson.

[26] Charles Elliot.

position in the country as a functionary of your Government placed him in a false attitude. As a citizen of Texas, he could have sustained all his charges and that without subjecting himself and his friends to the charge of intermedling in the policy of our domestic affairs. Allow me to premise this much, that the fact exists, and the proof can be made that England seeks Territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande and claims for British subjects large grants of land lying within the Boundaries of Texas. I shall leave in a few days for N. O. when I expect to meet Genl. Green, when if it is desired to prosecute the enquirey further upon this subject, I will submit a full statement of facts. Having been for many years separated from my personal and political friends in the U. S. I feel great delicacy in renewing the slight acquaintance of former years; permit me to add that I have watched with pride and enthusiasm at all times the proud and elevated stand you have assumed as an American patriot and Statesman.

When in Texas just before their annexation, I noticed that their whole line of the Rio Grande had no other defence than Capt. Hays company of spies, containing 40 men; and Texas just preceeding the act of annexation, thought it only necessary to add another company of 40 men under Capt. Walker, who were stationed at Corpus Christi. Here were upwards of 300 miles frontier guarded from invasion and depredation by 80 men against the whole Mexican nation, and the Comanches besides! No attempt for years was made upon the peace of Texas, notwithstanding all the threats of Mexico. In guarding the line across from the Rio Grande to the Californian Gulph, the Indian tribes would be more to be feared than the Mexicans. Indeed by a few regiments the Mexicans would feel themselves protected from the savages.

As to Slavery. By the Mexican law of Master and Servant, which I have before me—(their laws relating to peones) the labouring classes are placed in a condition inferior to our slaves. If they work for any one, as they must do, for the lands are owned by few great proprietors, they must enter into articles of apprenticeship, and receive their supplies of food, clothing and otherwise from their Masters, the owner of the hacienda or rancho, who for that purpose always keep a store of such things as are necessary or tempting to the peon. As long as he remains indebted to his master or the contract lasts, he cannot quit his master. He may be punished, imprisoned and "shackled" by the master, and if he attempts to run away the Alcalde is expressly directed to apprehend him and punish him by imprisonment and *shackles*. Such is the language of the law. He cannot discharge the slave, for he is a slave, *even if he is punished to excess by the master.* If in sickness the master furnishes him with sustenance and medicine, it is charged to the servant, and

he remains to all purposes the slave of the master as long as he owes him one cent. The contract cannot be rescinded but by consent of both sides. Such was the law of Coahuila and Texas under the Mexican rule, before the Texan Revolution. How rediculous then to raise an outcry against *establishing* and *extending* slavery there.

Judge Hemphill [27] the Chief Justice of Texas, a very intelligent gentleman to whom I am indebted for much information and various documents on this subject, informed me that after two years residence at San Antonio, and much intercourse with the Mexicans he came to the conclusion that the State of *Peonage* in Mexico, as it existed in Texas among the Mexicans before the Texan Revolution, was more profitable to the master, and more oppressive to labourers on haciendas and agricultural ranches than slavery in its worst condition in the U. S. Indeed he said that some of the old Mexicans complained to him of the injury done to them by this alteration of the law of Servitude, and wished it enforced against their peons. And while in Texas I was surprised to find that the prisoners (not white) taken at San Jacinto had not left Texas, (and all with whom I spoke declared their unwillingness to return and to be forced into the army against their will) and were to be found on plantations in every part of Texas I visited, willing enough for their clothes and victuals and for permission to marry one of the negro field wenches, (being actually scorned by the house servant maids,) to remain on the plantation in the same condition as any other slave. They were generally employed about the stables, and horses and as stock minders. This I saw with my own eyes. Some of the better class of them get employment as servants in the Hotels and steamboats. But in all cases associating with the slaves. Can we admit such *people* into our Union? They are not "*people*" embraced within the meaning of our Constitution. They are not "*free white.*" They can form no territory, and never can we consent they should constitute an equal component part of our great and free people. Can they participate in making laws for this Union? Let every man under the Palmetto Banner [28] die first.

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From Barnabas Bates [29]

New York [N. Y.,] *Feby. 22, 1845.*

Dear Sir, It gives me pleasure to inform you that a very large and respectable meeting was held in the Park this afternoon at 5

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[27] John Hemphill was born in South Carolina and edited a nullification paper in1832-33. He then moved to Texas and for many years was Chief Justice of the supreme court of that State. Ho was United States Senator, 1859-1861.

[28] South Carolina was called "The Palmetto State."

[29] Barnabas Bates was a preacher, editor of the Christian Inquirer of New York, politician, and postal reformer. During Jackson's administration he was acting postmaster of New York for some time. He became interested in cheapening letter postage, and finally succeeded in getting the rate of land postage reduced.

o'clock, and strong resolutions in favor of Texas were passed unanimously, with the exception of *one* solitary voice in the negative. Preserved Fish one of our oldest and most respectable democrats presided. The meeting was addressed by R. H. Morris our late Mayor, and Mr. Bosworth and other gentlemen[?] with great power, and the audience responded with great enthusiasm to their remarks.

It will be gratifying to you to learn that this measure is supported by the great mass of the democratic party in this region, and is growing more and more popular every day. The influence of Messrs. Van Buren Wright, etc., etc., has little or no weight with the people on this subject. Texas they say must be annexed—*now or never.*

In connection with this permit me to unite with your friends in expressing the hope that you will be induced to remain in your present important station. The best interests of the country require it, and I know that that is with you a paramount consideration. I have made no professions of friendship, but it has not been any the less sincere and devoted to you the last twenty years, and I ardently hope that you may not leave the councils of the nation at this important crisis. Your letter to Mr. King [30] has made the hypocritical British wince, because you have laid bare in that masterly and powerful production their real motives in promoting abolition. Let them look at home upon their millions of *white* slaves and relieve them from starvation and want, from ignorance and depravity before they attempt to look to this country, and when they cease to subjugate and enthral the millions of human beings in the East, they may then have some apology to whine over American slavery. Excuse this digression, I was led imperceptibly into these observations.

I will close by expressing my sincere hope that you will for the good of the country, forego your own comfort, and consent to remain in your present position.

From J. Hamilton

New Orleans [La.,] *Feby 28th, 1845.*

My Dear Sir,

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Before leaving the city with Preston, for his plantation, I have deemed it of some importance to send you the enclosed which is a most significant token.

You will perceive that it is a Proclamation of the President of Texas, revoking all Letters of Marque and Reprisal against Mexico. As there happens to be in reality not a single Letter of Marque in

[30] William R. King was Senator from Alabama, 1818–1844; at this time he was minister to France. See letter dated Dec. 13, 1844, from the State Department, written by Calhoun to King, Calhoun Correspondence, edited by Jameson, p. 631.

existence, I apprehend that this is a move at the instigation of the British govt. to propitiate Mexico and to give facility to the pending negociations between herself and that Country for an ultimate pacification. I have no doubt that it is in the Line of policy which Lord Aberdeen suggested to A[s]hbel Smith [31] it would be expedient for Texas to adopt if not the result of a direct movement of Capt. Elliott on the Texian Govt.

I enclosed Mr. Walker [32] yesterday a leader from the Register the Govt. Paper at Washington, Texas. I have no doubt the President his Cabinet and all those in possession of national offices have thus come out against annexation and in favor of the British alliance. I have no fears about the people altho disgust at the paltry and wavering conduct of the Senate is encreasing daily and if Mr. Polk does not move with great promptitude and energy that Country will be lost entirely to this. There are serious objections to the Resolutions of Annexation as they passed the H. of R. The barren and for years unproductive source out of which the public creditors of Texas are to be paid, in the face of the pledge which she has made of her Revenues by Customs in all the Bonds issued and negotiated whilst the United States steps in and appropriates all these Revenues to herself by absorbing within the vortex of her infamous Tariff all the imposts of Texas constitute well founded objections to annexation and will form an admirable handle for the officers to agitate the Country. But still I think the game is in Mr. Polk's hands if he will play it with boldness and energy.

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From A. J. Donelson

NEW ORLEANS, [LA.,] *March 24, 1845.*

MY DR. SIR, Your dispatch by Mr. Waggeman although later than you may have wished, in reaching me, on account of the circuitous course by Nashville, was in time for the earliest conveyance to Galveston since the passage of the bill. I was yesterday at Mobile to lay in supplies for my plantation, and am stil waiting for the departure of the Marmora, a steamship, that has been advertised to sail, for some days, but will not get off before morning. She furnishes the only opportunity for a conveyance until the return of the New York, which is the regular packet.

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[31] Ashbell Smith was born in Connecticut. He studied medicine at Yale and in Paris. He practiced in North Carolina and moved to Texas in 1836. He served as minister to several countries under President Houston, and as Secretary of State under President Anson Jones, 1844–1845.

[32] Robert John Walker was born in Pennsylvania in 1801 and began the practice of law in Pittsburg. He moved to Mississippi in 1826 and was a Democratic Senator from that State, 1835–1845; Secretary of the Treasury under Polk, 1845–1849; Governor of Kansas, 1857–1858.

You may rely on my best exertions to effect annexation on the terms of the House part of the Resolution: and have but little doubt of success, unless the existing Government witholds its agency in its reference to Congress or the people. Without a great change in the popular feeling since I left Texas, no personal influences can stand up against the measure as now offered by our Government.

It would have been gratifying to me to have seen this important measure closed before you left the Government, but I suppose it was not a matter to you of much moment, individually, after ascertaining that the new administration would endeavor to adjust it without altering the basis of the negotiation. The Union is under deep obligations to you for the prompt and enlightened aid you have rendered in snatching from the grasp of Great Britain a territory so essential to our peace and safety.

I would have written to you from Nashville, in reference to the cause of your misunderstanding with the Genl,[33] but that I did not feel authorised to do so. Although in the general his feelings were kind, yet, as he seemed to take an unchanged view of the circumstances in the Seminole war which led to the interuption of your personel intercourse, I did not see that any good would result from reopening the question. I have a great desire that the point of difference between you should be settled in such a manner that the friends of both may look at it hereafter, without the pain it would occasion as it now stands.

I am aware of the delicacy of the question, and of the impropriety of my touching it with an expectation of presenting it in any new light. It is one of the cases that cannot be settled by argument.

You are aware that it was at Gov B's[34] instance that I have moved as far as I have in the matter. If I have done wrong he must be responsible.

I tender you my thanks for the kindness I have received at your hands, and my best wishes for your health and happiness.

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From Duff Green

WASHINGTON [D. C.,] *26th March 1845*

MY DEAR SIR I regret not seeing you before you left here. I had much to say of the future and of the past, and especially of Texas. Jones and Houston are opposed to annexation, but a very large majority of the people are for it.

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[33] Andrew Jackson died June 8, 1845.

[34] Aaron V. Brown was a Democratic Governor of Tennessee, 1845–1847.

The resolutions of Congress propose that Texas shall surrender her public property and her customs, and retain her land and pay her debt, the federal govt. having the right to determine her boundary. If Benton's line [35] be assumed Texas will not have land to meet the head rights and bounty warrants now authorized and she will upon these terms have surrendered her customs and taken a debt which she can not pay, but by her customs—this would be disgraceful to her and to the U. States. The federal govt. assumed the debt of the old thirteen states, the debt of the Revolution because the states surrendered the customs and Texas will demand the same.

Mangum [36] tells me that the Whigs will now assume that the national faith is pledged and will vote for admission and the payment of the debt upon that ground. He says that they could have beaten Polk with any other man than Mr. Clay and that they intend to make a better choice of candidates the next time. Their ticket will, as I learn, be McLean of Ohio and Mangum for Vice Prest and I for one will go for McLean if I am compelled to choose between McLean and Wright or any Democrat of that wing of the party.

I learn that there has been a warm discussion in the Cabinet which has resulted in selecting the Globe as their organ, and Harris of the Constitution [37] told me that the President's private Secretary had asked him if he would consent to be associated with Blair in the Globe and that he had assented if he could agree on the terms—one of which was that the succession should not be agitated for three years!! The Madisonian [37] comes out and says as by authority that any one who agitates the succession before three years will incur the President's displeasure.

This may be wise, but to me it appears that if you give Blair, Benton and Wright three years to organize and pack another convention that there will be an end of the matter. Whoever the Globe nominates will be the Democratic candidate and that candidate will be defeated.

In my humble opinion the South should organize without delay. They should organize on the principle openly avowed that they would not only refuse to support any man who did not go for a repeal of the tariff and against a caucus but that they would not tolerate any man who did not. This is the crisis of the slave holding interest—to hesitate now is to be lost. You have a weighty responsibility on you. You can not escape it. Silince on the part of your friends will be attributed to a desire to wait events and to take advantage of the chances to promote your own ambitious views. And rest assured that this is not the time for inaction. Bold, decided, uncompromis-

[35] Benton opposed the annexation of Texas with boundaries as extensive as Texas claimed.

[36] Willie Person Mangum, of North Carolina, was elected as a Whig to the House of Representatives and served, 1823–1826; Senator, 1831–1836, 1840–1853; President of the Senate *pro tempore*, 1842–1845.

[37] Published in Washington, D. C.

ing support of your measures and an unsparing war on your enemies is your true policy, whether you look to yourself or the country. For myself I do not believe there is either public or private virtue in the South to meet the crisis. Mr. McDuffie betrayed the South when he quailed before Benton in the Senate.[38] If the South makes an effort, however feeble it may be I am with her, but I fear the slave holding race has become so degenerate that they have surrendered their birth right for less than a mess of pottage. Do not flatter yourself that you can retire and escape censure, unless your friends make a vigorous and uncompromising rally against the tariff and against the caucus. I will remain here some weeks and will be glad to hear from you.

From Elwood Fisher [39]

LOUISVILLE [KY.,] *4 Mo. 1845.*

ESTEEMED FRIEND

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Donelson I saw on his return from the Balt. Convention—of whose inner currents he gave me some account. He said the Tennesee delegation voted at first for Cass—himself among them—he voting as well as two or three others, with the rest for Cass on an understanding that these should vote with him and his friends if another more available man should be designated by them. He told me that some time before leaving home he was impressed with the idea that Genl Jacksons course on Texas would displace Van Buren. Can it be that the General and he had actually selected Polk. For he told me that although Polk was nominated in the Convention by Hubbard it was after a consultation with himself and some others. Walker the Presidents Brother in law spoke to me in terms quite disparaging of the present standing in Washington of the Van Buren clique. And I was informed in coming home by General Maclin of Arkansas, formerly connected with Polk in the State Government of Tennesee and evidently yet a confidential friend that Benton and Polk had no intercourse for Polk considered and even knew that Benton had been hostile to him.

I have conversed freely with many persons since my return home, on the course of the administration, and have found few very few much pleased with it. The West is discontented at her exclusion from the Cabinet. And the young men of talent do not recognize enough ability in the government to regard it with pride, and support it with zeal.

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[38] See Benton's Thirty Years' View, Vol. II, Ch. CXL.

[39] Elwood Fisher was the author of a "Lecture on the North and the South," published in 1849.

From William Gregg [40]

CHARLESTON [S. C.,] *April 1845*

DEAR SIR: Your esteemed favor of 27th ulto came to hand in due course of mail. Your remarks about the protective system are correct, and I concur with you fully. But I cannot think for a moment, that the introduction of the Kind of Cotton Manufactures which it will be our interest to adhere rigidly to, can by any possibility cause those engageing in such pursuits to change in the slightest degree their politics. It will be decidedly our interest to stick to the coarser fabrics, in which the raw material gives us a great advantage. And while we can make cloth as I am now doing, at a cost for the labour of all employed including the keeping our machinery in order, of 3 cts per lb. a sum not equal to the cost of carrying the cotton from Aiken to Liverpool. What interest can we have to seduce us over to the protective System? Many of the coarse spinners at the North are opposed to it in all its forms, and I believe all would be, were it not that they live in an atmosphere peculiar to its growth, surrounded by so many persons, and interests which live by its bounty. They are not so short sighted as not to perceive that every increase of the Tariff, produces a rise in wages and brings new capital into the business without creating additional outlets; yet they are either silenced, or carried along with the crowds around them.

I cannot immagine any interest which may spring up among us with the change I propose, unless it be the manufacture of Iron, the proprietors of which might be induced to abandon their allegiance to Southern principles by joining in the glamour for protection.

I will not say more on this subject but refer you to an article No. 1 which will appear in the Charleston Courier in answer to letter from Wm. F. Davie Esq recently published.

I think you have fallen into error in two particulars, and as I feel well assured that you, like all other great men, follow the rule of gathering knowledge wherever you may meet it, however humble the Source, I will therefore endeavor to put you right in these two particulars. In the first place, you state, that the old Atlantic States engaged in the culture of Cotton Rice and Tobaco now manufacture all the coarse cotton fabrics necessary for their consumtion. This is an error, and it is possible my pamphlet [41] may have led you into it. I should have been more explicit in stating distinctly what I meant. I alluded to osnaburgs, which article constitutes but a small portion of the coarse fabrics which it would be our interest to make, the range of which covers all the brown goods sold in this market, as well as

[40] William Gregg, of Charleston and Graniteville, S. C., was much interested in developing cotton manufacturing in the South. He wrote articles for the papers and pamphlets on the subject.

[41] Essays on Domestic Industry; or, An Enquiry into the Expediency of Establishing Cotton Manufactories in South Carolina, by William Gregg, written in Charleston, January, 1845.

those from which all the bleached and printed cloths are made of a fineness not exceeding 55 threads to the inch. To give you an idea of the consumption of such goods in this State and Georgia, I will give the amount of sales of this species of goods in one year by a single House in Charleston, and leave you to draw conclusions as to the quantity which may be brought into these two States, through other merchants of this City, Augusta, Columbia and other smaller towns whose merchants trade directly with the Northern and Eastern Cities. The sales of the house alluded to amounted to 4033 packages making 3,379,727 yards of cloth which would give employment to double the number of spindles or twice the capacity of all the Mills now in Georgia and South Carolina (See note on 7th page) this added to the immense quantity of linseys which we will supply ourselves with so soon as our planters can supply Southern Wool in sufficient quantities will require a large additional force and gives a new feature to the case. Taking this view of the subject you will perceive throws our present manufacturing establishments altogether into the shade. This house it is true is engaged largely in this particular trade but notwithstanding it furnishes but a limited portion of all the goods consumed.

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From Lewis S. Coryell

WASHINGTON [D. C.,] *6th April 1845*

MY DEAR SIR It seems dreary here without you. I came at the especial instance of my friend Heiss [42] who I have for a long time been encouraging to establish an organ for the govt., and [thanks] to his indomitable perseverance and desirable object will be effected. When the attempt failed to procure Donnoldson,[43] the Globe was *almost* selected, but Heiss was indefatigable and I obligated to supply the means to either establish a new press or buy out the Madisonian and Constitution, which made him more firm, and Polk at last selected old Tom Ri[t]chie, and Heiss paid him a visit and after much pursuasion he came up here, had an interview with the Prest., and agreed, etc. The Prest. then sent for Blair and told him that he had been elected upon issues that forbid that the Globe cd be the organ, etc., etc. After much talk, reflection and *feeling*, Blair yesterday agreed to sell his types and fixtures at a price to be agreed upon by a man chosen by each party and they to fix on a third man in case of disagreement, and on Tuesday they commenced the inventory. So now, you see, what I began long ago is about to be realized—we have gained a great

[42] Blair agreed to sell the Globe and Simon Cameron provided the wherewithal. John P. Heiss, of Tennessee, was engaged as business manager to run the new establishment. The new party organ was called the "Union." See Ambler's Thomas Ritchie, pp. 252, 253.

[43] A. J. Donelson.

point in dismissing Blair and Rives, but I am far from being satisfied with Ri[t]chie, and the Prest. holds open a place in the concern for Donnoldson. Selden, Tr[easurer] advanced Ri[t]chie $13,000. I procured all Heiss needs. My opinion is that the Constitution will have to be purchased or they will divide the Congress printing.

Genl. Cameron,[44] our new Senator is with *us* and he will influence Buchanan instead of vice versa. The reason Cameron was elected was Woodward had the caucus machinery in his favor, was a devoted Bentonian, and in convention proposed 21 years probation and never to hold office in Penna., by a foreigner; so you see he was heavy on their necks and they let the election of Cameron take place as the only way to get rid of Woolward. Cameron will be perfectly orthodox in all his votes, except the Tariff, nor will he be very obstinate on that point.

Polk has a timid cabinet, and we have carried this project in the absence of Buck[45] and Bancroft[46] who are away.

I mean to have a full talk with Polk and as I want no office I will speak the plain language to him.

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From James Buchanan

WASHINGTON [D. C.], *9 April 1845*

MY DEAR SIR I have just returned to this city after a brief absence in Lancaster.

The President does not intend to remove Mr. Wise, and he authorized me to say so to you. He yesterday offered the mission to England to Mr. Elmore. I hope that gentleman may accept it; though I still deeply regret that you did not consent to go to London yourself.

We have received no despatches either from Mexico or Texas since you left. Messrs. Ritchie, Donelson, and Heiss will take the Globe and publish the official paper (as I suppose).

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From F. H. Elmore

CHARLESTON [S. C.,] *April 16, 1845.*

MY DEAR SIR:

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I received a few days ago a *private* letter from Mr. Polk tendering me the mission to England. The manner this has been done is highly

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[44] Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, was a Democratic Senator, 1845–1849; he later left the Democratic Party and became Secretary of War under Lincoln, 1861–62.

[45] James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of State under Polk.

[46] George Bancroft, of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Navy under Polk.

gratifying to my feelings, but I have felt constrained to decline it—for many reasons. The time to prepare for sailing is indicated as in May—much too short for me. The position for 4 years would ruin me. *No special duty* or service was indicated and I therefore infer that no special service is to be intrusted to the Minister. If a Commercial treaty is to be considered, I presume Mr. Buchanan will either take it to himself or direct it according to the Pennsylvania views and these would not suit me. But apart and beside all these considerations, my affairs would not allow of an absence so early nor beyond a year and as I could not make terms nor suggest them even I have today explained my reasons and declined acceptance.

From D. H. Lewis

CHARLESTON [S. C.,] *May 9th 1845*

MY DEAR SIR, I have kept your letter till this time to give you an account of the conference with your friends. R. B. Rhett James Rhett Boyce Gourdin [48] and Hamilton met at Elmore's last night. We discussed the course proper to be pursued in reference to placing you in the best position for 48. It was thought your friends should pursue as long as possible a conciliatory course towards the administration, at the same time they should cause ground at once to be taken by all the presses in your interest, against any future National Convention as an organization which put the Party in the hands of the office holders and seekers, and to urge this in the abstract without any reference to your interest. All concurred in the opinion you should travel North this summer, and I think two of the Company would like to accompany you, and that you should go as a private Citizen, and make no developements by speeches or otherwise.

I think the opinion was that you were doing well in your present position and that it would not be well to abandon a position in which you commanded so much of the sympathy of the Party, while at the same time you were not only exempt from the responsibility of any failure on the part of Polk and his administration, but for every such failure the public would give you the credit of saying and believing that if you were in his Cabinet, it might by your prudence have been averted.

Still if Pickens declines the mission to England, Polk may appeal to you in a way you can scarcely refuse the acceptance. He may offer you *plenary powers* and put it on the ground that you are called in reference to an exigency in our foreign affairs, which you cannot decline. Again if the Whig Party should bear down our forces in the Senate by their superior ability, the public voice may *require* you

[48] Henry Gourdin was a prominent supporter of Calhoun in Charleston, S. C. He was a member of the State legislature for several years.

to come to that Body. These are contingent results which may possibly *constrain* you to leave your retirement, but as long as you can well avoid, I think your best position for the *present*, is to remain in private life. So far, instead of retirement withdrawing you from the public interest and sympathy, I am persuaded that it has increased it.

Excuse these suggestions as the conclusions of my own mind aided by the suggestions of your other friends. I give them to you, as I give all my suggestions on affairs concerning yourself only for what you may think them worth, deferring always to your better judgement.

I hope however you will not decline the visit to the North this summer. In that I think I and all your other friends cannot be mistaken. Write me in reply to Loundesboro Alabama.

P S Elmore suggested that if Polk offers you the mission with such instructions as you may think proper and *then pledges* himself with the *whole weight of the Administration* to sustain a Treaty of the Oregon Question which you may make, and then gives you power to negotiate a Commercial Treaty, it will be exceedingly difficult for you to decline and to stand justified. In this opinion your other friends concurred, though for my part I had rather see the cross pass by you, as I know the difficulties of the question.

From A. J. Donelson

New Orleans [La.,] *May 13th, 1845.*

Dr Sir, I addressed a letter to you from Washington in Texas, in relation to the progress of the annexation question, but find since my arrival here, that the vessel to which it and my dispatches were entrusted has not reached this port.

When that letter was written I was fearful that Genl Houston would throw impediments in the way; and being in a correspondence with him, in which it became important for me to show that he had given his assent to the feature of the joint resolution which leaves with Texas her public lands, I referred to the statement of the fact in a confidential letter to you; and I take the liberty therefore of calling your attention to the subject, and requesting you to preserve that letter if it had been received.

Since then however, Genl Houston has brought the correspondence referred to, to a close, and has declared that he will make no opposition to the proposals for the annexation of Texas. The great question then may be said to be settled, for without Genl Houston's aid the opposition to it becomes at once too small to command any respect or consideration.

The Congress of Texas will meet on the 16th of June, and will accept the proposals from the United States without a dissenting

voice. In the convention to be afterwards assembled to form the new Constitution there will be equal unanimity on this subject; but as in that convention there will be a representation of local interests which have heretofore been almost irreconcilable, it may be expected that some delay will mark the proceedings.

Of the result however, no doubt can be entertained. The powerful voice of the people cannot be disregarded, and I predict that the convention will ratify our proposals without the cross of a t, or the dot of an i, in the way of change.

Congratulating you on the prospect [of] finishing so brilliantly a work of so much importance to our country, and to which you have contributed so much of your time and labor, I beg you to accept assurances of my great respect and esteem.

From Lewis S. Coryell

WASHINGTON [D. C.], *27th May 45*

DR SIR You are always right. You saw signs early, that I only now begin to discover.

I have the riddle solved, and now lament my stupidity. I give you in confidence the secret. Polk only aspired to be Vice, and was content with Van for Prest., who he supposed would get the national nomination, and therefore courted the leading Vans by way of propitiating himself with them for Vice,—hence the appointment of Henry Horne of Penna., Butler of N. York, Bancroft of Massa., who had his letters to rise up worse than Banquo's ghost, and instead of an independent man we have elected a Prest. bound hand and foot to the Van's. And unless we proffit by their abuse of power we are again in bad way.

In New York all are of the Magician stripe; in Phila., not one of Dallas men has been aptd., and only 2 of Buck's; in fact nobody is pleased but the base incumbents.

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From Duff Green

WASHINGTON [D. C.,] *1st June 1845*

DEAR SIR

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I have been to Albany. The Regency are at War. A portion of the party have united with the Whigs in favor of a bill for calling a convention to reform the Constitution for the avowed purpose of taking from the Executive the appointments which now constitute the political capital of the Regency. Van Buren and the leaders

fought hard but being defeated are now disposed to come in and if possible get a majority in convention and thus retain power. Wright and Flagg [49] are very much dissatisfied with the administration here and threaten open opposition. Blair is very much dissatisfied and has operated on Jackson so as to induce him to write letters very offensive to Mr. Polk, copies of which have been circulated in Albany and New York. As if to put an end to Van Buren's influence letters going as far back as 1824, between the leading partners to the old Albany Regency and including Ritchie, Van Buren, Jessee Hoyt,[50] Cambreleng, Webb, Benrette[?], Duane,[51] Coddington, Marcy [52] and many others, showing their operations in stocks and betting on elections and the combinations and intrigues for office and the manner of obtaining the control of Jackson and managing elections and the establishment of presses, have been discovered in the Custom House of New York [53] and the originals were secured, and copies multiplied so as to prevent any arrangement for the suppression of the originals. Some of the copies have been exhibited to the President and he now understands that he has everything to fear and nothing to hope by identifying himself further with that clique.

I startled Ritchie by telling him the fact but refused to give him any of the particulars. He declared that he was your friend and that your friends in Virginia knew it and had confidence in him as such. He said that neither he or Mr. Polk would know any difference in Democrats. I told him that the profession was good but the practise bad—that so far almost all the appointments were given to partisans of Van Buren, and that not content with this anti Van Buren democrats were removed to make place for those who were of the true faith, that for one I held him and those who had Mr. Polk's ear responsible and that I intended to judge them and the administration by its acts, and not by its profession. He received it well, because I took care that while the declarations were decided the manner should be unexceptionable.

I know that your friends think that you should retire. There is a growing disposition in those about the President to involve the country in war with England. I differ with your other friends. If you do not go to England, I think you should come to the Senate. Parties

[49] Azariah Cutting Flagg was a politician and editor of New York. He was secretary of state of New York, 1826–1833; comptroller of the state, 1834–1839, 1842–1846. He was one of the leaders of the Democratic Party in the State and hore the reputation of bcing one of its ahlest financiers.

[50] William L. McKenzie puhlished The Lives and Opinions of Benj'n Franklin Butler and Jesse Hoyt in 1845, and The Life and Timcs of Martin Van Buren in 1846. Hoyt was removed from the office of collector of the port of New York hy Van Buren.

[51] William J. Duane, Secretary of the Treasury under Jackson, caused Jackson some difficulty over the removal of the deposits from the United States Bank.

[52] William L. Marcy was a prominent Democratic leader of New York; Senator, 1831–1832; Governor, 1833–1839; Secretary of War, 1845–1849; Secretary of State, 1853–1857.

[53] See Autohiography of Martin Van Buren, edited by J. C. Fitzpatrick, American Historical Association Report for 1918, Vol. II, p. 538.

will organize this winter and if you are not here the tendency on the part of your friends will be [to] rally on Judge McLean. I prefer him to any probable candidate after yourself and I have spoken to many of your friends who are of opinion that if he is to be a candidate it is better that he shall be brought out and elected by the conservative portion of the democratic party, which is now strong enough to control the elections and is therefore responsible for the future course of the Government. I give you facts to enable you to decide for yourself. If you do not decide soon your friends will move in the other direction.

From J. S. Barbour

CATALPA [VA.,] *June 26th 1845*

MY DEAR SIR, I returned from Fauquier yesterday whither I had gone for a few days since and immediately after the receipt of your favour of the 7th instant.

The present aspect of our federal affairs bodes but little good to the cause of the country and the constitution. I believe the intentions of the President are pure, full as much so, as could be expected. Yet he cannot master the difficulties that *enfilade* his position, and strip him of all energy and volition. He is dependent on others, *than those of sound principles*, to maintain his administration. *He must yield to those upon whom he leans.* I do not see what strong man there is in our favour in either branch of Congress. To stand with folded arms and yield the battlement to the enemy, in the frail hope of a redeeming energy in the virtue of the people; is neither the duty nor the policy of patriotism. In the Senate the administration has to stand the brunt of a powerful combination of talent and celebrity. It is *there* that the fate of the country is to be settled. It *must* be rescued *there if rescued at all.*

The leading champions of Democracy, are anything but champions for the true principles of our system. In all times that are past, those champions have never been so true to themselves as when most false to us. Who can confide in Benton, or Allen [54] of Ohio and men like these? McDuffie is powerless if he ever returns to the Senate. Virginia will give you nothing in the place of Rives that will not sit a stigma upon her former name. Whoever fights the battles of Democracy in that Senate, will be rewarded with the confidence of the party throughout the country. His true principles and purposes will be masked, and public sympathy will endue him with all the attributes of an admirable patriot, and yield him its rewards. These will be fatal to all that is near to the South. For those rewards will be conferred with reference to no other consideration, than those belonging to the conflict

[54] William Allen, a Democrat of Ohio, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1833–1835; Senator 1837–1849; governor, 1874–1876, but was defeated for reelection by Rutherford B. Hayes.

in which Benton, and men like Benton, will provoke and fight out on some false issue, with the Websters and Claytons [55] of the Senate. The administration will follow the drift of the popular sympathies, and yield its confidence and favour to such men as I have indicated. How is this to be prevented? In my opinion by your coming to the Senate leading your own forces and seizing the master's position, which is now vacant, but which some man must and will take *if you do not*. You have friends enough,—devoted enough,—but none of them can lead. You remarked to me in March last that you could not be in the Senate "without drawing the enemy's fire." That you will do in or out of Congress, when you are strong enough to provoke their anger and invite their assaults. In the Senate you will be the head of the party. Your vast moral power gives you great advantage. The country will prefer you as her leader, as the head and champion of her cause. Your triumphs will call to your aid that passion of the multitude which follows victory, or that sympathy which attends defeat, in a glorious cause if you are overthrown by selfish and unworthy combinations. Your retirement is ruin and annihilation to us. In the whole South we have not a man who has the elements for a commander, neither in Congress nor out. Nor is there any time to be lost. If the fact is announced tomorrow, that you will return to the Senate, the whole virtue and patriotism of the country will feel its elastic energy springing up from despondency to hope.

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From S. Penn

St Louis [Mo.,] *June 26 1845*

Dear Sir, I visited Washington last month, and remained there four weeks. During my stay in the city I received assurances from the President that he would pause in the appointment of Bentonians to office in St Louis and the State of Missouri, and that the advertising patronage of the Department would be immediately given to the Missouri Reporter. The first of these assurances was violated by the appointment of two Bentonians to office in St Louis, some twelve or fourteen days after I left Washington, and I suppose the other will also be violated.

Whilst at Washington I became convinced that R. J. Walker is "the power behind the throne," and I think the following facts will lead you to the same conclusion:—The Globe, in the last month of its existence openly praised Mr. Walker, and stated that he consulted its editor as to all his movements in reference to annexation, etc. Gov. Cass had failed to influence appointments in his own State, and

[55] John Middleton Clayton was Senator from Delaware, 1829–1836, 1845–1849, 1853–1856; Secretary of State under Taylor, 1849–50. Thomas Clayton was Senator from Delaware, 1824–1827, 1837–1847.

his friends were, in effect, excluded from office. In Maine only one Texas man has received office: in Ohio all the appointees were anti-Texas men, except one; in New Hampshire, none but the enemies of Mr. Woodbury were deemed worthy of office; in Connecticut none but anti-annexationists received appointments; in Pennsylvania Mr. Buchanan's enemies had received most of the important offices, and he was complaining that he had no influence, even in reference to appointments in his own State. It was also currently reported that he would go out of the Cabinet and be placed on the bench of the Supreme Court; and from the conversations of Pennsylvanians, I learned that the Dallas and Buchanan factions, were waging a war of extermination against each other in the Keystone State, in reference to which I had no reason to suppose Mr. Walker felt like a neutral. In New York the appointments had been given almost exclusively to Hunkers, and the Plebeian, the only paper that boldly advocated annexation, had been repudiated, and ceased to exist. You know, Sir, how the South has been treated. In Missousi the appointments would indicate a determination to endorse and sustain the conduct of Col. Benton, as only two petty offices have been given to annexationists. The game is, to undermine all the prominent men of the party; and the aim of Walker is to administer on the political estates of Benton and Van Buren, force Buchanan out of the Cabinet, get his place, make a few flourishes in it, and thus secure the succession. The President has thus been made to trample on his friends and confer offices on his foes, and violate the most solemn assurances and pledges. Of course, no confidence can be reposed in an Administration thus controlled. Walker carries with him Cave Johnson [56] and Bancroft, and the trio bear sway.

What is to be done? Will not the annexation Democrats find it necessary to combine in their own defence, and, if possible, sustain an organ at Washington by giving it the printing of the House or Senate? If they do not, they will be trampled in the dust, and the restoration of Hunkerism will be fully consummated. It is idle to suppose any change will take place in the policy of the Administration without a previous change in the Cabinet. I believe we shall annex Texas in spite of the *dodgers* and *balkers* who are receiving all the offices of Government, or nearly all. On the Oregon question timid action may be expected; indeed, the Union [57] has intimated that a compromise is desirable, and that disposition was manifested by others in Washington. On the Tariff, the course of Mr. Polk will be judicious, if he knows how to make it so; and that question cannot be settled without an understanding between the North and South, and an approxima-

[56] Cave Johnson, a Democrat of Tennessee, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1829–1837, 1839–1845; Postmaster General, 1845–1849; was elected Senator during the Civil War but declined to serve.

[57] The Washington Union in Polk's administration took the place of the Globe as the administration organ. Thomas Ritchie was the editor.

tion on the part of those sections of the Union. Cannot something like McKay's [58] bill be agreed on and carried through Congress? We must look to men unconnected with the Administration to carry such measures as are demandcd by the interests and honor of the country, and I therefore trust you will return again to the Senate, where you can aid in giving a proper direction to legislation and the main body of the Democratic party, against whom the patronage of the Administration is now wielded. Annexationists, in most of the States, are as effcctually excluded from office, as if they were Whigs. With somc difficulty I shall be able to sustain myself against Col. Benton and the influence of the Administration.

P. S. I think Mr. Buchanan will be forced out of the Cabinet; and an effort may be made to prevail on Cass to take the place. Should a fair or reasonable tariff be proposed Benton will assail it. He is courting the manufacturers and Abolitionists of the North.

From W. A. Harris [59]

WASHINGTON [D. C.,] *4. Aug. 1845.*

MY DEAR SIR: I tender you many thanks for your kind letter of the 19 July. It happened, singular enough, that on the same day that I received it, the President had sent for me, through Mr. Buchanan, to inform me of his kind intentions. He told me that it had been his purpose from the moment of his coming into office, to confer upon me some appointment worthy of my qualifications, as he was pleased to term it, and such as my friends would approve. That he had determined in his own mind to give me the mission to Buenos Ayres, and shd. have offered it to me immediately, but that Mr. Wise had written some months ago that Mr. Brent, the present chargé to that government, was dying of consumption, and that he had been withholding the appointment, till he should hear further concerning Mr. Brent's health. He had determined, however, to make the appointment now and that upon mentioning it to his Cabinet, they had, with the warmest expressions of kindness towards me, unanimously sanctioned it. He said that it was necessary, however, to withhold the Commission a couple of weeks, for reasons that he was not at liberty to explain. He inquired when I had heard from you etc., in the kindest manner. As he lead the way into political topics and indorsed with his entire approval the course which the Constitution had pursued, I took occasion to express myself very freely. And, I told him plainly, that unless he placed

[58] See letters above by Rhett, Feb. 21, 1844, and McDuffie, Mar. 10, 1844, on McKay's tariff bill.

[59] William Alexander Harris was a Democratic Member of the House of Representatives from Virginia 1841–1843; editor of the Spectator and the Constitution in Washington, D. C.; chargé d'affaires to the Argentine Republic, 1846–1851; editor of the Washington Union and printer to the United States Senate, 1857–1859.

himself upon the measures and principles advanced by the Baltimore Convention, that he would not and could not be sustained by the Country. He declared, in the most emphatic manner, that it was his most firm and settled purpose to carry out to the fullest extent, every measure and principle therein indicated; and, that, as he was inflexibly determined not to be a candidate for re-election, that his highest ambition, was so to administer the affairs of the government, as to enable the democratic party to elect to the presidential office, such candidate as they might choose. I told him very plainly that he had been suspected of leaning too much to the influence and purposes of the politicians of New York and Pennsylvania, and that unless he placed himself upon the true doctrines of the South and West, he wd. find himself in a minority before the middle of next December. He affirmed that he relied upon the South and the West for support, and that they would find him leading the way in the great measures for which they are contending. A great deal to the same purport was said, which it is of no importance to repeat. A wonderful change has come over the policy of the Administration, depend upon it. What has wrought this sudden change, I think it were not very difficult to imagine. The signs had begun to be alarming. The President admitted that New York had given him more trouble since he had been in office than all the rest of the Union put together, and yet was not satisfied.

Immediately after this conversation, I met with Mr. Buchanan, then with Mr. Walker, and then with Judge Mason.[60] I talked very freely with them, even more so than with the President, and I soon found that they had become alarmed, and they all made the same patriotic professions which had just been announced by the President. Judge Mason, who is an exceedingly pure minded and honorable man, is greatly attached and devoted to you. He told me that he took no active part in Cabinet matters, that the President treated him as a confidential friend, and that he preferred to occupy that position. Well, upon coming home from this scene of exciting argumentation, I found your letter upon my table. It may be now, that its invaluable suggestions may no longer be applicable, since Mr. Polk seems determined to place himself on Southern ground. He has made Mr. Ritchie announce his purposes in regard to the sub-treasury and, in a previous article, *which was written at the White House*, headed "the Administration—its prospects etc"—he had more clearly defined his position and announced his purposes.

But the subject at present most deeply interesting to your friends, is the propriety of your coming to the Senate again. Upon the

[60] John Young Mason was a State and Federal judge in Virginia; Member of the House of Representatives, 1831–1837; Secretary of the Navy, 1844–45, 1846–1849; Attorney General, 1845–46; minister to France, 1854–1859.

most mature reflection, I have not changed my opinion as to the policy of your remaining at Fort Hill, till the people move in the matter. But I confess that many weighty and strong reasons are urged on the other side. It is insisted that the Whigs have never been so strong on the score of talents, in the Senate, whilst the only man that can pretend to cope with them, and upon whom we can depend is Mr. Woodbury. Col. Benton and Allen will go against the Administration and against the South, as far as they can do so. It is insisted therefore, that were you in the Senate to sustain the principles and defend the measures of the democratic party, it would so enlist the sympathies of the people, by drawing their attention upon yourself, as to make you stronger than ever. I am willing to say that this is the opinion of a majority of your friends, so far as I have seen and conversed with them. But I know that it will be the policy of Benton and Co. to level their shafts at you on all occasions, and if possible to obstruct the increasing current of public feeling in your favor. Hunter, Seddon, Bedinger,[61] William Smith, and Levy [62] of Florida, all seem to think that you ought to come to the Senate, yet admit the force of the reasons which I urge against it. It is indeed, difficult to say, what is best. Perhaps after all, your duty to your country and your party, will be best for yourself.

From James Buchanan

WASHINGTON [D. C.,] *22 August 1845*

MY DEAR SIR, A short absence at the Bedford Springs has prevented me from returning you an immediate answer to yours of 24 ultimo. It was mislaid and did not come to my notice until the day before yesterday. The enclosed statement contains the information which you requested.

Nearly all our information from Mexico would indicate war; and yet I doubt whether this will be the result.

I have been prosecuting the Oregon negotiation in pursuance of the plan on which you had progressed; but I doubt whether the question will at this time or ever be settled by the parties. I am exceedingly desirous that it should.

This office is one of hard labor and great responsibility. I never had any fancy for it and now less than ever.

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[61] Henry Bedinger, a Democrat of Virginia, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1845–1849; minister to Denmark, 1854–1858.

[62] David Levy (Yulee) was a Democratic Member of the House of Representatives from Florida, 1841–1845; Senator, 1845–1851, 1855–1861. By act of the Florida Legislature and at his request his name was changed from David Levy to David Levy Yulee, and the Senate on Jan. 12, 1846, ordered the name changed upon its rolls and journals accordingly.

From R. Beale [63]

BALTIMORE [MD.,] *Augt 31, 1845.*

MY DEAR SIR,

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Polk is rather going down—the Benton anty Tiler democrats wants to know how Polk can reconcile to himself the keeping of Mason in as one of his cabinet and turn out a thousand little petty officers who Tyler appointed.

All the disappointed Democrats are turning anty proscriptionists and those who have attained office have joined in with them, and the whigs are roaring against it like all the world, so that so far as proscription goes it is almost without an advocate. Very many of the whigs are for you upon the ground that you are opposed to proscription, all the Tyler men are for you, and the disappointed and to be disappointed Polk men are for you—this last convention has made the Politicians and the people sick of conventions, and I think in future the people will take the offices into their own hands, and if they do the young Democracy look to the south. New York is growing stronger for us every day, and very strong feelings are getting up in this city and in the lower counties of this state both with the young whigs and Democrats, in our favour—they say that Mr. Clay is no more and that they have no other chance to have any influence in the administration of the government than by aiding in the election of some distinguished man of the democratic party who scorns party trammels and the traterous buisness of selling the public offices to purchase his elevation to the presidency. I do not write you often but I do not see a news paper that your name is not associated with it in my mind—let all your friends who love their country and wish its future prosperity do but half the little that I do and have half the zeal and they will do much and not faint by the way side—we can and we must ultimately succeede—ruin is too palpable if something is not done.

From Thomas G. Clemson

TERVEUREN [BELGIUM] *September, 1845.*

MY DEAR SIR,

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I am very much obliged to you for your observations about my planting interest in Carolina. My plantation is the most valuable I know in the State. Its healthfulness, its position in the district, the beautiful manner in which it lies, and happy constitution of its soil, which for fertility, endurance, and recuperative energy is not

[63] See letter dated Sept. 20, 1845, p. 305.

surpassed, whilst its facilities for manuring, are only equaled by the kindness with which it receives, responds to, and retains it. Besides the nature of the soil, and its position, are such that when the crops in the neighborhood are destroyed by drought those on the Cane Brake are unscathed. It is truly a place possessing a rare combination of advantages, and if it were stocked as it should be, it would be unrivalled. There is a very extensive range in the neighborhood, which would sustain a large stock of cattle, etc., which would so manure those beautiful fields, as to carry their production as high as any land in the United States. If my place had equal force to what you have put upon your place in Alabama, my place would give a greater interest (considering the cost) than yours. I have not been able to carry into execution what I anticipated doing when I purchased the place. My force and stock are in no wise sufficient to cope with the difficulties, and as it is there is too much dead capital in the land for me to carry. The price of negroes has changed, so that on the whole I did well to come here, and would do badly if I relinquished this place at present, without I could get some position in the United States that would give me support, when I should return with pleasure.

When the next instalment on the place shall have been paid, I will have expended near about $24,000 including negroes, and everything as it stands, and to put it in a condition to be agreable or profitable, it would require every cent I have in the world, and more besides. As it is I should be governed by my plantation, instead of my governing it, and this is the rock upon which hundreds of thousands have been wrecked in the United States, and as many more will be swamped from a like cause, which I am desirous to avoid if possible. From what you say, there appears to be a probability of my being able to sell the plantation without loss; it cannot go on satisfactorily without my presence, which under the circumstances I cannot give. If my property were securely invested, I should have the interest, and my living out of this position in Belgium. I have therefore concluded to sell the plantation, stock, and implements, and if I can, retain the negroes, at least for some time. They are good, were selected out of many, and according to the size of the gang I doubt if a superior one could be found anywhere; so that if I can avoid the necessity of selling them, I should much prefer it. By selling the plantation, safely investing the proceeds, and receiving regularly the interest thereon, together with the money in your hands, it would give a sum of not far from $25,000 bearing interest, and if I return to the United States, I should like the option of having my negroes, in case I should desire to purchase a home in the South. I have now been living in S. Carolina some years, and if I were to go to another state I should be loosing palpable advantages.

I shall explain my views at large, and you will judge of the practicablity of the plan. If I shall have proposed either in part or entirely that which is not feasible, you may yourself have some ideas that will be equally agreable to me. If the negroes can be retained, I do not wish them to leave the State, or to be hired where they would be badly treated or their lives jeopardised in an unhealthy position. The gang consists of 37 in all. Of these 24 are working and 13 children.

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From R. Beale

WASHINGTON [D. C.,] *Septr. 20, 1845*

MY DEAR SIR I have at length obtained the prices of the most approved machines for which you wrote to me—they are all used by our Maryland planters and farmers and they are entirely satisfied with them. In addition I have engaged a man by the name of F. Grieb a german who has put up the horse power and threshing machine for all the rich planters in the vicinity of this District and they all speak highly of them—he has agreed to come out with your machines for nothing but his travelling expenses and to put them up for nothing. I have no doubt that he will be enabled as he takes the machines with him to make a bargain for his passage and the transportation of the machines for what it would cost you to get the machines to Charleston.

The corn crusher will be	35 dolls
Straw cutter " "	30 dolls
The thresher with the horse power	140 dolls
Making in all	205 dolls

This I consider cheap. He has also a corn sheller which when applied to the horse power will shell double if not thribble what the common sheller does by hand. He says he will fix the horse power to work all these machines at once or separately as you may need them.

The saw I can not select until I could ascertain what kind of water you can get. Mr Grieb says when he sees your stream he will be able to decide at once whether a circular or an up and down saw will suit you best—the circular saw requires considerable power say 4 horses at least. I could not obtain drawings of the machines but they are simple and if per chance they should get out of order they are easily put in order.

I should like to hear from you as soon as possible and if you think proper I will send Mr Grieb out. He is anxious to put yours up in complete order so that he may be able to sell the power and threshing

machine of which he is the proprietor. So much for the machines. I have one of the straw cutters and it is the best I have seen—it will cut by hand 500 bundles per day easy.

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From F. W. Pickens

EDGEWOOD [S. C.,] *29 Sept 1845*

MY DEAR SIR

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I cannot entirely agree with you as to the Oregon question and its tendencies. I think the President was imprudent or undiplomatic in the language he used in his inaugural as to it, but he was bound in honor to allude to it as it formed a great point in the canvass that elected him. He ought not to have used such ultra language nor ought he to have proclaimed that we were going on to consumate our *title by settlement*. But as to our title, according to all the laws and usages of nations from discovery, settlement, proximity, purchase, etc., I hold it to be clear and beyond dispute, and England has not a particle of title. I believe she desires to avoid a war with us at present, because she is no more prepared for a rupture than we are. She looks forward to a state of things that must be presented upon the death of Louis Phillippe and the struggle that may take place to establish his dynasty and thus preserve the peace of Europe. In this she has a deep stake and desires to husband all her resources to meet that event. Therefore she desires to avoid a rupture with us now as a conflict might give us the control of the commerce and wealth of the world, particularly if a convulsion should take place at the same time in France and thereby bring a war on in Europe. But as to her deep and embittered hostility, engendered by the history of the past, by the rivalship of our institutions, commerce and power, I entertain not a shadow of doubt. And I have no idea but that there must be a rupture sooner or later. Our policy is to avoid it as we are growing in all the elements of power more rapidly than she is. I hope and believe war may be avoided for a long time to come because it is obviously the interest of both countries to avoid it at present. But I confess I cannot bear to see her arogantly claim what she has no right to, simply because she knows it gives her the control over the Pacific, and under an idea that the point is too distant to be defended by our arms. And this is the true cause of the almost universal feeling of the country in favor of Oregon, not that much is felt for Oregon itself at present as a teritory but because England assumes a right to it simply because she has the force and because the point is a strong one in the adjustment of power over the Pacific.

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George W. Houk

DAYTON [OHIO,] *Oct 29th 1845*

DEAR SIR

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There yet remains a difficult question to dispose of. I refer to the Oregon controversy. I do not doubt, myself, that this will eventually lead to a rupture with Great Britain. The West has so far committed itself in relation to 54th degree, that it would be very clamorous were anything less adopted, as a compromise. The President has committed himself too in language the import of which is easily understood. The tone of the English Journals has been even more violent than our own. In short the controversy has arrived at a crisis from which I think the art of diplomacy will fail to rescue it. * * * In view of the spirit which prevails among the American people, the love of enterprise and adventure which characterizes especially the citizens of this portion of our Union, and in view too of the policy which the British government has for years been so steadily pursuing towards this country, I think the Oregon question is fraught with more important consequences to the United States and to the great cause of Republicanism, Constitutional liberty, than any one which has ever yet been presented for solution.

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From William C. Anderson and Others

ST. LOUIS [MO.], *November 6, 1845.*

DEAR SIR: We, the undersigned, Democratic citizens of St. Louis City and County, having learned that you will attend the Convention [64] to be held at Memphis, Tennessee, on the 12th inst. earnestly solicit, in our own behalf and in behalf of your numerous friends in this vicinity, that you will extend your visit West, to this place, the commercial emporium of the Upper Mississippi Valley, and accept the hospitalities of those who are anxious to see among them a statesman for whose patriotic devotion to sound principles they feel so deep and lasting gratitude. The citizens of the Great West feel justly indebted to you for your untiring zeal in behalf of the producing and agricultural states of the Union, as manifested by your exertions to bring back the Federal Government to the true principles of taxation, and thus relieve the South and West of the burthens unconstitutionally imposed on them for the peculiar benefit of Northern and Eastern capitalists. As the Champion of the State Rights principles and party, and the

[64] The Memphis Convention of 1845 was launched in great part as a Railroad Convention, but was ere long turned largely to the advocacy of internal improvements of certain sorts by the Federal Government. See William E. Dodd's Statesmen of the Old South, pp. 148, 149; William M. Meig's Calhoun, Vol. II, pp. 366–371; Calhoun's Works, Vol. VI, p. 273, Vol. V, p. 246.

unflinching opponent of consolidation in all of its schemes, you have conferred the most important and lasting benefits on the West and the whole Union. As Secretary of War you first directed general attention to those great national measures in the West, through the neglect of which by the Federal Government, the people of this valley have suffered immense losses for a long series of years; and as a Senator you have firmly adhered to those doctrines, on the observance of which the continued prosperity of each and all sections of the Union depends.

Notwithstanding our high regard for the many distinguished acts of patriotism with which your long public career has been illustrated, from the date of your fearless advocacy of the War of 1812, and defence of our national honor and rights then assailed, down to your recent retirement from the Department of State; yet there is one measure above all others, for the triumph of which the country is especially indebted to your boldness, sagacity and patriotism—we refer, of course, to the *Annexation of Texas*. Residing as we do on a portion of that soil acquired by the Louisiana treaty, and West of the Mississippi river, we regard the restoration of Texas to our national domain with peculiar pride and interest; it being the re-union of the dissevered Mississippi Valley and a vast stride in National progress. To your services in an eminent degree does the country owe the accomplishment of that American measure—an "extension of the area of freedom"—to be followed, it is hoped, by the spread of our free institutions, in due time, westward to the Pacific. As Americans we are proud of the bold and lofty stand taken by you while Secretary of State in defence of our true national policy and in opposition to and defiance of the intrigues of European monarchs on this Continent.

It has been justly remarked that the South and West are natural allies; and so regarding them, whilst desiring at the same time the prosperity of the whole Union, we are the more solicitous that you shall visit this city, in order that your many friends in this vicinity and State, may have the long desired opportunity of receiving among them a Statesman who though residing in the South, belongs to the whole Union, and is honored wherever sound and liberal principles have an admirer.

From Thomas G. Clemson

BRUSSELS [BELGIUM,] *Nov. 25th, 1845*

MY DEAR SIR

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Judging from the tenor of the American papers and those of England the Oregon question may bring difficulties of a very serious character. England has been arming for the last year, of this there is no doubt,

and I have been asked frequently why it was that England was arming. Both sides are committed and I do not well see how a conflict can be avoided if the President reiterates what he stated in his inaugural, and takes the ground which is taken by the Union, that all Oregon is ours. Sir Robert Peel and Lord Aberdeen were decided, as much so as the President. I have heard it intimated that Sir Robert Peel would go out of office that his place might be filled by some one not committed and who could take a course more in accordance with the interests of the two nations which is anything but war. Joshua Bates the partner of Barings (and father in law of Mr. Van de Uzer the Belgian Minister of the Interior and formerly the Belgian Envoyé to the Court of St. James) was here a few days since. He told me that he had been in company with Lord Aberdeen who *would* talk with him upon nothing else than Oregon. Lord Aberdeen said to him that he would try to settle that question as it ought to be settled between two inteligent nations. Mr. Bates thought there could be no doubt that it could be settled by making the 49° [as] the boundary. I should judge myself that there could be little doubt upon that point. An intelligent Englishman who I saw in this city the other day, a man of some note as an author, and a writer for English papers and periodicals, deprecated all idea of war, and regretted the position of the question. He said that he thought the thing might be arranged easily. Sir Robert Peel and Lord Aberdeen had taken too high ground and all England *wanted was to be let down easily*. Be it as it may. The last steamer's news caused the funds in England to fall, and the funds is a pretty good thermometer of public opinion.

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From Silas Reed

CINCINNATI [OHIO,] *Nov. 29th 1845*

DEAR SIR, When I left St. Louis last week it was believed by your friends there that you would probably answer their letter of invitation [65] as soon as you reached Washington City.

Since I have seen on my journey here the strong ground taken by the "Union," upon the Oregon question within a week or two past, I have feared that there might be some design in the movement beyound that of mere patriotism, or the defence of our just rights on the Pacific coast, in which Col. Benton might be acting a silent part for ulterior purposes, and I am so anxious that you should assume the highest and strongest ground upon the same question, at all compatible with your expressed opinions and past action thereon, that I must beg to be excused for reminding you, in this manner,

[65] See letter dated Nov. 6, 1845, above.

of the importance to you, at this crisis, of being behind no one in the position you now take upon the subject.

The almost entire population of the West will sanction the doctrines of the "Union," and are ready to sustain and defend our rights in that quarter at all hazards. I do not believe England would dare to war with us upon a question in which we would be so clearly in the right.

The importance and value of that country to us is hardly sufficiently appreciated by any of our leading statesmen, except yourself and one or two others, and very few indeed realize the deep interest felt towards it by most Western people since the emigration of several thousand of our own citizens to that country within a year or two past.

I am firmly persuaded that we ought not to surrender anything short of 54° 40′ North, unless it be to save war and we can be certain of carrying the public sentiment in favor of throwing off two or more degrees for the mere sake of a compromise for peace. Still, I should regret to feel obliged to adopt even such an alternative in a question of right.

Our laws should be extended over the whole territory this session without fail, and the year's notice, I think, should be left to the discretion of the President, as to the time when it may most safely be given.

Your future political success so much depends upon the position you now assume upon this deeply exciting question, that I trust you will excuse the liberty I have taken in expressing the anxiety I feel that you should take as high ground in the matter as you think the best interests of our common country will possibly justify.

I shall hope to see you in Washington in a few days.

From R. L. King.

RACINE [WIS.,] Decmb 10, 1845

DEAR SIR As the whole Union now look to you as the one who can save us from a War with England I take the liberty of stating some facts to you concerning the feeling of the West so far as Orrigon is concerned.

The majority of the People of the West want and desire peace, but the States of Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri wish war for the purpose of wiping out the debts due English men of some $50,000,000 which they dare not repudiate in this age of the world. Therefore such men as Cass Davis and Douglas also Wentworth[66] all heavy land Holders in these States are urging war, when they know

[66] John Wentworth, a Democrat of Illinois, was a Member of the House of Representatives 1843–1851, 1853–1855; mayor of Chicago as a Republican, 1857–1863; a Member of the House of Representatives as a Republican, 1865–1867.

that the Southern and Eastern States would be ruined by a War. But as their respective States are to pay off the debts they owe they are very patriotic for War. I have resided West for 16 years and claim to be a democrat.

From F. W. Pickens

EDGEWOOD [S. C.,] *20 Decr. 1845*

MY DEAR SIR

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I do hope there will be a good feeling between you and Mr. Polk and a cordial understanding, and if there is, I know it will unhorse Benton entirely, particularly as I see Allen is now seperated from him. There is no kindness between Benton and Polk and killing the Globe[67] was the first step to kill the former. There are persons at Washington, and *near you* too, who have an interest in fomenting differences between you and the President, and all sorts of tales will be made up to operate upon your mind, but their real object is no friendship to you or the President. They have been found in an unfortunate and selfish position and their struggle will be to get others into the same position with themselves.

I feel very much relieved by the President's message in relation to the Tariff—it has redeemed every pledge I ever made in this state as I knew he would. My interview with him at his own house August 1844 was full on the Tariff, the Globe, Benton, Wright, etc. etc., and he has done exactly everything so far he ever promised. There is one member of his cabinet I had no idea would have been there. These circumstances and the course I pursued in the Legislature last Winter and the course of certain gent[lemen] in this state (particularly McDuffie), made it my duty to refuse the Mission to England, which under other circumstances, I would have taken with pleasure, not because I cared for that or any other office on earth, but because it might have been *my duty* to take it.

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From Louis McLane [68]

LONDON [ENGLAND,] *3 January 1846* [69]

MY DEAR SIR, With sincere congratulations upon your return to the public councils at a crisis so full of interest, I venture, in such confidence as my position imposes and as I doubt not you will properly appreciate, to add some observations upon a topic not second in importance to any you will be called to deal with.

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[67] See letter dated Apr. 6, 1845, above.

[68] Louis McLane, of Maryland, was Secretary of the Treasury and Secretary of State under Jackson. He was now, for the second time, minister to Great Britain, from June, 1845, to August, 1846.

[69] Erroneously dated 1845 in the original.

By the present steamer I send you three impressions of the "Times" newspaper, for the sake of the articles concerning our relations with this country. The "Times" though not favorable to the Premier, and the ministry, is supposed to be on better terms with the Foreign Office, and, if not enjoying its confidence, certainly not disposed to embarrass its policy; and it may not be too much, therefore, to regard the leading article in the paper of *today*, in some sort, as a feeler.

I need not tell you that the recent proceedings at Washington, the manly, patriotic attitude assumed by the message,[70] and the support it will doubtless receive from Congress place our affairs with G. B. in a crisis, requiring the best sense and the best temper to manage. Events, to me altogether unexpected, have left me little else to do here than to preserve a good disposition and keep down a bad temper on this side, and I have not been altogether unsuccessful in the discharge of this duty. The government here was prepared for quite as strong a paper as the message, which with the documents accompanying it have not only inspired a higher respect for our statesmen, but have served to enlighten the public here as to our title, to repress a warlike disposition, and encourage the hope of ultimate peace. If we on our side reasonably use this advantage we may preserve the peace of the world, without any sacrifice of honor. I believe too the Ministry are prepared for the carrying out by Congress of the recommendations in the Message, and will not consider that, unless they be exceeded or something should arise in some other quarter, as inconsistent with existing treaties, or as increasing present difficulties. Indeed Lord Aberdeen frankly admitted as much; and said that it might be of an advantage in bringing the affair to a definite form, and that during the year which would be allowed for terminating the joint occupation, he entertained a strong hope, that some means would be found of avoiding ultimate difficulty.

He was disappointed and mortified at the rejection by Mr. Packenham, without sending it here, of the proposition directed by the President;[71] and I have reason to know that Mr. Packenham's conduct in this respect has been entirely disapproved. If, as was expected, he had sent the proposition to his government, before finally disposing of it, I have great reason to believe that, if it had not been accepted, it would have led to some modifications which under the then aspect of the affair, might have been satisfactory to our government. Indeed if the President had not withdrawn it, Lord Aberdeen, I have very little doubt, would have censured Mr. Packenham for his course, and proceeded to deal with it, as though it had not been rejected at Washington.

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[70] Polk's first annual message, Dec. 2, 1845. Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents, Vol. IV, p. 385 ff.

[71] The 49th parallel.

Although better prepared for war than they have ever been at any antecedent period, this government is, I am persuaded, sincerely desirous of peace, and, short of the point of honor, will make great concessions to maintain it. One of their difficulties is in agreeing now, especially after the message, to offering, without any modification, what they have rejected before, and another is, that the obligation of making some adequate provision for the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company is pressed upon them more pertinaciously than ever. Indeed, they contend, and not without some force, that even if the title should be conceded to be in the United States to the 49th or any other parallel, any partition of the territory, after so long a joint occupancy, could only be made on the basis of some regard to interests which have grown up under the joint occupation. And so well persuaded am I of the magnitude which this consideration has acquired, that if I had been dealing with the subject with more latitude, I would have treated it as an important element; and so I think it will have to be treated, sooner or later.

It is very certain, I think, that this government has determined, in the present state of the negotiations, if I may so speak, to propose *arbitration*, and such an offer will no doubt have actually been made before you receive this letter. Their ultimate course will materially depend upon the manner in which this offer is received. I have always supposed that arbitration would be the most difficult and unpopular mode our government could adopt; and have uniformly discouraged a repitition of the offer. I doubt, after all I have said, if Lord A. can have the remotest hope that the offer *will* be accepted; and I rather think that a principal object in making it is to provide the means of escape from the dilemma in which Mr. Packenham's conduct has placed them, and of standing better before the world, if a rupture should unhappily prove unavoidable. If the offer of arbitration should be rejected upon the ground upon which you declared it, which Lord A. considers as pacific, to-wit, that the question is susceptible of adjustment by negotiation, they will then proceed to offer a new proposition, and in that way reopen the negotiation. If it be rejected on other grounds, and in a way to forbid a further attempt at negotiation by this government, they almost say as much that, they could only view that course as evidence of a determination upon the part of the U. S. to lead to hostilities, and act accordingly. How, they have not intimated. Of course, my communications with the Department of State upon all these heads have been more in detail than I could pretend to go into here.

Since the rejection of the proposition by Mr. Packenham my situation here has been both critical and delicate. I could neither invite nor encourage a resumption of the negotiation. If I had been left entirely unrestricted, I could informally have acted with some effi-

ciency, and, without committing any one, have not only materially strengthened the position of my own government, but acquired by no means an uncertain knowledge of the terms upon which this government would be willing ultimately to settle. My relations with the present Ministry, and especially with Lord Aberdeen, combined with the manly sincerity and straightforwardness and love of peace of that Minister, would have made this not difficult. I am obliged perhaps erroneously to consider my situation too restricted and too delicate, however, for the attempt; and it is also quite natural that the great inequality between me acting altogether unofficially, and the Foreign Secretary who *could* not if he would assume that character, should prevent me in the present posture of the affair, from rendering any very efficient service, or from obtaining any very satisfactory information.

With such means of information as I possess, however, I entertain a strong conviction that the question might have been, and may yet be, settled upon the basis of the 49th parallel, or, perhaps on a more northern line. Such modifications, however, as would probably ensure the whole of Quadras [?] Island to G. B., and, to the Hudson's Bay Co. a continuance of their present advantages for some fifteen or twenty years, might be insisted upon and expected. The extension of the 49th parallel to the Straits of Luca, and thence by the middle of those straits to the ocean would I have little doubt, accomplish the first; and the right of navigating the Columbia river in parts in which it is navigable for a greater length of time would I rather imagine accomplish the other; and these I think are the elements which will be of the greatest importance in the future attempts at settle ment.

* * *

I do not believe the commercial and manufacturing interests here would allow their government to force a war for more than the 49th parallel, with some reasonable protection to the British interests which have grown up under the joint occupancy. The gradual and daily strengthening of the cause of free trade is materially adding to the influence of the commercial and manufacturing interests; and it is altogether probable that the belief that a relaxation of the corn laws will add to the trade between the two countries, and unite the agricultural with the planting interest in the U. S. in favor of peace and free trade generally, will not be without its effect in producing an early modification of those laws. If we act wisely, therefore, we may yet get the 49th parallel, with fewer modifications than were embraced in some of our previous offers, and not likely to be injurious to us; and thereby not only preserve the peace of the world, but effect the opening of the English Ports to American grain, and lay the foundation

for our own glorious country of a career of happiness and prosperity greater than any man now living can estimate.

More than the 49th I have not the least reason to believe would be conceded; perhaps not that, without some such modifications, or indemnities as I have intimated would be yielded; but a concession of the *whole territory* after so long a joint occupation, and the offers we have so often made heretofore, and without indemnity or consideration of any kind, I am compelled to regard as altogether impossible.

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From H. W. Conner [72]

CHARLESTON [S. C.,] *Jany 6 1846*

MY DEAR SIR Your letter of the 28th to Mr. Boyce (now absent) and myself came to hand yesterday and we feel extremely obliged for the information so kindly rendered us. I will write Genl. McDuffie, Mr. Black and others of my acquaintance from other states. I will to day also write a friend in Georgia who has the ear of the Senator from that State and will adopt the course you suggest in writing to them for it expresses my own and the sentiment of the whole country.

Col. Elmore will write Mr. Lewis no doubt.

Your friends have often had occasion to congratulate themselves and the country upon the influence you have exerted in the affairs of the nation in the times of difficulty and danger heretofore, but your recent stand in the Senate as expressed in your resolutions has in the estimation of the whole people surpassed all other acts of your life. I was at Charlotte N. C. when your resolutions [73] were recd., and the confidence and security they produced in the minds of the people there and all the way along the road was magical. The belief is almost universal that you possess the moral power and will be successful in the exertion of it to the preservation of an honorable peace. Should it prove otherwise however and peace be not practical upon honorable terms the assurance is equally strong that you will accept peace upon no other terms and you may depend upon the nation as one man standing up to the death in defense of the country.

We hope most sincerely that your efforts will be successful, altho we can readily perceive the difficulties which you have to encounter and if there be any possible way in which your friends here could atall be made useful or available to you there is not one of us but you may command to the utmost extent of our power.

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[72] H. W. Conner, of Charleston, S. C., was a member of the Secession Convention of 1860.

[73] On Dec. 30, 1845, Calhoun offered resolutions in the Senate favoring adjustment of the Oregon boundary on the 49th parallel. See Niles' Register for Jan. 3, 1846, Vol. LXIX, p. 278. See letters in Calhoun Correspondence, edited by Jameson, by Calhoun to J. E. Calhoun and to A. P. Calhoun, dated Jan. 16, 1846.

From Elwood Fisher

CINCINNATI [OHIO,] *1 Mo 10, 1846.*

MY DEAR FRIEND Having but a moment to write before leaving Columbus on the night of the 8th., I wrote thee but a line to announce the position that was taken by the Convention [74] concerning Oregon. The adoption of Hannegans [75] resolutions by that body was to some extent accidental, but not on that account the less ominous and significant. The Commiteee on Resolutions was chiefly engaged on the currency question, and was so much delayed by discussing that, as to delay their report, until late in the afternoon, and until sent for by order of the Convention. The gentleman who proposed the Hannegan resolutions to the Committee did so as he afterwards assured me, in haste, and without having examined the question. They were opposed in Commiteee by two members—one of them John B. Weller, [76] both of whom I had previously conversed with on the subject, but there was no time for discussing them in Committee.

I arrived at Columbus but one day before the Convention met. I found much more excitement on the currency than on the Oregon question, though there was excitement in relation to that. The disposition to give notice was unanimous, and rested almost entirely on three grounds. (1) The assumed certainty of our title to the whole. (2) The improbability of War. (3) The willingness for war. These were the general opinions: but few had examined the title. The condition of the currency question added to this untowardness of the Oregon. The Cass men, favourable to Banks and distrusted by the party were loud for Oregon and War, in order to sink the currency and their treachery in relation to it. The V. Buren men being in advance of the Cass on the Currency and in popular confidence were disposed to risk nothing by moderation in Oregon. I went at once to our immediate friends—they all thought opposition hopeless, and even fatal to any body that might attempt it, against giving notice, for terminating the joint occupation. They even thought it vain and hazardous to oppose anything that might come from the War party. I then determined to make the effort alone, not with the expectation or even hope of success, but from a sense of duty. In order however to secure every chance of success I determined to take advantage of the peculiar state of the Currency question. The Cass men were

[74] State convention of the Democratic Party.

[75] Edward A. Hannegan, a Democrat of Indiana, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1833–1837; Senator, 1843–1849; minister to Prussia, 1849–1850. He was a most ardent expansionist in the forties, and wanted the United States to take all of Mexico and Canada, and make the boundaries of the United States to be those of North America. On Dec. 19, 1845, Senator Hannegan offered resolutions declaring that Oregon, to 54° 40′, was a part of the territory of the United States, and that the Government had no power to part with any portion of it.

[76] John B. Weller, a Democrat of Ohio, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1839–1845; later moved to California and was Senator from that State, 1852–1857; Governor of California, 1858–1860; minister to Mexico, 1860–61.

averse to the hard money position, so were some of the V. Buren men. Most of the latter however were in favour of taking general and abstract ground in favour of a metallic currency. Our friends were in favour of recommending as in the Carthage resolutions specific measures for effecting the expulsion of paper. I therefore agreed with Corry,[77] that the report of the Resolution Committee should be by him met immediately on being read with an amendment recommending the collection of the revenue of the *State* in Gold and silver, which he was to support in a speech. This I knew would be followed by the opposition of all that class of men who having hitherto supported banks and lost the confidence of the party, would aim to regain favour by the display of devotion to Oregon and War. And I intended after they had been heard to reply and demoralize them on that subject by exposing the policy they had uniformly pursued in relation to it: and thus shorn of confidence, they would have but little weight in advocating war. Circumstances were unfavourable to the execution of this plan. The Convention was large and tumultuous. The forenoon of the eighth was occupied in organization, and this done, we adjourned to 3 P. M. But the Com. on Resolutions were not ready to report and some time was spent in details and in general declamation. 'Twas past four when the Com. reported. And the great mass desired to leave town the next morning. Tod[78] having been nominated by acclamation in the beginning of the afternoon session. When the resolutions were reported, and began with those of Hannegan on Oregon, I thought myself fortunate, as their extravagance and absurdity could be easily shown. I was prepared with the following.

Resolved, That the settlement of Oregon and the extension of our institutions to the Pacific is a glorious result of the sublime policy which originally colonized the Atlantic coast, and has successfully won for us the territories of Louisiana, Florida and Texas. America has conquered more by peace than any other modern power has achieved by War, and with far more honor. In the settlement of the Oregon controversy we hope that honor and peace may still continue united.

On the reading of the Com. report a motion was made for its *adoption* at once. This was followed by Corrys motion to amend by recommending the immediate collection of the State Revenue in Gold and Silver as an addition to one of the reported resolutions which was in favour generally of returning to a metallic currency. Corry supported his motion in a brief and able speech, and was followed in opposition by Stanton.[79] The previous question was then moved, but lost. I replied to Stanton, and succeeded in a few moments in

[77] William M. Corry was a distinguished lawyer of Cincinnati, Ohio.

[78] David Tod was the Democratic candidate for Governor of Ohio in 1844 and in 1846, but was defeated in both years. Tod and the Democrats stood for "hard money" and Tod was dubbed "Pot-metal" Tod by his opponent. He served as minister to Brazil, 1847–1852; and was a Douglas delegate to the Democratic Convention at Charleston in 1860. He was a "Union" Governor of Ohio 1862–63.

[79] Benjamin Stanton, a lawyer of Ohio, was a member of the State senate in 1841 and 1842; a Whig Member of the House of Representatives, 1851–1853, 1855–1866.

securing the attention of the house which at first was disorderly. It was now late, and it was apparent that to have time for discussion we must adjourn til next day. I gave way to a motion for that purpose. But pending that motion a clamour arose among all that class that was anxious to return home immediately, for an adjournment sine die. And on being told that nothing further was to be done if the report were adopted they determined by clamouring for "adjournment" and "question" to prevent all other proceedings whatever. In this of course they were aided by all whose views were met by the Resolutions, and they prevailed.

After the adjournment, when it was too late, a reaction commenced. The Resolutions on Oregon were denounced by Corry and myself as worthy of bandits and pirates, of men who deriding treaties would shoot the bearer of a flag of truce. And were deprecated by some, defended by none, not even as I remarked by him who offered them in Committee. But so it was by a curious concatenation of accidents the thing was done. It is a curious and admonitory illustration of party action. The Oregon movement did not originate with the people, as in fact no movement ever does. It was begun by Benton on his own account to secure Western favour. It was handed over to Van Buren in '43 to countervail Texas, although V. B. had opposed Benton's original agitation of it in the Senate by a vote to lay the bill on the table. It is seized from its susceptibility of a military excitement by the Cass men to supplant the V. B. or Wright men, and the latter not to be underdone join loudly in the clamour, until the Whigs fearing that votes may be lost to them also join in the ignoble strife. As yet however even Ohio is not all made on this subject, but she may become so. And I ardently indulge the hope that the absurd position assumed at Columbus will precipitate a separation of the war and peace party, whilst the latter is yet so greatly superior in strength. On one account I wanted to discuss the question at Columbus. I wanted to visit with the contempt it deserved the charge that the South wanted to give up the territory North of 49 in order to weaken the North! I wanted to remind all modern swaggers for Western rights, of their long abject and pusillanimous submission to and even support of protection, leaving the South for years to maintain that contest alone.

From James Wishart

St. Clairsville [Ohio,] *Jany 12th 45* [*1846*?].

My Dear Sir: You are, I percieve, again in the Senate, in the midst of stiring events. On the eve of my departure with my family for St Louis as my future residence I address you to request, that should you honor me with any documents any time after the 1st of Feby. you will address them to me there. When in that city a short time

before the Memphis convention, your friends informed me that the delegates were instructed to invite you to visit that place, and that if you did so, you would meet with such a reception as no other man had. Hitherto I have been opposed to the practice of some distinguished men of both parties traversing the country. You have abstained from this course, but I believe the time has passed for a perseverence in that course. There is surely nothing in your present position which forbids a personal survey of this great vally. Great in its natural resources, but weak in its intellectual and moral developments.

The administration of Polk, has, I confess, in many things greatly disappointed me. Intellectually he falls far below the estimate I placed upon him, and though I am disposed to give him credit for his course on the Texas question, the tariff and the subtreasury, there is little else to which I can give an unqualified approval. His appointments throughout the west are such as the veriest hunker of the north or west would not dare to make. Almost in mass they are, protective tariffites, anti Texas, Oregon warhawks.

From what I see and hear the impression is strong that a compromise on the 49th degree of north latitude with G. B. on the Oregon question, will be as unpopular in the west, as a war for all north of that paralel would at this time be unwise and impolitic. Althouth I see strong efforts making to turn your "masterly inactivity" into ridicule, I hope it is the policy that will yet prevail. It is supposed that Col. Benton will not agree to fight England yet on this question, and some of his greatest admirers are cursing him in advance.

As the views I presented to Mr. Cralle last winter met with no answer or response, I infer a difference of opinion in the primises.

From J. H. Howard

COLUMBUS [GA.,] *Jany 16th 1846*

DEAR SIR While I thoroughly oppose your views in relation to the Mississippi being an inland sea and the appropriations which would follow, if such a construction should generally obtain; I concur with you most cordially upon what I suppose to be your policy in regard to Oregon. It is *peace* (and *honorable* peace only of course) which I would maintain, between the two governments if I could. Much is said now about the honor of the nation. I would preserve it most scrupulously, but I cannot conceive how it is forfeited or even endangered by pursuing such a course as will enable the British govt. to accept terms which she has heretofore rejected. The nation was not considered dishonored by offering the 49th and the circumstance of the British govt having rejected that offer does not necessarily

demand of us to insist upon all or lose our honor. If it was right to offer it, it is still right to rceeive it, and it is for those who approved of that offer to prove why it was *then right, and now wrong* to settle upon the same terms. * * * It is to be deplorcd that party influences are mixed up with these important questions. Many gentlemen of much patriotism, think it encumbent upon thcm to support *all* the recommendations of the President or they will be subjected to the charge of refusing to support the administration. I consider Mr. Polks message one of the best I ever read, but it is the privilege of a free man, and the *duty* of Senators, while they may heartily approve of allmost all his views, still to be indcpendent enough to differ with him (especially if they be of his own party) upon an isolatcd point, if the true policy of the country in their judgement demands that difference. I may be mistaken, but I do think, that the *final* adjustment of this Oregon question is *hurried* upon us before the nation is ready, or before there is any real pressing necessity for terminating it. I wish the Senate to stand up for thc honor of the nation, and sooner than it shall be tarnished, I am an advocatc for war, yes *war* with all its disastrous and distressing consequences, but I do not believe a temperate prudent course in the settlement of this question can subject us to the imputation of cowardice, or crouching to British power.

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From F. W. Byrdsall

New York [N. Y.,] *Jany. 26 1846.*

Dear Sir: I congratulate you on the fact that your course of policy on the Oregon question has becn triumphantly and almost immediately vindicated by events. The civil commotions in Mexico, the change out and in again of the Peel and Wellington administration of Great Britain, and other lesser circumstances, if thcy do not indicate that your course was dictated by a prophetic foresight, they certainly proved that you could not have moved more easily had you known those events beforehand.

The war movemcnts of Cass, Adams, Giddings, Hannegan, Allen and Co. so full of patriotic fire and enthusiasm, produced for a brief space of timc a corrcspondent feeling herc, and a course dictated by a more enlargcd patriotism was changed to considerations only for the Southern States, regardless of the rest of the Union. On the corners of thc streets I was greeted with the question in all directions, "Well, what do you think of Mr. Calhoun now?" Sometimes I had several antagonists at once, declaring "we must havc the whole of Oregon—no foreign nation shall interfere in the concerns of the Western World." And "if Mr. Calhoun opposes giving the notice he will be politically dead."

All this is changed—acknowledgments are made of your being right, of your statesmanship, etc. No man ever occupied a more eclipsing position in this nation than yourself at the present juncture. But the belief has long been impressed upon my mind that so much prejudice has been instilled amongst the people in some parts of the Union, by the politicians of a certain Dynasty since 1832, that voluntary justice will not be rendered to you. It is only rendered when extorted by actions so evidently worthy that they cannot be misrepresented.

To embroil ourselves with Great Britain before we have established amicable relations with Mexico, would be national insanity. Mexico would be induced by Great Britain to be her ally in the contest, and British officers amongst Mexican soldiers would teach them the art of destructive warefare. We want California—We want all Mexico in our Confederacy, for we *need* the isthmus that connects the Northern with the Southern America, that we may construct a ship canal or Ship Railway between the two great Oceans, by which we can controll the greatest commerce of the world. What is the whole of Oregon compared to these great objects? By peace with Mexico we can acquire them all. By war we gain nothing at best but glory, while England might annex Mexico to her empire.

Never since the Revolutionary war has there existed such extreme necessity for peace between us and Great Britain as at present, because war can subserve none of our great present or prospective interests, but on the contrary would endanger them all. Peace—peace with Mexico first upon a firm basis, and the "notice"afterwards to Great Britain if your please.

When American Senators make speeches to Bunkum I regret that they have not more regard for principals and less for political capital.

If the war paroxism be not quite over here, it is considerably abated.

From Dr. I. M. Caminero

SANTO DOMINGO CITY *January 27th 46.*

HONOURABLE SIR I hasten to express my great exultation on being informed by the late public papers of the U. S. that you are now seating in Senate, and congratulate myself of such aid and assistance to the Dominican question in Congress.

Though to date I have not been favoured of any letter from J. Hogan I have been informed that his report has been presented to the executive and that a complete success is to be hoped about the recognition by the Government of the United States of our national independence, that on which I rely with more confidence by your interposal as a Senator.

Our progress in consumating and consolidating our liberty and in repressing Haytian negroe's usurpations and attacks are daily advancing: About the middle of December last, they sent five armed vessels to blockade Porto Plata on the north part of the island, but on the night of the 21st, by a gale of wind, three of their ablest vessels ran ashore within three miles of the town and windward of said place; by our efforts we have been able to save one entire and undamaged as also the salvage of the other two composed of all their armaments and equipments etc etc; we have also secured the Haytian Admiral, Cadet Antoine, officers and crew made prisoners and forming a number 170, and by the Haytian papers we were apprised here of the wreck of another of their vessels near Cape Hayti.

By this series of ill luck of the Haytians and by the increase of our naval forces we are positively superior by sea, having actually eleven well armed vessels amongst which a fine corvette carrying 20 Paksem guns and two 24 pounders on pivots as also a small brig. As for land, no agression has taken place since our late victory at Bellair, on the river Massacre, where more than three hundred blacks were killed.

I can not do otherwise but urge a speedy determination of the recognition of our national independence, as any further delay may be prejudicial to our cause, fearing as I am surely entitled, an intrigue between France and Spain, as it is evident that the first is highly interested to the possession of the Isthmus and Bay of Samana; but I am highly satisfied to say that in our Republic there is not at present a single person of patriotic feeling that has a simpathy nor thinks any thing of France so as to urge any encouragement to the possession of the object of their desire. In my opinion our recognition would be a great step to the annexation in all points so interesting to the U. S. I therefore think that the Dominican question as a matter of fact, can not suffer any opposition nor delay, that of which I entirely rely upon the simpathetic feeling you have manifested to our cause.

I shall request to be so kind as to give me all possible information by all opportunities of the State and progress of our national question, addressing your communications through Messrs. Aymar & Co. of New York that of which I shall feel highly grateful to you.

From Louis McLane

London [England], [*February, 1846*?].

My dear Sir: The feebleness of my health, and the pressure of other engagements are such as to leave me only a moment before closing the mail to call your attention to the newspapers, and to acknowledge your last letter. I assure you without entering into

any argument that we have seriously suffered from the course taken in regard to the notice. The delay itself is mischievous; and the negotiation will not be renewed until Congress have finally acted upon the notice.

By the next steamer I will write you more at length. Meantime I may say that I do not think the error in our negotiation consisted so much in withdrawing the proposition, as in shutting the door to an opening afterward from this side. If arbitration had been rejected so as to hold out hope it would have repaired the error. I believe the offer was made in the expectation that the terms of the answer would encourage a resumption of the negotiation. Of this you will see full proof in the letters from Lord A[berdeen] to Mr. Packenham and now published in the Chronicle which I send you.

Of all this I apprised Mr. B[uchanan] long before his answer, and yet he answered as if he were really afraid that the negotiation would be resumed.

Now we must wait for your action. When we hear what that is, we will get on; and then you will have the real struggle in the Senate. I write now chiefly to call your attention to these letters in the Chronicle, and to the really weak point in the negotiation on our side. The withdrawal of the proposition gave the P[resident] strength at home; it did him no harm here; for in point of fact between withdrawing a proposition after it has been rejected, on a protesting that it should never be used as committing the party making it, (the usual mode, and done by both gov[ernments] in 1826–7) there is no great difference. But by withdrawing it, and refusing to give any encouragement to opening the negotiation, and afterwards sending the whole matter to Congress, completely closed the door to any attempt here, at least until very recently. However, I believe if you pass the notice, we will be able to begin again. But of one thing you may be sure; if there be a change of ministry, nothing will be done by the Whig ministry; and if it continue in power until the year expire, I shall regard a rupture as inevitable. I pray you to excuse this hasty letter.

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From Louis McLane

London [England], *Feb. 3, 1846*

My dear Sir I send you by the present steamer a few newspapers containing the Exposition of Sir Robert Peel of his comprehensive scheme of free trade. It will speak for itself, and needs no comment from me. It will be violently resisted, and may possibly lead to a dissolution of Parliament; though the general impression

appears to be that it will pass both houses at the present session. It will not surprise me whether it succeed or fail to see a change of Ministry at no distant day; nor do I believe that a Whig Ministry would be particularly unfavorable to us, especially if Lord John Russell should be at the head of it. You may infer from his observations and those of Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons, that if Mr. Packenham had sent our proposition home, a slight modification of it would have made it acceptable here. However, I need *here* add nothing to what I have already said upon this head; only that I am more than ever persuaded that the adoption by Congress of the recommendations in the Message will not be regarded here as warlike, and will do no harm. On the contrary it might do great good; whereas a refusal by Congress to sustain the President would have a mischievous tendency. There will be a year after the notice to settle the question, and unless one side be *bent* on war that *cannot* be difficult.

From F. W. Pickens

CHARLESTON [S. C.,] *6 Feby. 1846*

MY DEAR SIR

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I have been on a visit to Savannah and only returned a few days since. It is a beautiful and very hospitable city with great elegance and luxury. I visited the rice lands of that river and found them superior to anything I had conceived of. It is undoubtedly the most perfect system of agriculture in the world. The rice planters are realizing immense incomes. A friend of mine Col. Ward makes this year $360 clear to every hand that hoes. He gave $250 cash for rice lands adjoining him. His income this year is $96,000. And $300 to the hand is common. Rice lands, part of Genl. Hamilton's land, sold here a few weeks since at outcry for $136 per acre. Negroes average all round large gangs $425. The demand for the lower part of this state and Georgia is greater than [in] La. or Texas. I saw planters in Savannah from Early county who made this year 10 bags of cotton per hand. We have had a very cold winter, so much so that the orange trees are injured very much. I learn that it has been much colder in Edgefield. I suppose you see cotton has gone down very low. I think the cause temporary, for the crop will not exceed 2 millions of bags. I have just shipped 336 bags of mine to Liverpool yesterday, to take the Spring market and to get the advantage of the war fever, which I suppose will be fomented, to enable the Peel ministry to sustain itself and call for supplies.

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From Charles Anthony

ARNOLDTON, CAMPBELL COUNTY, VA.,
17 February 1846.

DEAR SIR Altho an entire stranger to you I take the liberty to address this note to you to inform [you] how much your friends are pleased with your course on the Oregon Controversy. You are gaining the good opinion of those who were before politically oposed to you. I have not seen a single man that does not disapprove of the Presidents course, and that it will lead to war. They believe he is influenced by those who are aiming at the next Presidency and dont regard the distress and ruin it will bring on the country. A war with England would nearly ruin Virginia as she would have no market for her tobacco. It would not bring one dollar per Hundred. I knew my Father in the time of the last war with England to exchange a hhd of good Tobacco for one sack of salt and had to give three dollars to boot. Such would be the effect of a war at this time. It would enrich the northern manufacturers at the expense of the Southern States. It is very astonishing that Southern members should be in favor of any measure that John Q Adams [80] and Giddings should approve of, that of itself should make them disapprove of giving the notice. The people in this section of the Union look upon you as the only man whose weight of character and influence, can avert the calamity of war from our beloved Country; and they look with confidence to your doing all that man can do to effect it.

From Edward J. Black

SCRIVEN COUNTY GEORGIA, *Feby 22d 1846*

MY DEAR SIR I have been watching, from my retirement, the scenes of the American Senate, in which you have been so prominent and influential. In common with your friends in this section of the State I was extremely solicitious for your personal and political success, and not a little anxious about the position you would assume upon some of the more important collatteral questions springing out of the great Oregon Controversy. I am highly gratified to be enabled to say to you that your friends entirely approve the course you have pursued, and are proud of the triumphant manner in which you have sustained yourself. I have just returned from Savannah, and the sentiment there in your favour was very decided. Many of the thorough-going Whigs, even, in that City, are openly calling themselves "Calhoun men," and the mass of the Democrats avow "*Calhounism;*" a sort of faith which, but a few years since, was denounced by some of the old Van Buren leaders as a wild and dangerous heresy,

[80] John Quincy Adams died in Washington, D. C., Feb. 23, 1848.

while by others it was silently avoided, as they would gunpowder that might, from the power and efficacy of its materiel, explode to the great detriment of its adhcrents. In common with yourself your early and constant friends partook of the cold favour which these errors of the public mind begot, and you may well immagin how ardently we feel for yourself and our cause, now that these glimpses of sunshine are harbingers of a brighter and better day. We fully agree with you in your views of principle, policy, and expediency relative to the Oregon question, and do not hesitate to say that you are perfectly right in your opposition to the unadvised and premature war-cry so unnecessarily raised by certain red hot democrats in congress. I know of no man in Georgia who does not sustain the offer on the part of our government of the 49th degree—and all are agreed, with you, that at least an other effort at negoceation should be made before we resort to the *ultima ratio regum*. For myself, I regard one of the greatest curses of war at this juncture to be the postponement, perhaps indefinitely, of the settlement of the tariff question; which with us at the South is the great question which absorbs all others, and in the adjustment of it we look to you more than to any other man for aid and assistance. I have recently consulted with a great many of our friends in Georgia upon the subject of the next Presidency, and this is what we agree in; namely, that you are our first, and last choice—indeed, that you are our only choice. That is our determination; and on my own part I think you know me well enough to believe that it cannot be shaken. In relation to that preference we do not consult you. It is useless—for other than yourself I have no predilection. But we are anxious to ask your advice as to the *time when* a firm and decided movement ought to be made in your favour. Not a movement deferential to the opinions of others, but one that openly proclaims us the friends of those who go for you, and the opponents of those who go against you. I believe the present to be the proper and oppertune time for your peculiar friends in Georgia to take this uncompromising stand. For we shall have not only the Whigs, but some of our own people to bring to terms—and with certain democrats in this State that can only be done by convincing them in advance that their only hope of success is in coming to us. Between us—perhaps there is a Senator at Washington who it may be necessary to convince in this way. But I do not wish to injure our prospects by a premature movement—and it is to solicit your view as to when it would be advisable to make this demonstration, that I now trouble you with this letter; for the stand *will* be taken, peremptorily and decidedly—*when* is the only doubt, on our minds. If you deem it proper to confer with your true and unwavering friends upon the subject, let me hear from you, and your communication shall be confidential, if you please, as this is.

I would have written you before, but I knew that your time must be very much engrossed, and I feared to multiply your labours of correspondence.

N. B. I have just conversed with a very intelligent friend from the So. Western part of Georgia who confirms everything I have said of your growing favour with the people of this State. His name is Asa D. Smart, Bainbridge, Decatur Co. Geo. Send him a document occasionally, as he is your friend and originally from So. Carolina.

From P. Gwinner

PHILADA [PA.], *Feby 23d 1846*

DEAR SIR, I cannot resist the pleasure of congratulating you on the late news received from England, its effect upon this community has already been felt, which is perceptable in the countenance of every business man we meet. I have been told by numerous intelligent men of business that "the news is of more importance to this Country and its future prosperity than any ever received, since the recognition of our independence by England"; and what is equally gratifying to your friends is, that we owe the result to your foresight and patriotism in being the cause of such happy effects. Your opponents now concede the point. The war spirits now hang their heads. They must resort to some other means to create political capital to promote the cause of their several friends who aspire to the succession. The introduction of corn, buckwheat, beef, hides, bacon, meat, pork, etc. free of duty will be important to the agriculturalists in Penn., who will see the propriety of abandoning their protective notions, heretofore so pertinaciously adhered to, and meet England on terms of reciprocity.

The moment I heard of your intention to return to the Senate, I repeated to friend and foe, that you held Polks Administration in the hollow of your hand, and that he could not carry any measure adverse to your policy, believing that the Whigs would fall into your views on every great national question which might occur save the tariff.

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From J. W. Van Evey

ROCHESTER N Y, *4th March 1846*

SIR, Although personally an entire stranger to you I have taken the liberty of addressing you on a subject of deep and profound interest to all true patriots, involving as it does, the destiny of a common country,—the subject of *Negro Slavery.*

I wish however only to communicate with you on a single aspect of this great question and it is this—Thc people of this State have called a Convention to Assemble in June next to revise their Constitution. The question will be presented to the Convention whether or no the right of suffrage shall be extended to the Blacks with no more restrictions on them than in the case of the whites. And it will I fear be decided affirmatively. The Whig party in view of ulterious objects, actually took the lead in the legislature, for calling the Convention and in conjunction with their convenient Allies the Liberty party have since, thoroughly canvassed the State and to a great extent forestalled the public judgment, while the Democratic politicians and papers have scarcely alluded to the subject and when they have done so it has been in a shuffling and noncommital manner. As an illustration I have taken some pains to get at the state of opinion in this city and it is a fact that I am the only Democrat that dare openly *oppose* it. The result cannot be otherwise, the Blacks in this State or as many as may hereafter come into it in eighteen months hence will be entitled to all the privileges exercised by the Whites. What are the consequences? As a Northern Democrat, and fully embued with the principle of Freedom, as embodied in our Federative Sistem, I cannot but look upon it as the most dangerous movement that has ever occurred in this country.

The particular form which this danger will present itself in, is at this time difficult to conjecture but that the ultimate result would be to break up our happy and well balanced *Federative Sistem* there can be no doubt.

Mr. Jefferson has said that the Northern Democracy were the natural allies of the South; of course he could only mean by the South the slave holders. Yourself or some other southern statesman have declared that negro slavery was the chief corner stone of our Republican edifice. As a great practical fact both are right.

I say to my Northern Democratic friends that Negro Slavery has been the great barricr of the free white labouring classes, that had it not existed long before this a great National Bank Protective Tariff etc etc would have been saddled on the general govt and that a vast central sistem overriding and overruling all state sovereignty and individual liberty would have taken the place of our present Federative sistem.

But to return to the question of Negro suffrage in this state, its immediate effect will be to give the Whig monopoly party a complete ascendency in the state by adding perhaps 15,000 votes to their party and with the 36 electoral votes of N Y possibly controlling the Presidency for half a century, and then Federalism may hope to carry out its long cherished schemes of Legislation, and a time would soon be reached in the development of that policy, when the peculiar insti-

tutions of the states would have to give place to the idea of a *general welfare*, when the great bulwark against the monopoly spirit and the great Protection of the Northern laborer, Negro slavery, would be swept away. A true friend of Freedom is he who clearly sees this question in its proper light and thus seeing it dares in the face of a sickly sentimentality that would sacrifice the whole race of Whites in projects to benefit a few blacks, to stand up for the truth and the great cause of liberty, dependent as that cause is on the preservation of this purity of the Anglo Saxon race and our present well balanced Federative Sistem.

In conclusion if your duties permit will you do me the favor of replying to this *briefly*, and give me your views of the subject. I am no trading politician, only a citizen and wish to see the opinions of one so eminent and so capable of judging as yourself and beg to refer you to Gen Cass or Gov Marcy either of which will I think recollect me.

From J. S. Barbour

CATALPA, VA., *March 5, 1846*

MY DEAR SIR,

* * * * * * *

Have you read the life of Clay by Colton? [81] I have not, but I have seen extracts in the Alexa[ndria] Gazette, which make it appear that Buchanan called on Clay in the presence of Letcher, [82] and there expressed his preference for Mr Clay as the Secretary for Jackson. This is the only part of the conversation which is retailed by Colton, on the authority, (evidently) of Letcher and Clay. Is it to be believed that this *was all* the conversation held with those three? Clay was intimate with Buchanan and Buchanan the ardent friend of that system which was Clay's *fulcrum and lever* for obtaining political power. Clay shows that this conversation did occur. The inquiry returns on us, *when* was it so held? Was it before Buchanan went to Jackson or afterwards? This is most material in the investigation of the part that Clay had in this idle and silly intrigue. It was evidently with Clay before Buchanan went to Jackson. For Jackson repulsed the proposition so vehemently when Buchanan made it to him, that it is hardly possible to believe that he would have opened the subject with Clay after the decisive and vehement rejection of all overtures on that subject by Jackson. If he went first to Clay (which is most rational) then Caly must have given such countenance to Buchanan's scheme, as to induce Buchanan to think that consen

[81] Calvin Colton published The Life and Times of Henry Clay, in 1846; it was based on materials he secured from Clay, whom he visited for the purpose in 1844. He later edited the correspondence and speeches of Clay.

[82] Robert Perkins Letcher, of Kentucky, was elected to Congress as a Clay Democrat and served 1823–1827; reelected as a Whig, 1827–1841; Governor of Kentucky, 1840–1844; minister to Mexico, 1849–1852.

and approbation by Jackson would effectuate his purpose. And this I have no doubt was and is the truth of the affair.

Clay wished to be President—in default of that his next aim was the department of State. He would have preferred that department under Jackson if he could get it. Numerous circumstances strengthen this belief. But he could not get it under Jackson. *That was impossible.* You and I both know that *was impossible.* If there existed no other reason, it is enough to know that if Jackson had been President in 1825, then Mr. Adams would have been Jackson's Secretary of State. No one knowing the relations of the parties—Jackson—Adams—Monroe—the *past* and the *then present*, could pause for a moment in doubt as to Jackson's Secretary of State had he been President in 1825. This Clay firmly believed when he told Dr. Drake and others in 1824 at Lexington, that he should vote for Adams. The overture of Buchanan and others after Clay reached Washington in December, raised a momentary hope with Clay, that Jackson might not make Adams his Secretary. Accordingly, we find that the *evidence produced by Mr. Clay himself shows* that he professed *to doubt in January, 1825*, for whom he should vote (Jackson or Adams) when by *other portions of his evidence he had already determined* the question four months before, in Lexington!! Buchanan in 1824 was an inferior man to what he now is. He had neither caste nor character of any moment with any party. Yet he wanted a foreign mission, as Moore of Ky said of him and that—"when he got on his pumps and short breeches and silk stockings he already conceived the commission in his pocket." Buchanan was no leader of the Penna. delegation *at that time.* He was but a *waif* from the wreck of Federalism, to whom, Adams could not give a foreign mission, but Jackson or Clay might. And this mission abroad was well secured, if Jackson and Clay could reach power by Buchanan's intervention.

Genl. Jackson always thought well of Mr Adams until *he knew* that he intended to make Mr. Clay Secretary of State. I was with him the night of the 9th Febry. after Adams' election by the House: went with him to the levé at Mr. Monroe's: stood near him when he met Mr Adams, and congratulated him (in his happiest manner) on his election. He explained this to me several weeks after by saying that he thought well of Adams; was sincere in his congratulation; but changed his opinion on Clay's getting the State dept. from Adams.

If Clay (as he now shows through Colton) knew that Buchanan came from Jackson to him and did not repulse the offer, he participated in its guilt. And this he does not pretend, for Buchanan went forward with it.

If on the other hand he held such conversation with Buchanan as justified him in going afterwards to Jackson, and justified him too in going forward with the overturcs and intrigues, until decisively repulsed by Jackson, why then it proves all that Jackson ever alleged between Buchanan and Clay in the offer made him.

The insincerity in Jackson was in his telling Buchanan "that if the hair of his head knew who he wd. appoint, he wd. cut it off, etc.," for he as certainly intended, at that time, to continue Adams his Secretary of Statc, as he had hair to cut off. This paltering in a double sense might be a part of that sinister policy, which Jackson was as dextrous in playing as any left handed tactician of his times.

I could write you a small volume on this topic. My pen has wandered into it, in the belief that the evidence *now produced* fixes the imputation more strongly than ever, and as Jackson understood it and avowed. Buchanan *was Clay's friend, and ardently so.* He opened the negotiation with Clay, who recd. it in a way agreeable to Buchanan, who persevered with it, until Jackson denounced and repulsed it.

From Albert Gallatin [84]

New York [N. Y.,] *15th March 1846*

Dear Sir Mr. Bartlett, the bearer of this letter, is my friend and my collaborator in the attempt to give some impulse to the pursuits of science and letters in this City which is so exclusively devoted to Mammon. We are but few, without aid from the wealthy, and struggle as well as we can amidst many difficulties, one of which is the scanty supply of books in our public library. We must procure the most valuable and dearest with our own resources; and Mr. Bartlett's object in visiting Washington is to remonstrate against the enormous increase of the duty on the importation of books generally and of that description specially proposed by Mr. Walker whose plan in other respects I do not admire. I beg leave to recommend Mr. Bartlett to you and to pray that you will give him your aid, as far as is consistent with your views of the subject. The only argument I have to offer is that intellectual food is not a proper object of taxation: it may be doubted whether physical food is.

I take this opportunity of sending you a copy of the first vol. of the transactions of our Ethnological Society. The article I supplied is in some respects the sequel of that on our own Indians, published ten years ago and which met your approbation. I pray you to

[84] Albert Gallatin, Jefferson's Secretary of the Treasury, was in the forties actively interested in the Oregon and the Mexican questions, publishing articles and pamphlets. In 1842 he was associated in the establishment of the American Ethnological Society, becoming its first president, and in 1843 he was elected to hold a similar office in the New York Historical Society, an honor which was annually conferred on him until his death in 1849.

accept the assurance of my distinguished consideration and personal regard.

From Clement C. Biddle [85]

PHILADELPHIA [PA.,] *18th March 1846.*

MY DEAR SIR, The meagre outline of your excellent speech in the Senate [86] on Monday, which I found in our "Ledger," this morning, makes me most anxious to receive the report of it, *in extenso*, in the most faithful form, that I may not only again have the pleasure of perusing it, but also of sending it to a valued friend in England who looks, with deep interest, to every thing that comes from you. I mean Mr. Thomas Thorneby, the colleague of the Hon. Mr Villiers, the two members in the House of Commons for Woolverhampton; and I may add, that Mr. Thorneby has been an able and earnest advocate for Free Trade for the last twenty years.

I need not say how much gratified I have been by the manly, statesmanlike, and philosophical views you take of this perplexing Oregon question, the only obstacle apparently now in the way of the consummation of our best hopes in the full realization of the principles, if not in the entire practice, of Free Trade, and of the national blessings that enlightened policy, when carried out, will confer on every section of our Union, North, South, East and West. And when once fully adopted will cause us to feel shame and mortification that we should so long have been the dupes of designing demagogues and deluded democrats, used by selfish monopolists, to *protect* their own *plunder*, and thus subject us to suffering, by their selfish misrule. Mr. Walker's report from the Treasury entitles him to high praise, and is a most able and satisfactory document; but his bill, as given in the newspapers, I cannot relish. What, 30 per cent advalorem on many articles, in 1846, when by compromise they were brought down to 20 per cent in 1842, and general Hamilton's maximum, as stated by himself in the Federalist, was 3 times 3, or 9 per cent for *protection?*

One of *our* most sensible *manufacturers*, a day or two ago, when I asked him what he thought of the tariff bill of Mr. Walker, replied, that *he* had no objection to it, but that he thought 30 per cent. on Woolens too high a duty, as, at that rate, they, the manufacturers, would still have to encounter competition with the smuglers; and that, as a permanent rate, that would keep off the smuglers, he would prefer 25 per cent advalorem on woolen imports. Now, I may add,

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[85] Clement Cornell Biddle was the son of Clement Biddle, "the Quaker soldier" of Revolutionary fame. He distinguished himself as a soldier in the War of 1812. He became a student of political economy and interested in free trade.

[86] Speech on resolutions giving notice to Great Britain of the abrogation of the convention of joint occupancy, delivered Mar. 16, 1846. Works, Vol. IV, p. 258.

that this gentleman is doing a profitable, and has been for a long time engaged in the same prosperous, business, namely that of manufacturing woolen cloths.

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From Duff Green

NEW YORK. [N. Y.,] *18th March 1846*

MY DEAR SIR I have just read the brief extract of your speech as given in the Journal of Commerce. Enough is given to satisfy me that it is the crowning effort of your eventful life. Of all the triumphs which you have accomplished this is the greatest. You are now, indeed, the benefactor, not only of your own country but of the civilized world. Had you remained in the Cabinet and accomplished the peaceful adjustment of this question by the acquisition of the "*whole* of Oregon" your personal fame would have been far less, but you could not have done this, and you must see that it would have been very difficult for you to have compromised on 49°. You would have been assailed by northern fanatics. You would have been charged with sectional feeling—with having surrendered the interests of the North for the advancement of Southern political influence. Now the North will hail you as benefactor of the whole country and especially of the North. The moderate man of all parties, the religious and moral sentiment of the country, will rally around you, and you will have the thanks of all who desire peace. The treatment of the President, and the movement of Cass and Co. made the crisis for your advantage and for the advancement of the great cause of peace and civilization, and it has been your good fortune that your enemies and the jealousy, rivalry and ambition of your adversaries have given you the opportunity of developing the principles which have governed your political life. You have triumphed and no one rejoices more than your friend.

From Tilly Allen

NEW YORK CITY *Mar. 19th, 1846*

MY DEAR SIR I have just got through with reading your sentiments upon the Oregon question, as expressed to the Senate on Monday last, and cannot deny myself the pleasure of expressing to you the profound satisfaction it has given me; so entirely different from any one of the *Political* speeches heretofore delivered upon that subject—,so filled with pure Philanthropy, and the best interest of all the human family, as well as our Country and its Institutions, without a single political taint. This production, my dear Sir, at this crisis of our

national affairs, is like the shadow of a great Rock to a weary traveler in a foreign land, and will go down to posterity, to unborn ages as imperishable as the name of its illustrious author. Although I have not been a political supporter for several years past, yet I cannot but indulge the hope, and express the wish, which seems to be nearly universal here at present, that I may have the opportunity to give my support to the Author of such noble, and may I not say from the spirit they breathe *God like* sentiments for the highest office in the gift of this great people, at no very distant period. Be assured Sir, that the course you have adopted from the purest principles, has gained for you many, very many strong friends throughout the whole community. I am but a humble individual, connected with the commercial Interest of this county, and unknown to yourself, nor have I any right to expect an acknowledgement of this, although it would be exceedingly gratifying if ever so short.

From C. A. Clinton [87]

New York [N. Y.,] *March 21st 1826*

My dear Sir, I have just concluded an attentive perusal of your Speech on the Oregon Question and I cannot refrain from telling you how much I have been pleased and gratified. It is equally honorable to you as a philanthropist, a Statesman and an American. It has given very great and general satisfaction to all intelligent and reflecting men in this City and I have no doubt of its favorable acceptance by the whole Country.

As my character and position are too well known to allow the possibility of my ever acting from personal, or unworthy considerations, I am sure that you will not suspect me of flattery, when I assert, that by this last effort, you have placed yourself in the first rank, among the greatest statesmen that this Country has ever produced. Your views and policy are sound, orthodox, and wise: and you have truly indicated the true secret of success in the great progress now making in giving free Republican government to all Northern America. I sincerely hope that the day is not far distant, when your high Statesmanlike qualities and pure private life, will secure for you the highest reward in the gift of the People. But if this should not be the result, I am sure, that you would, like my father and others, who have run their career before you, devote your best talents to the public good, without reference to the ingratitude of the masses, and it is this appreciation of your character and motives, which has given you the uniform support, even under unpropitious circumstances, of that class of gentlemen at the north, who without hope of official

[87] Charles A. Clinton was a son of DeWitt Clinton, Governor of New York, 1817–1823, 1825–1828.

emoluement and political honors, will always support the policy most conducive to the welfare of the country, and the men whose pure characters and high talents guarantee a consistent: an able and an honest Support of that policy.

From S. Penn

St. Louis [Mo.,] *March 23 1846*

Dear Sir I was deceived, or rather in error, as to the action of Col. Benton on the Oregon question. Having lost ground by his course in relation to Texas, I inferred that he would disregard previous commitments, and contend for the whole of Oregon, regardless of consequences. His policy has, however, been more prudent, and I must say more praiseworthy. He is almost co-operating with you—but, judging from the tone of his confidential friends here, his personal feelings toward you have undergone no change. He may hate Gov. Cass more at the present juncture, and probably dislikes Mr. Allen, because he views him as setting up for himself, if not as a deserter from *"the cause."*

The report of the conclusion of a treaty on the basis of the 49th deg., which reached here day before yesterday, was pretty well received. Indeed the best informed men here have, for some two or three months, confidently anticipated such a result; and as the failure of the President to recommend any preparation for war, and the action of the anti-blustering portion of the Senate, must have prepared the people generally for such a treaty, the annunciation of its conclusion and ratification, will produce very little excitement—perhaps none, except among politicians.

I was for the whole of Oregon, but not for war, because I believed it was practicable to obtain the whole territory by establishing a road and line of military posts, and properly encouraging emigration and protecting emigrants, The "masterly inactivity" policy would have suited me, and, I think, the nation.

But a "new aspect" was put upon the question by the abandonment of the positions taken in your correspondence with Mr. Pakenham; by offering to compromise on the 49th deg.; by taking ground in favor of the notice, and asserting that *the question must be speedily settled.* Now, Sir, I think England is far more anxious than we should be for an early settlement of the boundary. With a line of military posts, a road, jurisdiction as far as the treaty allows, and suitable encouragement to emigrants, a monthly mail, and a supply of arms and ammunition and Indian Agencies, we should negotiate more effectually than by any other mode. But I suppose the die is cast. That 49 will be the boundary I do not doubt; but why should not the President be held responsible for the offer he has made? Why

step in to shield him? I think he is only true to those he fears; that he has been guilty of double-dealing, and that, in a short time he will command the respect of a very small portion of the party. I know he has proscribed those who elected him, and truckled to those who denounced his nomination, condemned his views on Texas, and pronounced him a fourth-rate man. When right I shall sustain his measures for the good of the country, but I can never regard him as an elevated, firm or worthy man. His aim is to be re-elected, and to accomplish that object he outrages friends, panders to recent foes, truckles to the Hunkers, violates solemn promises, and outrages every principle of political morality.

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From John A. Bolles [88]

BOSTON [MASS.], *March 26, 1846.*

DEAR SIR I have read with great satisfaction your recent speech on the Oregon question. It will do much toward preserving unbroken our harmonious relations with England. It will do much towards preserving our social and political institutions unimpaired. It is one of those prophetic announcements, uttered occasionally, too seldom, by political seers,—which thrill the popular mind and heart, and disclose to common view glimpses of a future so bright and glorious on the one side, and so disastrous and gloomy on the other,—that all who discern them are impressed with new and deeper feelings of responsibility as citizens of the Republic.

If your speech is printed, as of course it will be, in a pamphlet form, please favor me with a few copies.

From Thomas G. Clemson

BRUSSELS [BELGIUM] *March 27 1846*

MY DEAR SIR

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I do not know how the other legations are treated by the Department, but from what I can understand I fare no worse than others. No attention appears necessary to us from the Department. My impression is that there is great need for reformation there, as perhaps in many other departments of the public service. There should be a clerk whose duty ought to be, to acknowledge the receipt of every Despatch. Such a course would be a relief to us, and if such acknowl-

[88] John August Bolles, a lawyer of Boston, was secretary of state under Gov. Marcus Morton, 1843.

edgement was occasionally accompanied with the desires and doings of the Government it would be a great aid to us abroad, and thus enable us to act with concert and efficiency in promoting the interests of the Government. But as it is no matter what the business pending may be months elapse before we receive intimation of the receipt of the most important documents. Thus since I have been here, or rather since Mr. Buchanan's coming into the State Dept. I have received but the circular, and one single Despatch on business from the Secretary, which were instructions six or eight months after they had received the project of the treaty of commerce. A note from the Minister of Foreign Affairs here, gave me information through Mr. Serruys, that he, Mr. Buchanan, had received the Treaty which I concluded in Nov. here.[89] This is all I know about it, save what you had the goodness to write me in your preceeding letter, which gave me considerable anxiety until the receipt of your last which explained the matter.

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The papers appear to think that Mr. Buchanan will retire if the resolution to give notice with the amendment enjoining negotiation should pass the Senate. It appears to me to be a decided stricture on the administration, and it would not be surprising if it followed the same course with that of Tyler. The United States I regret to say is now loosing ground in Europe on the Oregon question. A war would not only be unpopular, but in such an event as things stand, the entire onus would fall on us. Mr. Webster's view is not without weight. If the Administration do not intend settling the question by compromising she [sic] had better prepare for war and say so. To talk about extending the laws of the U. S. over all of Oregon to the exclusion of England, and at the same time to talk about negotiation, war etc is becoming rediculous, at all events it is having that effect here. There has been entirely too much blustering boasting talk. It looks badly at a distance when compared with the deliberate, calm and dispassionate course pursued by Great Britain. I hope for my country that the concils of peace, and dignity have prevailed since the receipt of Sir Robt. Peel's measures. I feel firmly convinced if you were to come to England that you could settle the question to the satisfaction of all parties, in twenty four hours, and I most sincerely wish that such an event, as your coming abroad, could be brought about.

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[89] Thomas G. Clemson was chargé d'affaires from the United States to Belgium at this time. He concluded a treaty of commerce and navigation Nov. 10, 1845, which was ratified by the Senate Mar. 26, 1846, and proclaimed in effect Mar. 31, 1846.

From F. W. Byrsdall

NEW YORK *March 29th 1846*

DEAR SIR, I cannot but regret the passage of the Resolution by the Senate which called out the President's late message,[90] and when all circumstances both at home and abroad, in relation to the Oregon question, are considered, I cannot see how he could well avoid giving such a message in reply to that Resolution. He was compelled to re-assume the positions taken in his annual message or to recede from them. Could he have done the latter with such consistency as would be compatible with the public interests?

But the quarter from whence the Resolution came is of the high Protective School, and therefore the belief is induced that the real object in view was such expenditures as would keep up the Tariff to the present high pressure system. The Whigs of New Jersey are the most inveterate Protectionists in the Union.

It is fortunate however for the country that the message has had but little effect upon the business people here. There was a slight change in the stock market, but they have rallied again much as they were before. For a day or two business men felt chagrined and condemned in no measured terms both the President and the Senator from New Jersey for what appeared in their view, as unnecessary and as injurious to the present favorable prospects of business. A little reflection coupled with the confidence now reposed in the majority of the Senate, dispelled their apprehensions. The speeches of Messrs. Heywood [91] and Calhoun were of that character and ability that the impression made by them could not be removed by the message although it did give "note of dreadful preparation."

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From W. C. Daniell [92]

HALL COUNTY GA. *2nd April 1846.*

DEAR SIR, During the last session of our legislature I saw some indications on the part of the Whig leaders in this State of a disposition to rally on you in the next presidential election. This intention is becoming more and more manifest, and I now think that there can be but little doubt of their moving in a body in your favor at the earliest oportunity. Their action will be placed on your course on the Oregon question, of which they speak with perhaps more zeal

[90] Mar. 17, 1846, the Senate addressed a resolution of inquiry to President Polk asking whether in his judgment circumstances connected with foreign relations required an increase in the military and naval forces. Polk in a special message, Mar. 24, replied that a wise precaution demanded such increase. Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents, Vol. IV, p. 426.

[91] William Henry Haywood, jr., of North Carolina, was a Democratic Senator, 1843–1846.

[92] W. C. Daniell was a substantial planter of Georgia.

than even your old and steadfast friends here. The Whig leaders here expect by taking ground in your favour to reunite themselves with that fragment of the old States Rights party which refused to cooperate with them in 1840 and since. Whenever the Whig leaders in this State assume a ground on which the States Rights men propper can cooperate with them they will array against themselves the Northern (Yankee) interests here which cast the balance against the Nullifiers in 1833 and against the Democrats in 1840. That interest I think controlls full 5000 votes. The auxilliaries which the Whigs know they will derive from the Democratic Party, old Clark men [93] and Nullifiers, will I think enable them to dispense with their late yankee allies. I do not doubt that the vote of Georgia will be certainly for you, but the majority will not be large, and yet a very safe one. There is a portion of the Democratic party in this State which cannot be concilliated to your support. It is true that they say they will support the regular nominee be he who he may, the truth of which I do not mean to question, but I am quite satisfied that were you to permit your name to be submitted to a convention of the Democratic Party and receive the nomination some ground would be discovered to justify them to themselves for opposing you. I will illustrate my view by stating a fact which I may say came under my own observation. When in our State convention in June 1843 it was proposed to nominate you for the presidency a fierceness of opposition was manifested which no one anticipated. I had gone to the convention with knowledge of the fact that it was the intention of some of the friends of Mr. Van Buren to move his nomination for the Presidency. When they found your friends moving to nominate you and that we were in a very decided majority they resisted our movement upon grounds equally applicable to the nomination of Mr. Van Buren, and they consulted among themselves on the expediency of withdrawing from the convention. In this posture of affairs I made known to some of them the knowledge which I possessed of their intention to nominate Mr. Van Buren. This notice I think exercised an important influence in deterring them from a secession from our convention, many of these violent opponents of yours had gone to the convention favorable to the nomination of Major Cooper [94] as the Democratic Candidate for Governor and gave him their support. But such was the influence of your nomination upon them that they gave him no support and their friends in many

[93] Local partisanship in Georgia came to a head in 1832. George M. Troup was the leader of the aristocratic and slave-holding communities; John Clarke and his brother Elijah found support among the non-slaveholders and frontiersmen. The cleavage of the factions was at first purely personal, but by 1832 it had become one of principle. The Troup faction indorsed the nullification party of South Carolina, while the Clarke faction opposed.

[94] Mark Anthony Cooper served in the campaigns against the Seminole Indians in Florida; he was a Democratic Member of the House of Representatives from Georgia, 1839–1841, 1842–1843, when he resigned to become the Democratic candidate for governor, and was defeated.

instances voted for Mr. Crawford.[95] I do not wish to be understood as saying that but for your nomination Major Cooper would have been elected. I never the less entertain no doubt that that nomination was a very important auxilliary in his defeat. That portion of the Democratic Party which entertain this hostility to you are mainly composed of those known in past time as Union Troup men whose secession from the Troup [96] party in 1832–3 furnished such timely aid to the Clark party.

I trust that your friends throughout the country will find no occasion to change the determination which they expressed in 1844 of submitting your name to the country independently of any nomination. Such a movement may (if the country is in a peaceful and prosperous condition at the time) result in carrying the election to the House of Representatives which I deem a much less evil than we may reasonably apprehend from the action of a convention, for such a body while professing to represent the great body of the Party is very likely to be controlled by a few master spirits in or even out of it, and whose motives are by no means necessarily such as they are willing frankly to avow. Your position and relation to the country is peculiar to yourself. Let whatever party or faction of a party avow a preference for your election it can cast no shade of suspicion upon you, and it is painful to believe that this can not be said of any other eminently prominent public man. If the country was placed in iminent peril and a Dictator could be appointed and was called for, all parties and all men would with one accord indicate you as the man and the only man for the occassion. And yet in ordinary times no party under the operation of the usual party organization will ever consent to make you their President. If the question could be fairly brought before the People a very different result may be expected. Party drill is loosing its force as I think has been manifested in the last two presidential elections, and I hope the time is not far remote when the People will really be allowed to select all their own candidates. In that respect, as a first movement, I feel a deep interest in your friends making the movement already alluded to. No future time can supply a combination of circumstances more auspicious than the present, and every delay is so far an extension of evil. The existing system of nominations is radically defective and must sooner or later explode.

It is not my wish that any movement should be made just now by your friends with an eye to placing you in nomination.

I suppose there is abundant time yet for that. My object in addressing you has been mainly to make you acquanted with what the whigs I believe are preparing for you in this State.

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[95] Charles J. McDonald was a Union Governor of Georgia, 1839–1843. George W. Crawford was a Whig governor, 1843–1847.

[96] George M. Troup was Governor of Georgia, 1823–1827. See note 93, p. 339

From Alex. Wells

ASSEMBLY CHAMBER
Albany City [N. Y.,] April 7th, 1846.

MY DEAR SIR: Knowing the multiplicity and importance of your engagements I have not ventured before to ask your attention, nor should I do so now, were it not that I am desirous of obtaining a copy of your late speech on the Oregon question. The Southern Democracy have been repeatedly assaulted during the present sitting of our Legislature, by the Anti-annexationists and the friends of Mr. Van Buren, who have neglected no opportunity to give vent [to] the bitterness of their disappointed hopes. These assaults have generally assumed the form of opposition to the peculiar institutions of the South; and in that guise occasion has been taken to charge fraud and injustice upon the Democracy of the Southern States. To these assaults I shall take an early opportunity to reply—during the discussion of the topics treated of in the Governor's message,—probably one day this week.

To do this, and to reply [to] the charge that the South having secured Texas, is now willing to forsake our claim to the Oregon, I shall require your speech and also that made by Mr. McDuffie; and I shall be under obligations to you, if you will furnish me with them together with such information and suggestions as you may deem of service.

It is high time for our friends here to break ground in the anticipation of future events, and perhaps my position is a favorable one for that purpose, as my remarks will have a large circulation through the country papers of the State, and if the effort prove successful, may to some extent check the efforts which are constantly being made here to prejudice the people of the State against our Southern friends.

General Duff Green visited us to-day but returned to New York by the Evg. Boat. He thinks this an auspicious time for some movement here, if prudently made.

Alderman Hart informs me that he saw you in Washington, and I am happy to learn that you are blessed with continued good health.

From Adam Huntsman [97]

JACKSON TEN, *April the 10th, 1846*

DEAR SIR I received your speech which you was so kind as [to] send me upon the Oregon controversy. It is a masterly exposition of the question, one that I heartily approve of, and I have the satisfaction to inform you that nine tenths of the people of Tennessee are heartily with you. There are a few Hotspurs here as well as elsewhere, who

[97] Adam Huntsman, of Tennessee, was elected to Congress as a Whig, 1835–1837.

desire to settle that controversy (as well as others) by fighting first, and examining the question afterwards. But the great body of our people are for an honorable compromise, and will be perfectly satisfied with the 49th. You know the people of Tennessee too well to suppose they fear war. If they find that one is inevitable they will go to it like they would to a frolick.

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From N. P. Tallmadge [98]

NEW YORK, [N. Y.,] *April 25th, 1846.*

MY DEAR SIR: Your views as expressed to me, and as they are now being shadowed forth in the public prints, in relation to many important questions which have for some time agitated the public mind, have produced the happiest effect on the whole business community. Every one begins to feel that day is dawning, that the Oregon question will be amicably disposed of, that the postponement of the time for the Sub Treasury to go into effect, the establishment of the branch mints, the ware-housing system, etc will have the effect to relieve the Sub Treasury, in a great measure, of its terrors, and the authority to redeem the public stocks will add still more to public confidence. I trust you will give your particular attention to all these measures, and see that they are carried through. For these, and for your course on the Oregon question, the whole country will be under great obligation to you. I enclose you an article from a political opponent which does no more than justice to your course in this great crisis of the country. I assure you such is the sentiment of all thinking men of all parties. To you, and to those who have co-operated with you, in this great work, the country will owe a debt of gratitude which cannot be easily paid. In any state of things you will have the greatest consolation a patriot can have, the proud consciousness of having nobly done your duty. There is one thing more to which you should give your special attention. See that great discretion and prudence are exercised in relation to our affairs with Mexico. This Government can afford to overlook indiscretion and imprudence on her part. Let our difficulties with that power be settled, and the public will feel that there is nothing left to interrupt the onward progress of our country's prosperity. I shall be glad to learn from you, that you have the same confidence in the settlement of these difficulties as the others.

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[98] Nathaniel Pitcher Tallmadge, a "Conservative" Democrat of New York, was a Senator, 1833-1844. He was appointed Governor of Wisconsin Territory by Tyler and served, 1844-1845, when he was removed from that office.

From Thomas G. Clemson

BRUSSELS [BELGIUM], *April 27th 1846*

MY DEAR SIR, We received your kind letter with the copies of your speech on the notice. It has been commented on by the English and some of the continental papers largely. Some of the English papers published if not the whole of it a great part, and [it] gave universal satisfaction. It could not have received higher praise. There is now little talk of war on this side of the Atlantic and I regret to say that the position of the Administration and the violent party men on the Oregon question has not added much to their strength abroad, so far from it, no one appears to know what the position of the President really is. I am sure I do not know. A war if brought on will be in spite of England and as you will have remarked the course of the government of England has been most cautious. France wishes the question closed, for notwithstanding all that she may say Louis Philippe knows in case of a war between the United States and England it would be impossible to prevent her being drawn into it. I have no doubt she has and is still doing her utmost to have the question decided amicably.

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From R. K. Crallé

LYNCHBURG [VA.,] *May 3rd, 1846.*

MY DEAR SIR: I thank you for a copy of your speech on the Oregon Resolutions, which was received some days after I had seen it in the Washington papers. I read it with great pleasure; and though I do not concur in the general opinion that it is the *ablest* of your efforts, I agree in the belief that is by far the most *popular*. It is, strange to say, universally extolled by both Parties; for, as yet, I have seen but one individual who did not think it conclusive of the whole question.

This, aided by the returning good sense of the People, has placed you, I think, on impregnable ground in this State at least, if not in the Union. The passage of the Resolutions in the form they finally assumed was confidently expected by all after the appearance of your speech; and I am persuaded that both Parties are equally gratified at the result; for we have no "54, 40 men" amongst us. The movement of that Party has been disastrous to themselves, and the only other effect has been to injure the President for his supposed connection with it in the beginning. He has certainly lost ground; and so far as this section is concerned, cannot be said to have a Party at all. His course has been marked by vacillation at least; and the effect is to weaken greatly the Hunker interest which he is

supposed in some sort to represent. In truth I have never known that interest so low in the State. Ritchie, its main support, has lost all controul in losing his location; [99] and from what I see and hear, it is highly probable his influence is passing away in other quarters. Your friends are in high spirits, and seem to apprehend no difficulty, except from too much cordiality on the part of the Whigs, who, as far as my acquaintance extends, seem not only reconciled to, but anxious to enlist under your banner. Even your old enemy, Rives, I hear, is speaking in terms of highest praise. The editor of the Whig Press here (Blackford), who took tea with me this evening has the kindest feelings; and from him and others I learn that the leaders generally are disposed to remain quiet until the nomination is made, and the issue joined between the Hunkers and State Rights men, when they will delpoy in solid phalanx on the side of the latter. This, however, may be a *ruse de guerre*, intended to divide and conquer; for I see a late movement in New York obviously designed to continue Mr. Clay in the field. The aspirants in his own Party will, perhaps, arrest that.

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From J. H. Howard

COLUMBUS [GA.,] *May 12th 1846* [?]

MY DEAR SIR The mail has just arrived bringing intelligence of the capture and slaughter of Captain Walker's company of Texas Rangers by the Mexicans and much apprehension is felt for the safety of our army. Although the position of our army before Matamoras was not in my opinion a proper one if we desired peace with Mexico as collision might have been expected to arise from the contiguity of the two armies, yet it does not justify the Mexicans in crossing the Rio Grande and butchering our people. Nothing less than invasion of the country to its very centre and the most ample chastisement should satisfy our people. We seem to have been brought into a war contrary to public expectation and consequently our country is not now prepared with a sufficient army, to inflict upon the Mexicans a proper and adequate punishment. Congress being in session, it is expected of course that the most vigorous measures will be adopted not only for the temporary defense of Texas, but for carrying on the war to a successful and early termination. The *cheapest* way to determine it and battle with the Mexicans to their hearts content is I think to send an *overwhelming* force upon them, as soon as it can be organized. I presume all will agree in this position; the manner then of raising

[99] Thomas Ritchie at the request of President Polk resigned his editorship of the Richmond Enquirer to his two sons in 1845 and went to Washington to become editor of the Union, the organ of the administration.

at least a portion of this force is next in order for consideration. I wrote to Judge Colquitt last night, and requested him to exhibit my letter especially to yourself, Mr. McDuffie and some other gentlemen.

We have no time to enlist regular troops and must depend upon requisitions from the States. I have understood that our friend Black of your state had introduced a bill to encourage legionary corps in the States. This I think is decidedly the best plan—to raise the *proudest, the bravest* and consequently the most efficient army. I believe troops can be raised sooner in that way, and if not raised sooner than by draft, at any rate they can be brought into the field sooner because the active spirits which would be engaged in getting up these volunteer corps would inspire their feelings into the whole body, and the task would be accomplished with the greatest celerity. I have not seen the provisions of Blacks bill. But if it provides for corps of sufficient magnitude as to admit of a Major general's command or even of a brigadier with the privilege of the legion electing its own officers, it will call into the service, the best talents, and most elevated courage of the country, the *material* of course of the best army. Now volunteers are reluctant in coming forward, for although they have the privilege of electing their immediate officers, yet they know they are to be placed under the command of a Militia General in whom they have no confidence, because they know he has no qualifications. And if troops are raised by draft their commanding general is subject to the same objection as he is chosen contrary to their will from the same class of inefficient and incompetent men. If Judge Colquitt has not yet communicated my request to you please call upon him for my letter in which I have placed my views more at large.

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From Wilson Lumpkin

ATHENS, [GA.,] *May 20th, 1846.*

MY DEAR SIR After our long silence (on both sides) I might perhaps appropriately open the correspondence, by the interrogatory—"*Watchman, What of the Night?*" We are *actually* at War with Mexico, whether Constitutionally so or not. And I now seriously apprehend, our difficulties with England, will not be speedily adjusted. Indeed I think it possible, that our Mexican War, may be the commencement of troubles, that may shake to their center, all the principal governments of the Civilized world. Should the great battle of the world come, we shall of course claim to ourselves the credit of fighting on the side of liberty and Republicanism against Monarchy and Despotism. But I cannot see so clearly, where we may find ourselves at the close of the great struggle. Your policy of peace

and good will, towards the human family, accords with every feeling of my heart. I have seen nothing that you have said or done on that subject during the present session of Congress, which I do not approve. Yet I did regret, that the Bill, placing supplies of men and money at the disposition of the President, was not presented in such form, as to enable you, to vote for it, without violating your judgment and conscience. Every necessary and useful object, could have been accomplished, and unaminity have prevailed, by varying the form of the proceedings as suggested by you and others.

I see that the President has and will be forced into the views of the *War Faction*, and that faction with the aid of the administration, will carry with them, for a time, a large majority of what is called the Democratic party, and of the Country. Our people love their country, and their political institutions. Therefore when the foundations of the Government are jeopardized, by conflicts with other nations, the great majority of the people, will go for their country, *right or wrong*, and take but little time to investigate, the causes which have produced their calamities, until suffering and evil, forces them to think.

The great body of the people of our Union, love and desire peace. They deprecate war, as a great calamity. They have disapproved of the spirit and conduct of the *War faction* in Congress. But now that we are in war, they are forced to follow the lead of that faction, and hence it is, that men sometimes, gain a short lived influence, consequence and popularity, based upon their demerit, selfishness and dishonesty.

If such men as yourself and others, now in high position, cannot keep the Ship of State, from shoals and quicksands, I can only stand still, and wait for the salvation of God.

Six months ago, I did indulge the hope, that before this time, our foreign relations would have been placed on a permanent and peaceful foundation. That the commercial relations of the world, would have been rapidly tending to that freedom of trade and intercourse, which the wisdom of God so clearly indicates in his providence and creation. I did indulge the hope, that the wise commercial policy of Sir Robert Peel, would be met by a corresponding spirit on the part of our Government, and that our domestic strifes in this country upon the subject of the Tariff, would cease and come to a final close.

But my dear Sir, I do not like the present aspect, in the political horizon.

I am a calm observer for myself nothing to desire, hope or fear. My circumstances in every respect conspire to make me a patriot. I trust I have a proper share of disinterested love of Country. In politics I am an old fashioned Republican, of the Jefferson School—I can belong to no other party. All the political parties of the present

day, have become most awfully corrupt. At any rate a very large portion, of *the leaders*, of both the great parties of the present day are mere *party* men, regardless of the great interests of the country. The country is under the constant curse of their selfish schemes of president making. The loaves and fishes, the pillage and plunder, is obviously the object of many men, now in high places. Office and public station must surely have a tendency to corrupt men: or majorities would not be so reckless. Those who are strong in power, are seldom wise and temperate. The present Congress as a body, has much talent, sufficient for every purpose. But the most talented men in both branches of Congress, are not in the lead. Inferior men are governing the destinies of the country.

I must say for the whig party, that during the present session of Congress, I have seen but little, that could be charged to a factious spirit. I think adversity has chastened the party. It is deeply to be regreted, that the Democratic party in Congress, have failed to put their strong men in the front. When weak men govern, the Country will suffer.

There is no office in the world, which requires so much wisdom and patriotism, to fulfill all the duties, as that of chief magistrate of the U. S. A man must be both capable and honest, or he will do immense mischief.

Nothing short of the most commanding mind, can resist and control the wiles and schemes of cliques and factions, who profess to be most zealous in his own ranks. A weak man may be forced into the most ruinous errors, against the honest convictions of his own mind, especially by his own friends and partisans.

I would sincerely pity the chief magistrate, who could be severed from his own honest purpose, by yielding to a faction of his own friends. Now that the principle is recognized, that the President can at any time force the Country into War, without the aid or consent of Congress, and that patriotism demands of Congress, the supplies to carry on that War, without even time to deliberate. *Is not the purse, and the sword,* in the hands of the President? Such power is fearful in the hands of any man, and more especially so, in the hands of one, who can not rely on himself, but is leaning on his *Ice-sickle party leaders.*

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From George Curtiss

UTICA N Y *May 26th 1846*

DEAR SIR My business for the last few months has been such as to require me to travel extensively through this State and also to some extent in the New England States, and I have thus been thrown

among the business men of all classes and political parties and have had a good opportunity to learn the unbiased public sentiment.

Permit me to say to you that the freely expressed opinion of all has been to approbate and applaud the course you have taken in the U. S. Senate in regard to the settlement of the Oregon question; I assure you I have not heard one dissenting voice or opinion; and I would further say that to quite an extent have I heard the opinions of the people in regard to the course you took on the recent call by the President for appropriations to prosecute the Mexican War [1] (as it is termed) and there is but one opinion and that is entire approval of your course.

My only object in writing you this is to let you know that in this section of the Union you have the decided approbation of your countrymen; I thought it might be a satisfaction to you to know these facts, and therefore have taken this liberty.

I would further say that the people are looking to you with others in the Senate to propose some meditatorial plan by which this difficulty with Mexico may be speedily and amicably adjusted.

From Samuel Bishop

New Haven [Conn.,] *June 11th, 1846*

Dear Sir My friend Mr Jackson, called upon me a day or two since, and informed me that he had been requested by you to remind me of the promise that I made when I had the honor of seeing you in Washington. I beg leave to assure you that I have not forgotten anything that transpired at our interview, and nothing but the fear of being considered obtrusive has prevented me from communicating with you before. I have taken the liberty to send you a number of the Democrat occasionally and a copy of the "address" of the New Haven democracy, adopted at a large meeting last summer which I presume you received.

Our political affairs are still in a very unsettled state, although there is a small democratic majority in both branches of the legislature; the fact is, parties are so nearly ballanced in Connecticut that neither one can calculate with any certainty upon remaining in the ascendancy, more than two years in succession—local questions having more influence in determining an election than any thing else. The "license law," for instance, which was enacted by the Whigs last year, produced the revolution in Connecticut this spring—and I think it more than probable that our triumph will end with the year, if some means are not devised in the mean time to heal the breach that exists in our ranks. You may recollect that in my conversation with you, I ex-

[1] See William M. Meig's Calhoun, Vol. II, p. 384.

pressed the opinion that if Mr Wilcox should receive the appointment of Collector in opposition to the wishes of so large a majority, the consequences would be disastrous to the party—at least to that portion of it located in New Haven. The event has realized my worst apprehensions. Last year the vote here for Mr Toucey [2] was but 397. The whole strength of the democratic party in New Haven at the present time cannot be less than 1400. Yet at the election this year Mr. Toucey received but 626 votes, 100 of which were cast by Whigs, who are dissatisfied with the "license law," to which I have already alluded. These facts serve to show the extent of the disaffection. In the nominating Convention Mr. Toucey had but four majority, and at the election he did not even receive a plurality of votes. He and the other state officers were elected by the Legislature. The "exclusives" are of course very much elated, principally because they are afforded an opportunity to gratify their malignity in various ways against us. The vilest misrepresentations of our motives and conduct are industriously circulated amongst the Country members, and particular pains taken to proscribe certain individuals in our ranks. We are undetermined as to the course we ought now to pursue. We have no intention of detaching ourselves from the democratic party, nor do we feel any disposition to desert the ground we have taken. If you will favor me with any suggestions on the subject, they will be most gratefully received, and you may rely upon my discrition in the use of them. The true democracy of New Haven are Calhoun men, and are looking forward impatiently to the next Presidential Campaign, because they want an opportunity to assist in plaicing you in the White House. My object has been to inform you as nearly as possible of the true state of our affairs. Upon reviewing what I have written, I do not see that any thing could have been omitted without defeating that object, and this I trust you will receive as an apology for the length of my letter.

From Thomas G. Clemson

BRUSSELS, [BELGIUM,] *June 27th, 1846.*

MY DEAR SIR:

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The war with Mexico has its good and bad effects. Everything that can be turned against us by the public prints of England and those on the continent is made use of to throw the government and the people of the United States into a false and disgraceful position.

[2] Isaac Toucey, a Democrat of Connecticut, was a member of the House of Representatives, 1835–1839; unsuccessful Democratic candidate for governor, 1845; defeated again by popular vote in 1846, but was elected by the legislature; again defeated in 1847; Attorney General under Polk, 1848–1849; Senator, 1852–1857; Secretary of the Navy, 1857–1861.

The monarchies of Europe have not the least sympathy with us or our institutions, and unfortunately there have been occurrences at home, that have afforded a fine opportunity to misrcpresent us [and] our intentions, and the efficiency of the institutions of Republican forms of Government. We are always placed in the most unenviable point of view and evcrything that can be said against us is eagerly caught and magnified. Thus the war in Mcxico is represented as a premeditated thing, the result and a part of the policy of the American feeling to grasp and acquire by every means what does not belong to them and for which they have no use. Thc news of General Taylor's succcss has been a relief to all Americans. The simple and concise manner that he has worded his Despatches giving an account of the brilliant victories over the Mexicans has had an admirable effect and contrasts well with the doings of thc French in Algicrs and the English in the Punjaub. If we could now bring about an honorable peace and retire from the Mexican territory without the usual excesses that invariably follow successful armies, it would be a great point gained.

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From R. M. Saunders [3]

PARIS [FRANCE,] *June 27th, '46.*

DEAR SIR,

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I found the papers on our arrival [in England] predicting with certainty the defeat and capture of Genl. Taylor and his army. Our steamer brought the first intelligence of the battles of the 8th and 9th. This changed the tune of the press, and tho' they gave us credit for the result and greatly abused the Mexicans for their imbecility, it was evident the fulfillment of their precocious predictions, would have been more pleasing to them. Our victories have greatly raised our national character.

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From Thompson & Co.

NEW YORK, [N. Y.,] *July 7th, 1846.*

SIR, Your controlling influence has often been successfully exercised for the safety and protection of important interests in our country. As it relates to the Tariff, we are not unaware of your publicly expressed views; and yet we, as Manufacturcrs of carpeting, feel assured

[3] Romulus Mitchell Saunders, a Democrat of North Carolina, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1821–1827, 1841–1845; minister to Spain, 1846–1849.

that our appeal to you to prevent such a Bill as has passed the House of Representatives from receiving the sanction of the Senate, will not be made in vain.

We sincerely believe that no system of ad valorem duties can be made to work favorably either for the Government or the Domestic manufactures of the United States.

If the Bill in question pass the Senate, our immediate course would be to work up merely our present stock, dismiss our operatives and close the Factories; and what we should be obliged to do, would in our opinion, be equally imperative on others.

The number of persons employed or dependent on this branch of manufacture in the United States, exceeds 35,000, and the wages paid per annum amount to more than Three millions of dollars.

From Jas. B. Sawyer

PITTSBURGH [PA.,] *July 10th 1846*

DEAR SIR, I take the liberty of addressing you in relation to a matter in which I in common with the Democracy of Allegheny County and of this whole state feel a deep and at present a most intense interest. The vote of McKay's bill [4] was as unexpected to us here as its announcement was alarming. We had just nominated our County ticket and were going into the campaign confident of success until this most unexpected measure was sprung upon us which if carried out and adopted will undoubtedly overwhelm us with defeat. I was a member of the Convention and acted as one of the secretaries. We nominated for Congress Wilson McCandless, Esqr a very popular stump speaker who in '44 directed his whole energies towards the success of Mr. Polk, pledging himself and his party to the maintenance of the tariff of '42. And these pledges here and elsewhere throughout the State gave Pennsylvania to Mr. Polk and thereby secured his election. So far then as the Democratic party here were concerned they were honest in their professions and really intended as far as their abilities [went] to uphold the tariff of '42.

If however we are not able to fulfill our promises, but are born down by our own party in other sections of the Country, and our enemies here thereby enabled to throw the charge of deception and hyprocrisy in our face, it is useless for us longer to continue the fight. We have no platform on which to stand and we must surrender at discretion. Because we of Pennsylvania are unanimously in favor of a tariff and that too a tariff for protection. No party can hold up its head or have an existence here that opposes it. And so far as Pennsylvania is concerned Mr. Polk's political death warrant is scaled. But I took

[4] James J. McKay, of North Carolina, as chairman of the House Committee of Ways and Means, was spokesman for the tariff bill. See Congressional Globe for July 2, 1846, first session, Twenty-ninth Congress, p. 1047.

up my pen merely for the purpose of asking you one question, which I hope you will have the goodness to answer. I must confess that the Democracy here had but little to hope from you, and I among them never dreamed that yours would be the arm which was destined to avert the calamity which we now so much dread. Still rumors within the last few days have reached us and have now almost assumed a tangible shape by appearing in the public prints (one of which I send you) that when the question came up in the Senate you would throw your vote and your influence against McKay's bill. I confess I did not and do not place much reliance in the rumor. "The news is too good to be true." We have always here admired your talents but feared their bent. Because we have found them exerted too often and too successfully against what we knew, at least, to be our interest. When a boy at college but a few years ago I remember how when reading your arguments in debate I admired but was taught to dread your talents. My teachers, my father and the most of my associates were your political enemies, all whigs. Still I admired and still I feared you because I saw you contending against what I knew or thought I knew to be the interests of the country and the whole country—a protective tariff. If then you could assure me that there is any foundation for the rumor refered to do it quickly. If you have in any way changed your views in relation to this matter of so vast importance to us let us hear from you. If you intend to vote against the destruction of the tariff be your motives what they may let us know it and we will rally round you for our leader, one with whom we will be proud to go into the contest of '48. This question is all that has seperated us. We have always admired you, always been proud of your great talents, but self preservation compelled us to stand by the tariff. If you can agree with us on this point we prefer you to Wright Cass, or any man spoken of for our candidate in '48. Several of the prominent men of our party have been at my office this afternoon and are talking of calling a Democratic meeting next week for the purpose of adopting some measures to avert the threatened calamity.

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From J. Gadsden

CHARLESTON S C *10 July 1846*

MY DEAR SIR Since writing you on yesterday I have recd a copy of your report.[5] I have made 3 efforts to read it, but have in every instance been interrupted: for a railroad president [6] is like his locomo-

[5] Report of a special Senate committee on the Memorial of the Memphis Convention. The convention met in November, 1845. The report was submitted June 26, 1846. Calhoun's Works, Vol. V, p. 246.

[6] James Gadsden was now president of the South Carolina Railroad and engaged in commerce and rice culture.

tive ever in motion. I am off for Aiken, on business today and will read it attentively on my journey. The Mercury and Courier have both published it. The Patriot & [the] News will circulate it next, and all the Editors I presume will have something to say on it. Our population however have been so adverse to constructive powers that they assume everything new as constructive: and I fear, will as some of the Editors go off in a hurry before they have read and reflected.

I feel much interested in your recommendation of a reduction on Iron duty (if it can not be imported free). It will give immense impulse to Southern Enterprises and will benefit instead of affect Pennsylvania Manufacturers.

By the by there is much complaint against American Rail Iron made with Anthracite Coal. Indeed the representations to me come from such authority, that I could not build with American Iron untell better tested [?], even at a lower rate. Get the duty therefore remitted or reduced and the mail pay advanced and I will ensure in 18 months, from the commencement the Road to Wilmington and to Camden. The latter looking toward Raleigh as an ulterior work.

From Thos. Chambers

WASHINGTON CITY [D. C.,] *July 20th, 1846*

MY DEAR SIR Feeling assured that the day is not distant, when you can realize your Free Trade Policy and that the tendency of everything is to establish it, eventually and knowing the deep and solemn interest, which every Manufacturer feels, in removing this vexed question from the politics of the day, I now propose to you, a mode of compromise, that will reconcile all interests. It is surely enough to satisfy any liberal and enlightened Statesman, seeking only the good of his country and who can rise superior to the party squabbles of the day, that the manufacturers are willing to reduce the duties of the Bill of 1842. One Third (nearly) and annually thereafter one per cent until the reduction is Twenty per cent; if this shall be sufficient to meet the wants of the Government.

The great object which you and those who act with you seek, is to carry out your principles eventually and, if so, are not mild measures, the most effective? Time is all we want and what is ten or twenty years in the History of a Great Nation.

To advance *safely* is to make haste slowly. If the Bill now before the Senate becomes a Law, a violent reaction follows and the Bill of 1842 is again reenacted beyond a doubt. Agitation will never cease, because you bring again into politics, the business men of the country.

A period has now arrived, when a compromise can be effected, which will be stable and permanent and I am authorized by a large and influential body of Manufacturers, to propose that, which I now enclose [7] for your consideration and with you and your party will rest the awful responsibility of rejecting it.

Your masterly mind can control this question and we tell you candidly and frankly, that the Northern and Middle States, never will submit to the odious features of the Bill before the Senate. It is admitted by all your leading men in their *daily conversations* to be defective in the highest degree and yet can it be with the spirit now manifested by the manufacturers, that you will permit it to become a Law. If so a revolution of opinion follows and an excitement, that no language can paint. Pennsylvania is already agitated to the centre; but what will be the State of feeling, when all our Iron and Coal Establishments are shut up and the Labourers dismissed? It is for you to judge. Having every confidence in your patriotism and love of country, I leave this matter in your hands and under the hope and belief, that you will bring about, some measure upon which all parties can agree.

From Isaac Brooks

BALTIMORE [MD.,] *July 24 1846*

SIR: Having been engaged for many years in the importation of Iron in the city of Baltimore and having been prevented by the Tariff of 1842 from importing many articles that we imported before its passage owing to the enormous duty levied on them, we had hoped that we should again have been permitted to pursue our business under a moderate duty. But looking into a newspaper this morning we have seen a proposition to retain the duty on many kinds of Iron to such a point as still to exclude them. Hoop, Band, Sheet, Boiler Plates, and all Iron round and square of ⅝ diameter and under and all Iron that will not make in substance a ⅝ square Bar is now charged at the enormous duty of $56 per Ton or 2½ cts. per lb. The Compromise offered being one fourth will take off of this but $14, leaving the duty on this sort of Iron still at $42. This in the bill is kept studiedly out of view—these sorts of Iron not being mentioned at all, and the impression conveyed is that all the Iron manufactured by Rolling will pay but $18.75 per ton. We think we are safe in saying that *one third* of *all Iron* now made in the United States (excluding pig Iron) is of this description. The present price of Boiler Iron, the lowest price asked is 5½ cts. per lb of $123 per ton. The

[7] This enclosure, on a separate sheet, reads: "Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert: That from and after the first day of December next there shall be a reduction of 25 per cent of the duties, whether specific or ad valorem, now imposed by law, upon all articles whereon duties exceeding 30 per cent ad valorem are now charged."

price of good pig Iron is about $30 per ton. The manufacturer of Boiler Iron gets for converting a piece of Pig Iron with this description of Iron $93. The price of Sheet Iron is $140 per Ton leaving $110 for converting a ton of Pigs into Sheets. The price of making a ton of Pig Iron is believed to be about $17—this I have from the makers of this Iron. If the manufacturer should make his own pig Iron he will get $123 for converting it into sheets. The price of Sheet Iron (see accompanying circular) in Liverpool is £11.5 Pounds which at $4.80 to the Pound Sterling is $54, and this after paying a profit in Liverpool. The price of Boiler Iron is about the same as Sheet. Now if Sheet and Boiler Iron can be made in England and afford a profit at $54, how great must be the profit to the American manufacturer at $123 for Boiler Iron and $140 for Sheet. We hope that before making any compromise you will insist that the duty on this description of Iron shall be reduced to a point that will enable the importer to again bring it into this country. We used to import larger quantities of Boiler, Band, Hoop, Scroll, and Small Iron of ⅝ and under, but the Tariff of 1842 entirely ruined our trade in these articles having entirely excluded most of them.

We are satisfied that under Mr. McKay's bill we shall pay the Government much more money than we do at present.

We must apologize to you for sending you this statement. It would have been sent to one of our own Senators but they being opposed to the bill, we knew it would be useless.

P. S. We are the only importers of Iron in the City of Baltimore, the high duties having driven all others out of the trade.

From Charles Saxton

WASHINGTON [D. C.,] *July 25, 1846.*

SIR: After listening to day for four hours to the speech of Mr. Webster in opposition to the new tariff bill now before the Senate, and to the speeches of Messrs. Cameron, Upham,[8] and Simmons [9] previously delivered, I consider it due to the people of Oregon, who have everything at stake in the passage of this bill, to make known, through you, to the Senate their views on this subject; and can add my own convictions, founded on observations in Oregon in the year 1844–5, to that part of the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, in reply to resolution of the Senate, dated July 22, 1846, in which he says:

As illustrative of the difference between free trade and high duties, it is proved, that, in the absence of any tariff, agricultural products are dearer in Oregon than with us, whilst a vast number of articles that have performed the circuit of the globe, around the Cape of Good Hope, or Cape Horn, notwithstanding the heavy

[8] William Upham, a Whig of Vermont, was Senator, 1843–1853.
[9] James Fowler Simmons, a manufacturer of Rhode Island, was Senator, 1841–1847, 1857–1862.

freight, are much lower there than with us. Thus, in a very late history of Oregon, by George Wilks, it is stated that "woolen goods and ready-made clothing, being introduced here without duty, (as it is considered an English port), are greatly cheaper than with us. A very good strong quality of blue broad cloth six-quarters wide, can be had for $1.25 per yard. All articles of cutlery are also cheap for the same reason as above. Chains, tools, and farming implements are very reasonable." Such is the present condition of things in Oregon; and it would be a fact, worthy of consideration, to note the difference of price and its extent, in regard to *protected* articles, if the tariff of 1842 should be extended to that interesting portion of our common country. It is easy, however to fortel, that on nearly all our protected articles there would be a rise in the price nearly *equal* to the duties; thus establishing by an example in point, and by actual results, the enhancement in price occasioned by such duties.

The tariff question was discussed with a good deal of interest, in the winter of 1845, when I was in Oregon City, and the general expression of opinion was that it would be for the *present* and *permanent* prosperity of Oregon to have "a tariff for *revenue*, such an one as will yield a sufficient amount to the treasury to defray the expenses of the government economically administered; and at the same time afford *reasonable incidental protection to our home industry.*"

Perhaps there is no country on the face of the globe, which presents so practical an illustration of the sound and enlightened principles of the spirit of the age, "free trade", as Oregon. A country possessing great commercial advantages, a salubrious climate, and rich in mines of iron, coal, and lead, and a fertile soil, unsurpassed by even the "Genesse Flats" for raising wheat, which was worth when I left the country last summer $1.00 per bushel; it sold in the Russian possessions on the coast, for $2.50; the day laborer received $2.00 per day and boarded himself; carpenters and joiners received $2.50 per day. A trade with the Sandwich Islands was springing up; Oregon flour sold at Honolulu for $10.00 per barrell, and lumber, including plank, shingle, white oak and spars sold well; in return there was imported the following articles, the products of the Islands. *Shugar*, which sold for 12½ cents per pound; *Syrrup*, or a good quality of molasses, sold for 66 cents per gallon; and *Coffee*, which sold for 20 cents per pound.

The *currency* of the country was wheat, which was exchanged for goods, improvements on land, stock, or whatever the individual wished to purchase. Many of the most wealthy farmers had commenced raising hemp with the view of making it an article of export to various parts of the Pacific, and it was thought it would grow well in the country, it looked well in the field when I left. A high tariff imposed upon that rapidly growing country would greatly retard its growth and prosperity in the infancy of its trade with Russia, the Sandwich Islands, and eventually with its great market, China.

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From F. W. Byrdsall

NEW YORK, [N. Y.,] *Aug. 4th., 1846.*

DEAR SIR: One of our Commission merchants or agents of manufacturing establishments of other States, a brother of the well known Whig Simeon Draper,[10] avowed to a gentlemen of my acquaintance, that he hoped the Mexican war would involve the country in a public debt of one hundred millions of dollars. When questioned as to the reason, he replied because it would compell the restoration of a high Tariff.

This man is but one of a numerous class whose selfish interests overule all considerations of the loss of life and destruction of property which must occur before such a debt could be incurred, as well as all other considerations of patriotism or common justice. And yet it is very probable that he (as well as most of the class he belongs to) is a member or elder of a christian church—a praying and hymn singing man.

Our Banking and Tariff systems have generated or at least cultivated into rank luxuriance, the worst sentiments that ever found place in the American heart. Every step towards the overthrow of both is a movement towards moral and political regeneration. With regard to protection of American industry, the best protection of our real *working people* is a specie currency, no national debt and but little taxation. Thirty years of this protection would be a blessing in every temporal sense of the word.

This has been a most important session of Congress and it proves that the past labors of your mind have not been in vain, the fruit has at last come. I rejoice in the settlement of the Oregon question. I rejoice anew in the annexation of Texas since her two Senators [11] have voted with you on the Tariff. I rejoice that we have put down the principle of protection as a feature of taxation. I rejoice in the passage of the Sub Treasury Bill, but I would have preferred under present circumstances to have had the draft clause retained. The stringency of the specie clause will curtail imports, not that it is wrong in principle, but inexpedient at the present juncture of increased expenditures. I rejoice in the passage of the ware house bill in consequence of the passage of the Sub Treasury bill, in its present form.

I trust that these great measures will have obtained a fair trial before they shall be meddled with, and that only such amendments will be made as experience demands. Revolutions are onward not backward. I see no probability of retrograding in the track of protection. We are more likely to go towards the extreme of

[10] Simeon Draper was an active Whig politician of New York; he was long a personal and political friend of William H. Seward; several times a member of the Whig State central committee.

[11] Sam Houston and Thomas J. Rusk.

freedom rather than restriction. And yet after all, the new Tariff is highly protective, and with the specie sub-treasury still considerably more so. When Senator Niles [12] voted against the new Tariff and for the Sub Treasury, he acted more consistently than the whig Senators did, who opposed both.

You have my hearty congratulations for the success of the principles you have advocated and suffered for. If the measures are not fully to your views, the principles are established. At the end of the session you can return to your home with very different feelings from those you had in the days of the Force Bill,[13] for the principles that were then down are now uppermost. I repeat that I congratulate you on the success of your principles for which you have passed through a fiery Ordeal. And you deserve all the pleasure that a noble and virtuous victory can give you. . . . . .

P. S. Attempts are being made to get up a panic on account of the new Tariff Bill. It is absurd to say the least to get up one in advance before the law goes into operation. If our manufacturers cannot prosper with an average protection of 30 per cent—a specie sub treasury, freight insurance besides in their favor, the Protege should be abandoned as an unworthy prodigal.

From Armistead Burt

Salt Sulphur Springs, Va. *14 Sept. 1846.*

My dear Sir,

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I have heard but little news since I saw you. There are no politicians, and but few persons of intelligence, at the Springs. I have seen but very few Democrats. The result of my inquiries is that the Whigs of this State are very friendly to you—greatly prefer you to any other Democrat, although they will support the nominee of their own party, if he is not objectionable to the South. I am convinced as I have repeatedly said that so far as one can now see, it will be fatal to the Whigs as well as to the Democrats in the South to go into a national convention. I venture to say, the nominee of each party will be selected with reference to his ability to carry the States of New York and Pennsylvania, and especially the anti-slavery votes in those States. This, at one blow, strikes down all Southern men, and as I think all Southern allies. The state of feeling and sentiment in Virginia is good. Hunter will be chosen a Senator. Bagley [Bagby?] is not popular in the Western part

[12] John Milton Niles, a Whig of Connecticut, was Senator, 1835–1839; Postmaster General, 1840–1841; Senator, 1843–1849.

[13] The force bill of 1833.

of the State. There is some chance that Governor Smith [14] may be elected to the Senate.

I have as yet seen Chapman [15] but once and then only to dine with a large party. Many of the guests were Whigs, and but little was said about politics. He has gone to one of the Courts but I hope to see him before I leave here.

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From Elwood Fisher

WASHINGTON [D. C.,] *9 mo 24. 1846.*

DEAR FRIEND Business of a private nature detains me yet and will delay my departure for home for a day or two, possibly for a week longer. I have never even inquired after the fate of the application in my favor for the Commissionership of the Land office, for from the day when I heard of the manner in which the vacancy was held, I had no expectation of the appointment. The change which has since occurred in the Cabinet, together with the reputed office of the vacant Atty Generalship [16] to Pearce, have but confirmed me in the belief that the President was aiming to form a party of his own, and he knows but too well how impracticable I would be.

The answer to our overture to Mexico, is that nothing can be done until the new Mexican Congress assembles. I suspect that our jockey President has been outjockeyed by Santa Anna, as I think there is little doubt of an understanding between them prior to the departure of the latter from Cuba, that if permitted to go to Mexico he would make favorable terms. Possibly the want of the two millions was fatal.

The administration was very confident of an early peace, until the last dispatches were received by the Princeton, but are now evidently at fault, and I think in alarm. The War goes on indefinitely, but its mightiest effects are felt in our treasury. The late St. Louis papers contain gloomy accounts of the condition of the forces invading Santa fe. The various divisions amount altogether to about 6,000 men, principally mounted. They are however marching in remote detachments, and it is reported that forage is not to be had, whilst the Prairie Indians are hovering in force along the baggage wagons and making hostile demonstrations. As to affairs here they are growing worse and worse. Genl. Armstrong [17] told me the other day the War

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[14] William Smith was a Democratic Governor of Virginia 1846–1849.

[15] Augustus A. Chapman, a Democrat of Virginia, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1843–1847.

[16] Nathan Clifford, of Maine, was appointed Attorney General in 1846.

[17] Robert Armstrong, a native of Tennessee, commanded a company under Jackson 1813–14 and distinguished himself in the Battle of New Orleans. He was a confidential adviser of Polk during his administration.

department was getting into great confusion and must soon come to a full stop. Walker is working away very laboriously in the Treasury, and has evidently overworked: he looks badly. But for his extravagant notion of Mexican conquest, there would still be some hope of terminating that disastrous war. He however talks of acquiring all the territory north of a line drawn directly across from the mouth of the Rio Grande to the Pacific, nearly two thirds of all Mexico! He thinks and there is much truth in that, that if peace were made without acquisitions, the administration would sink to the lowest deep of public contempt.

I very much suspect that if these gentlemen could now retract their steps in this business without incurring popular reproach it would be quickly done. I am satisfied that nothing now can save them but good fortune. But I am afraid that in their fall they will carry down the Democratic party.

It will be difficult perhaps it would be wrong to acquit the Democratic party of the War, and I believe the responsibility wherever it attaches will be fatal. If the stand made by thee against the mad infatuation of Congress had only been sustained manfully by thy particular friends in both houses, it would have given us an overwhelming moral strength, with which to control impending events. As it is I still trust that thy own course, (the more glorious, as it was thine alone), will have due effect.

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From H. R. Schoolcraft [18]

New York, [N. Y.,] 648 Broadway, *Oct. 19th, 1846.*

Dear Sir: I send you a printed copy of a brief memoir which I presented to the Board of regents of the Smithosonian Institution. Investigations of the kind therein referred to, would, I think, be very appropriate for that body to countenance. America has several elements for the study of the ancient affinities of nations. These exist, not only in an existing branch of one of the oriental stocks, but also in our western mounds, and in numerous monuments of art, which are scattered over the continent. You once mentioned to me, that the philosophy of our mounds was by no means creditable to, or worthy of the subject. Generalization on his head, to be valuable, must be the result of details which are not yet well collected. Neither have we, such vocabularies and grammars of the various languages, as would enable us to compare these, with each other, and with the languages of Asia, or other parts of the globe. After I went to Lake Superior in 1822, I began to study these languages and made myself master of several of them. And have, in other branches collected

[18] The famous ethnologist and scientist

data, which would give me advantages in undertaking inquiries of this kind. I studied the Hebrew, while on the Lakes, for the sole purpose of learning whether it contained that curious and characteristic principle of the Algonquin grammar, the division, *by inflections of the nouns verbs and adjectives*, of all nature into *two* great Kingdoms—namely, *animate* and *inanimate*. And I found nothing of the kind, the Hebrew, like most ancient languages, having masculines, feminines, and neuters.

Should you think favourably of the plan of studies named in the pamphlet, I should feel obliged, (if occasion favoured,) if you would mention it, to Col. Preston, who is one of the newly appointed Regents. With respect to the synopsis of principles laid down, to collect facts for the purpose of comparing nation with nation, it is a mere hasty sketch, and quite incomplete, not only in its details, but in some of the generic heads, perhaps.

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From James Chestney

TUSCALOOSA [ALA.,] *Novr. 23d 1846*

DEAR MR. CALHOUN, I take the liberty, which I hope you will pardon, of expressing an opinion in relation to the present state of the Mexican question. I am of opinion, and have no doubt, that a large number of the thinking part of society coincide with me, that if the advice of Mr. Calhoun had been regarded, we should not at this moment have been so deeply plunged in this unfortunate business. Waging war for the sake of conquering peace is a very poor business at any time, under any circumstances, and with any people. But it appears to me that the war with Mexico is about to be less profitable to those engaged than any war that has afflicted the world for a long time. Suppose Gen. Taylor were now at the city of Mexico, or at the remotest Southern boundary of the Mexican territory cui bono? Suppose Monterey had yielded without attempting resistance, how would the people of the United States or their government be benefitted? It seems to me that enough has been done. We have shewn to the world our capacity to do injury. We have given our troops the opportunity to display their superiority, and I think we may now with propriety bring the whole affair to a close. We shall gain nothing that I can imagine by spending another six months and another 20 millions in carrying on the useless struggle. By continuing the contest we shall bankrupt the treasury, endanger the cause of free trade, and create discontent in every section of the Union. The whole country looks to Mr. Calhoun as the proper person to mature and put forward some plan for putting an end to this controversy, preventing the further effusion of blood, and the further expenditure

of moneys. However guilty the government of Mexico may be, the wretched inhabitants of that part of the world are innocent, and the terrible calamities and distress that have been heaped upon the people of Monterey and its vicinity have produced no compensation or corresponding benefit either to the American government, the army, or the American people. I think I speak the language of truth and soberness, as well as of humanity, in regard to the matter, and I am satisfied the best part of the people of the South Western States, are disposed to see the affair terminate. If Mr. Calhoun will address himself to the question he can put an end to it, and I am satisfied it is his duty to do so, and thus complete in his character the perfect model of a Republican Statesman. I trouble myself very little with politics, but claim a devoted attachment ot the great cause of democracy and of human liberty, which are identical with the cause of humanity itself.

Excuse the freedom taken by one, who has for many years been filled with admiration of your genius and character.

From Wilson Lumpkin

ATHENS [GA.,] *Nov. 26th, 1846.*

MY OLD FRIEND—We have had no direct communication for a long time. I still read and keep up with the passing events of the day. But I employ myself exclusively, in devotion to my own humble private affairs. You succeeded admirably in bringing the Oregon controversy to a happy issue. And I sincerely wish that the same result, could have been obtained in the final adjustment of the difficulties in relation to Mexico. But I am now apprehensive, that the war with Mexico will not be terminated soon. I dread the corrupting influence of our Mexican War, as well as the heavy debt, we are in fair way to bequeath to our posterity. The politicks of the country at this time, are all chaos. Old party lines are broken up, and new formations must and will take place. If an honest Patriotic party could be formed on correct principles, I should rejoice. I am heartily disgusted, with all office seeking parties.

I see that your influence is still dreaded, by all the office seeking cliques of both the old parties. I suppose you have read the last number of the Southern Quarterly Review, in which your report, on the memorial of the Memphis convention, is handled without gloves, and intended to do you injury, just now. The small *fry* amongst your opponents of the press, are busily at work, retailing in their limited spheres, the views of the Southern quarterly, together with their less polished comments.

The Southern Banner of this place (under the influence of Cobb and his clique) manifest a weekly disposition to assail you on some

point. Your late communication [19] to Messrs. Orr and others, upon the subject of the proposed change of your State Constitution etc etc. is published in the Banner of this week, with some very unjust and unfair Editorial remarks, by Col. Holsey [20] the present ostensible Editor, the reading of which influenced me to address you at this time. While I have not the least disposition ever again to embark in politics, I love my country and wish it to prosper, and my confidence in your integrity and ability remains undiminished, and my principal object in now addressing you, is to say, that as far as you may deem it expedient, after your arrival at Washington, it might be well to keep me apprized, of what is passing in under currents, and which may not be so obvious on the surface of the troubled waters.

Georgia politics are like those of New York—no one can tell, what a day may bring forth. I sometimes fear, that the real old fashioned federal doctrines will govern Georgia at last.

I trust, that our *free trade* doctrines will prevail and be maintained. We have not yet overcome abolitionism. Indeed it is advancing in power and consequence. I dont see how sectional divisions in politics hereafter can be avoided. I fear the great middle States will unite to govern the rest.

But for the folly of those who govern, we should be [the] most happy and prosperous people under heaven.

I shall be pleased to hear from you.

From Hendrick B. Wright [21]

WILKES-BARRE [PA.,] *Dec. 8, 1846.*

MY DEAR SIR Your place and influence put it in your power to save the democracy of this State certainly and very probably that of the Union. By a modification of the tax laws discriminating in favor of the staples of this great State, coal and iron; our people would take the law of '46 without complaint. As it is I fear the worst consequences to the party in the next effort. Our interests in coal and iron are so important and they reach so many collateral measures, that an amendment of the law seems to be almost indispensable.

You, Sir, are the mediator in this case and if disposed to undertake the matter there can be no question of the result, and I am satisfied you can do it and compromise no principle. It would give you strength in Penna. and probably be the initiative of momentous

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[19] Letter dated Fort Hill, November, 1846, on the mode of appointing presidential electors, to James L. Orr, William Sloan, A. Evins, and F. W. Symmes, in reply to a request from them for his views. Works, Vol. VI, p. 254.

[20] Hopkins Holsey was editor of the Southern Banner, published at Athens, Ga.

[21] Hendrick Bradley Wright, of Pennsylvania, took a prominent part in local and national politics as a Democrat; Member of the House of Representatives 1853–1855, 1861–1863, 1877–1881.

questions hereafter. I suggest this as your *personal* and *political* friend, for while I would disdain to say to you, what was not my honest opinion, you cannot believe from past intercourse that I would do a thing or express a thought prejudicial to your interests. And if the day should come when you were before the people as a candidate for their suffrages for the first office in their gift, no consideration arising from diferences of opinion would alienate me from your cause.

Believing that you regard me sincere, I have taken the liberty to make the suggestion as to a modification of the tariff. And I should hope to see the movement originate with you. Our defeat in this State has been signal and I hope and pray that some slight legislation may prevent an occurrence of it again. This can be done by taking coal and iron out of the ad valorum lists: and so long as the law does vary in this, can there be any objection to include those articles in that variation. I have no individual interest in the matter, and am governed solely by the desire to save the party and increase its strength.

From Wilson Lumpkin

ATHENS, [GA.,] *Dec. 17th, 1846.*

MY DEAR SIR I have just read your favor of the 13th. Inst. The views which you entertain upon the subjccts to which you advert, very nearly coincide with my own, perhaps entirely so. But I drop you this hasty line, for the purpose of saying, that I foresee all the difficulties which you suggest, in bringing the War to a speedy and honorable termination. And to add, that nothing short of a vigorous prosecution of the War, on our part, can now force the Mexican authorities to terms. For as you justly remark, we cannot now get out of the War with any degree of credit, except by large accessions of Territory, and such concessions will not be made by Mexico, but as a last resort to maintain her existence as a people. I should have rejoiced, if this War could have been avoided, but it is now, beyond our control, except by prosecuting it to a final issue.

The responsibility of the War, and its consequences must and does rest upon the shoulders of *the powers that be* and time must and will soon determine how much of good and evil will be the result. Secretary Walkers report is an able one. Fully aware of the danger of *sectional* divisions in our Confederacy, I fear they cannot much longer be avoided.

For myself, there are not one man in a thousand, in what is called the free States, that I would be willing to trust with the administration of the Federal Govt. Their unreasonable prejudices and assumptions, to me as an individual is altogether intolerable. I would make

no compromises with them, except such as may now be found in our National Compact.

As far as you can in conscience, afford to the administration, the means of prosecuting the War, and while the War is still progressing, it may not be wise or prudent, to expose the errors in its prosecution.

From H. W. Conner

CHARLESTON [S. C.,] *Jany. 9 1847.*

DEAR SIR: The aspect of things at Washington is beginning to create much anxiety amongst us in Charleston. The Congress recently so unanimous in their precipitancy to declare the county in a state of war with Mexico appear now almost equally unanimous in abandoning the country in the time of its greatest need and unless some powerful influence is soon brought to bear we fear we shall stand forth discredited and degraded in the sight of all the world.

Your friends and the country as usual look to you in the emergency.

You opposed the war single handed and alone, pointed out its difficulties and its dangers and whatever may [be] the consequences the responsibility lies not with you.

At this distance we can of course know but little of the combinations or the currents or under currents that may be in motion in Washington and any suggestion we venture to make is of course in perfect difference to your better judgment, but it does appear to us that there is a crisis near at hand if not already arrived which will demand your interference. Your course at the commencement of the difficulty and the commanding position you occupy in the confidence and regard of the whole nation enables you alone, if it can be done atall to strike out a course to save the Honour of the nation which it appears [to] us now can only be done by a vigorous prosecution of the war, but of this you are the better judge. It would besides in our humble opinion be the means of placing yourself in a still more eviable attidude before the people, a circumstance tho secondary in its importance with yourself, we know, still ought not to be lost sight of.

If you have time we would be glad to hear from you. It is possible we overate the difficulties in prospect.

I have taken the liberty of giving a letter of introduction to you in favor of Isaac Townsend a prominent Merchant of New York and of much influence and more honesty and general intelligence, as a leading member of the democratic party of that city, than is usually to be found. In fact he is a gentleman of the purest character and I would be very glad if you could give him an interview.

From J. Hamilton

OSWICHEE BEND *Feby 7th 1847*

MY DEAR SIR I have long designed dropping you a line but really my private and domestic occupations have been such that I literally have not had a moment at my disposal. And now just on the eve of my departure to visit my plantation in Texas I have not time to do more than to say that in spite of my silence and amidst all my distracting cares you are yourself the object of my unbounded confidence and esteem and your fortunes and success as the *first* public man in the Country are the objects of my unceasing solicitude.

Altho the presidency could not add to your fame, and probably not to your happiness yet for the honor of the Country and for the repute if its virtue and discernment I ardently desire your elevation. But recently I have been desponding a good deal, from the profligacy of the Northern Democracy and the stupidity of the Southern Whigs who seem to want the sense to perceive that their true policy is to unite with us in rallying on yourself. Such is the instinctive ingratitude of Republics that your great and incomparable services on the Oregon difficulty appear to have been forgotten and I fear without you can give some turn to the crisis of our War with Mexico that you will suffer the prejudice from the belief of being inimical to the administration on the subject of the war with Mexico.

Now I believe no man in the U. S. has suffered so much in his fortunes as I have by the accursed war, yet I feel the necessity of standing by those who are waging it that we may get out of it with the least possible delay.

That the War has been feebly conducted as far as the Govt. is concerned, without a combination and comprehensiveness of views necessary to such a great public exigency I believe, and certainly the late move to place a civilian at the head of the army (and such an individual too!!)[22] shows that Polk and his Cabinet are as ignorant of the sensibilities which belong to a just military pride as the object of their favor is of military knowledge.

If our army had submitted to such an outrage, they would deserve certainly to be flogged even by such enemies as the Mexicans. You certainly deserve the thanks of the Country and our little army for having blown up this absurd *project* and the inflated Bladder who was to have been the object of its honors. The direction with which you acted is as worthy of praise as the object of your labors.

I have not the smallest idea when it comes to the push that the North will have the nerve to break the line of the Missouri Compro-

[22] Thomas Hart Benton stood for prosecuting the Mexican war with the utmost vigor. It was actually proposed to make him lieutenant general, and therefore the commander in chief of our forces in Mexico; but this was defeated in the Senate. If passed it would have been considered a great outrage upon Scott and Taylor and every other soldier with real military training.

mise short off where we cross the Rio Grande. If they do if the South submits we are far worse slaves than our vassals. If we do not raise the standard of resistance we are the basest Poltroons that ever lived to be frightened into slavery and debasement. Let the issue I say be made the moment the War is at an end if our *domestic* enemies desire. Its discussion would now weaken the Country in the prosecution of hostilities. Its discussion when Peace takes place will nerve animate and fit us for the *struggle which must come.* When I reach New Orleans I will see your devoted friends in the Legislature of New Orleans and endeavor to ascertain whether we cannot carry thro a movement in your favor sufficiently authoritative by a majority to give an impulse to your nomination South and West. If this cannot be triumphantly effected we must wait abide our time and look out at some more propitious moment.

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From J. Gregg

COLUMBIA [S. C.,] *17th Feby. 1847*

MY DEAR SIR I cannot forego the gratification of telling you what extreme pleasure your reply to that fellow Turney gave me.[23]

You have fully confirmed what I have thought all along and said frequently in my family though I did not care to say much about it out of doors whilst the war was going on, that if Genl. Taylor had not been ordered from Corpus Christi to the Rio Grande we would have had no war and that Mr. Polk had very injudiciously and imprudently dragged us into it as there was no kind of necessity whatever for that ill fated movement.

The Abolitionists and Northern Members generally objected and predicted that the annexation of Texas would lead to a war with Mexico but we all Mr. Polk and all insisted on it that this would not necessarily follow, nor would it had it not been for Mr. Polk's utter lack of judgment and unaccountable indiscretion.

You have however put that matter like a demonstration in Euclid and I do not see how any one in his senses can after that entertain a doubt about it.

Mr. Polk has done pretty well in some things but he began with one most capital blunder which for a while put me altogether out with him, and he has followed it up within at least three others and would have added a fourth in the appointment of his Lieutenant General if you had allowed him.

After the three extraordinary victories gained by Gen'l. Taylor no man in the Union whether from the army or the Senate should have been sent to supercede him. After what I have said I need scarcely

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[23] Works, Vol. IV, p. 328. Hopkins Lacy Turney, a Democrat of Tennessee, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1837–1843; Senator, 1845–1851.

add that if you could have looked into my thoughts with the eye of the Almighty you could not in your great Speech which I read with equal pleasure have expressed with greater exactness my opinions so far as they extended and beyond that I agree with you perfectly, and if I am not grossly mistaken, although many and especially young persons may have hitherto been lead astray, yet the whole country will settle down upon what you have so clearly pointed out.

From P. S. Buckingham

WYTHEVILLE, VA., *Feby. 21, 1847.*

DEAR SIR, I beg to claim the privilege which you had the kindness to grant me during your short sojourn among us last summer, of applying to you for such speeches, etc., as I might desire.

Your recent speeches [24] on the subject of the Mexican War are looked to with universal interest, and I hope you will excuse me for requesting you most earnestly to be so kind as to send me a copy of your speech on the Mexican War delivered on the 9th, if I remember correctly—also your reply to Turney of Tennessee.

Your friends here preserve the most affectionate remembrance of you personally, and as a statesman and politician we all feel most grateful to you, not only for averting the war with England, which was likely to grow out of the Oregon Question, but for the high and impregnable moral ground which you have taken on the subject of our Mexican difficulties. The people regard the War as Mr. Polk's War.

Mr. Polk, the administration, the management and conduct of the War in the *department*, are universally condemned here by both parties. A sentiment—a very strong sentiment of indignation pervades the public mind, for the unjust and unsoldierly treatment of Gen. Taylor.

There is but a single individual in all this country who has been heard to say a single word in disparagement of the Gen.

Allow me to hope that we shall on some early occasion in the future again have the pleasure of extending to you the hand of hospitality and friendship of our Town and County.

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From F. W. Byrdsall

NEW YORK [N. Y.,] *Feby 22 1847.*

DEAR SIR,

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Never was any social institution more unfairly vilified than that which is termed Southern slavery. It is the very best institution

[24] Speeches delivered Feb. 9 and 12, 1847. Works, Vol. IV, pp. 303, 328.

that could be devised for the negro race of Africa—a race which for the last two or three thousand years has advanced as little in the land of its origin as the horse or cow—a race which has improved both in moral and physical condition under the patriarchal system of the South, beyond any other condition it has ever been placed in upon this earth. It is an inferior race and must ever be subject to the superior as a menial one. Social and political equality is the worst position for itself it can be placed in, because duties are then required of it which it is not mentally qualified to perform;—it cannot provide for the future nor protect itself in a community where there is no patriarchal system to provide and protect.

We had a public meeting here at Vauxhall Gardens which was understood by many of the signers to the call to be for the purpose of condemning the abolition movement in Congress which interrupted the proper measures for the prosecution of the war. Ex Chancellor McCoun when placed in the chair opened the meeting by declaring that he would not sanction any proceedings condemning "the northern democracy for the noble stand it had taken in Congress against the extension of Southern Slavery." This announcement excited a tumult of the most violent kind of hisses and plaudits, and Vauxhall garden became exactly like the House of Representatives at Washington, but on a larger scale as to numbers, with more vocifferation and excitement. The democracy here did not sanction Mr. McCoun's remarks and he had to sit down.

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From Wilson Lumpkin

ATHENS [GA.,] *March 11th, 1847.*

MY DEAR SIR I stop a moment from my busy but humble cares, to thank you for your three speeches received yesterday. I was truly anxious to see your reply to Benton,[25] as I had not met with it, in any paper which I read.

Your reply to Benton's low, vulgar and impudent attack, is such as I should have expected from you, and wherever read by well informed men, will be considered a complete vindication on your part. But I suppose you are apprized of the fact, that at this time, that almost the whole press of the country, seem to be combined to destroy your influence with your Countrymen. Moreover, almost every office seeker, of both parties, unite with the subservient presses to do you all the injury they can. True, there may be found some few honorable exceptions, both of the press and politicians, but the voice of these few, is overwhelmed, by the many who ride upon the

[25] Delivered Feb. 24, 1847. Works, Vol. IV, p. 362.

tide of the storm, which they have designedly created. I hope justice may [be] done you during your life, and if not you must look to Posterity. It was impossible for you longer to avoid, your late conflicts in the Senate. It was forced upon you, by Ritchie, Turney, Benton etc, indeed I have no doubt, but you were doomed by the councils of the leaders of the present dominant party to be forced into your present position.

In regard to your course, upon the expulsion of Ritchie,[26] I think he deserved, richly deserved, expulsion. Yet I think it was, unwise in the Senate, to take any notice at all, of the *old hack*. His *libels* could never have injured the Senate, and their proceedings have only served, to give him a consequence, which he could have acquired in no other way. And the whole press, have united with him, to pervert the whole transaction to the injury of those who expelled him, from his priviledges in the Senate chamber.

In regard to Turney, Benton & Co. as far as I am informed, it appears to me, that your course has been dignified and correct.

After all, I suppose Benton will be placed at the head of the army—whether for good or evil, let time develope. I see from the tone of the press here, an effort will be made, to place Genl. Cass, at the head of the Southern Democrats. His late war speech has been extensively circulated here. Your peace policy throughout has been right. The settlement of the Oregon question, on the 49° has met the approbation of the wise and the good every where. If the Mexican War, could have been avoided, it certainly ought to have been done.

Under any circumstances, many evils will result from the War—I fear more than will be counter-balanced by good. For myself, I can do nothing but stand still and wait for the Salvation of God. The opinions of men of experience and age, are not respected, as they once were. Politics have become a *trade*, and office seekers are ever waring against the influence of the Patriotic, the wise and the good.

There is no way permanently calculated to benefit and save the country, but to lessen the patronage and power of the Federal Government.

Patrick Henry was the great man of his day, and was under the influence of a far seeing view of things, approaching a Prophetic spirit. The Mexican War, cannot last long. The people are tired of it.

From Duff Green

WASHINGTON [D. C.,] *17th March 1847*

MY DEAR SIR Do you receive the "Union"? If you have read the daily attacks made upon you through that paper you must see that

[26] The Washington Union attacked the Senate in February, 1847, for its course in regard to the Army and the Mexican War. The Senate passed resolutions that the editors of the Union be excluded from the floor of the Senate. See C. H. Ambler, in "Thomas Ritchie," p. 266.

the managers now expect to consolidate the party by denouncing you, and thus, by intimidation, prevent any desertion from their ranks. The correspondence between Polk and Benton, and the editorials in the Union leave you no alternative, but submission or resistance. If you are resolved to submit, then I will be a very unfit person to take charge of the paper here, if you are resolved to vindicate your own character, and to rally your friends then I do not hesitate to say that you cannot find a single person in the United [States] so competent in all respects as I am.

I say this because the time has come when it is not only proper but necessary, that we should understand each other. In your letter from Charleston you say:

> The selection of the Editor [27] you know must depend on the leading contributors. I suggested your name, as if sounding, and I am bound in candor to say there was no response. Nothing was said in disparagement of you but I was forced to infer that it did not meet with approbation."

And after speaking of your own views you say:

> I feel confident that you will see that the relation I bear to you of a private character and the position I occupy in the party put it out of my power to speak in anything like a tone of authority on the subject.

I have found some difficulty in replying to your suggestion. So far from seeing as you suppose that there is anything in our private relations or in your position to the party, making it improper for you to *insist* on my being the Editor, I see precisely the reverse.

Our private relations are those of confidence and friendship. I have demonstrated that friendship by sacrifices personal and pecuniary such as no other personal friend has every made or ever will make for you or the cause in which we have both labored. I have never pretended to you, as some who have done much less, that those sacrifices were made for you alone, but you must be aware that my respect and attachment for the man, were blended with my devotion to the principles for which those sacrifices were made.

When your false friends in 1824, impatient of delay were preparing to betray you and your principles they commenced their operations by efforts to persuade you that you could be benefitted by substituting another Editor. I then warned you of their real purpose, but unwilling to impede your prospects in any manner I surrendered my press into the hands of an Editor selected by them and paid him out of my own pocket, the salary which they pledged themselves to pay.

When Pickens and Lewis formed their coalition with Blair and Reeves [28] in 1840 I foresaw what would come of it and then refused to be a candidate for printer to Congress because I would not have you

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[27] A project was being considered to establish a paper at Washington to be a Calhoun organ.

[28] John C. Rives.

appear in a false position or separate you from friends in whom you had confidence.

I need not now repeat what then passed between us, but I refer to the past, that I may say that no act of your public life has done you so much prejudice with the people as the impression that you have not given me that support which I had a right under the circumstances to expect, and that that is one reason why my support is more important to you than that of any other person.

I write thus frankly because it is proper that we should understand each other distinctly on this point. If there be anything in our private relations which in your opinion makes it improper that you should *insist* that I should be the Editor of the paper which is to be the organ of a party of which you are the acknowledged head it is proper that I should know it. I have now been proscribed for many years by Jackson, Van Buren, Tyler and Polk because they all feared that any influence I might obtain would be exerted for you. If your *friends* can persuade *you* that I should be proscribed for any cause, knowing me as you do, and committed to me as you are upon the subject of this paper, it is time that I should know it. I only await your reply to determine my course. I am resolved to vindicate your character against Ritchie's attacks. If your friends establish a paper with a view to your nomination as a candidate for the Presidency and wish me to edit it, and give me the guaranties of support, I am willing to undertake [it]. If they prefer another, I can be at no loss as to the motives and will be at no loss for the means to establish a paper.

From Thomas G. Clemson

BRUSSELS [BELGIUM,] *March 28th, 1847.*

MY DEAR SIR: The Cambria brought your letter of the 17th of February and a file of Ritchie's scurrilous paper the Union, in which you are not spared. I was perfectly prepared to see this and expected no less from Ritchie. He has always been opposed to you because part and parcel of the old Hunkers, Wright, Van Buren, etc., and has done the South incalculable injury. He has, since I have seen his papers, done his best to damn you with insidious remarks in his own peculiar style. For one I am happy to know that he has been refused the entrance of the senate. His attacks and course towards you will from being covert now become open, and less injurious on that account. I only regret that this crisis had not taken place ten years since; it would have placed it out of his power to injure you and through you the south to the extent he has heretofore done. I am unable to judge how it will act on him, whether it will raise him into martyrdom and concentrate the action of the old

Hunkers again; but of one thing I feel assured, that is that you did right and you have placed him towards you in his true light. I repeat that I regret that it has been so long postponed.

I agree with you that this war has been most disastrous and might have been avoided. It is the height of folly to suppose that we carry our army easily to the city of Mexico. It will I fear prove as disastrous to us as the Russian campaign did to the French. The natural obstacles, distance, climate, etc., will prevent our success. Nothing is more certain than your statement that [the] war will have to become defensive. One thing I regret that is mixing of the slavery question. It appears to have been unavoidable and will perhaps unite the south and thus enable them to hold on to the advantages they have recently gained.

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From Robert Toombs [29]

WASHINGTON GA. *April 30th 1847*

DR SIR, Your note and the newspaper containing a copy of your Charleston speech [30] reached here during my absence from home. I thank you for them. As soon as the speech appeared in the Charleston papers, it was immediately printed in all the Whig papers of the State which have met my eye. Your very just and impartial classification of the people of the North on the slavery question has met with general commendation, and has excited anxious enquiry among the people as to the best mode of arresting the anti-slavery action, and (if possible), tendencies of the North.

I begin to fear that the question is fast approaching a crisis. It seems our successes in Mexico have greatly raised the pretensions of Polk and his cabinett and the weakness and divisions of Mexico will in all probability induce her to accede to terms which we ought not to demand and which will be disgracefull to her and ruinous to us. You are aware of my early and uniform disrelish of the idea of the appropriation of Mexican Territory. I can see nothing but evil to come of it. And now I do not clearly see how it can be well avoided to some extent. Our policy upon this whole Mexican question it is now evident will be in your hands. The Whigs and your friends will undoubtedly be able to control the next house of Representatives and upon that question I think the Senate. The people of the South

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[29] Robert Toombs served in the Georgia Legislature 1837–1840, 1842–43; elected to the House of Representatives as a Whig in 1844 and served 1845–1853; in 1850 he cooperated with Stephens and Cobb in launching the Constitutional Union Party in Georgia; in 1851 he was elected to the Senate as a Constitutional Unionist and served 1853–1861; Secretary of State in the Confederate cabinet and later brigadier general in the Confederate Army.

[30] Delivered Mar. 9, 1847. Works, Vol. IV, p. 382.

are now anxiously waiting to see what direction you will give it. It is perfectly clear that the Present administration and its supporters have lost all character with the country and all that it hopes from them is to do as little mischief as possible. I should be glad at all times to hear from you. Present my best respects to Mrs. Calhoun and your daughter. Mrs. Toombs desires to be remembered to you and Mrs. C. and your daughter.

From H. W. Conner

Charleston [S. C.,] *May 7, 1847*

My Dear Sir It was premature I have thought for *us here* to take up the selection of an Editor of the paper we propose to establish at Washington until we had at least taken some practical or efficient steps to raise the means necessary for its establishment. It appears however that we have got ahead of our subject as I perceive by a letter of yours to Col. Elmore of the 18th ult. and which has been just shewn me, and that Mr. Rhett has been recommended to your consideration for the Editorial department. This recommendation does not meet the concurrence of the Gentlemen who have been interesting themselves here to get up the paper and is directly contrary I know to the views of nearly every friend you have in the city. He is considered to be a rash and ultra man in his politicks, frequently bent upon extreme and desperate courses, very exictable and unstable and intollerant and contemptuous of all about him, with neither tact or discretion and without sympathy or popularity with the great mass of men—whether right or wrong this is the feeling of the public with regard to him and it would surely be neither the part of wisdom or discretion to force him or any other person so little acceptable upon the people in any capacity much less as Editor of so important a paper.

Of these objections I do not partake in the whole myself, I only mention them to you as evidence of the feelings entertained by the great majority of those upon whom a paper would depend for its support and its influence, but I entertain other objections that to my mind overule all these others. I distrust Mr Rhetts friendship to yourself not but that I believe he respects and admires you greatly, but his ambition is of so exceedingly selfish a character as to leave no doubt on my mind that he would without hesitation sacrifice you and all the world besides, if the least in the way to his own advancement and I refer to prominent acts of his own life in confirmation of what I say. He strove to get you out of the Senate to make way for himself. He again not only opposed but denounced you on

another occasion when you discountenanced his wild and desperate attempt to precipitate this state into rash action three years ago and if we are informed correctly stands ready now to oppose you on the improvement of the Mississippi and to separate with you on that subject if necessary. I have no unkind feeling toward Mr. Rhett and never had, on the contrary I appreciate to the full his talents, his energy, industry and elevated private character, but he is in every way else disqualified for the post that it has been proposed to be assigned him and if it be known that it is in contemplation to get up this paper for Mr. Rhett, his name kills it dead on the spot, but if it did not, he and his paper would kill the party as sure as fate, that is as far as it is possible to kill a party occupying the strong ground they do.

If this subject had come up fairly before us here I should have contented myself with opposing it on its true grounds, and I now only present myself to you that my views on a matter I deem of so much importance should be perfectly understood. If after this Mr. Rhett should be selected the Editor of the paper in case we can get it up, I stand ready to give it all the support I can, I shall be turned aside by no objection to one man or predilection for another, but go for the one great object we all have in view. My most anxious desire is to put in requisition the best and most proper men and means to accomplish that object. Hence the free and what may perhaps be considered the strong expression I have made of my views touching Mr. Rhett.

The Gentlemen you named or most of them have had one or two meetings but done nothing as yet to the purpose. It is not advisable for you to trust too much to us as now constituted here. You must point out and direct what is to be done and when and how. as regards myself I will do all and everything I can to carry them out as promptly and as effectively as I know how and will do what I am able to put and keep others in motion.

Genl. Taylor is fast gaining ground amongst the people here and if it be fairly shewn as it is suspected by some, that he has been proscribed by the administration and attempted to be undermined by Genl. Scott, it will be difficult to stop his progress, tho but little is yet known of Genl. Taylors political principles or civil capacity. It is so much easier to sail with the current than against it that it may be necessary to caution some of your friends here against yielding to the pressure.

Mr Webster is here and has and will be civilly recd. No more.

From F. H. Elmore

CHARLESTON, [S. C.,] *May 16th, 1847.*

MY DEAR SIR:

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Do you know anything of the General's [31] principles, or what guarantees can be given that his principles are safe? I have not seen any one, nor anything from him that is at all satisfactory. At present there seems a fair chance for his election by both parties or against both. I am not sure but the latter is the most probable and it would seem far the most desirable to us, if he is to be elected at all. But can we go for him and in what contingency? I can see nothing nor learn anything that satisfies my mind in regard to his principles. It seems to me extremely probable that he in fact has no fixed political principles—that he has never studied a great constitutional principle—but that his social ties and tendencies are with the Whigs more strongly than with us. The evident unwillingness of their leaders and organized partisans to take him up may weaken these tendencies, and lay him more open to those who could sustain him in an independent position against the party hunkers of both Whigs and Democrats. Genl. Hamilton seems to think that a very controlling influence for good might be obtained over him, if it were found advisable to look to him, and if proper steps were pursued. The Gen. told me of his letter to you and showed me your reply.[32] If he is to be trusted on free trade and will take his ground against convention or caucus nominations, got up as they have been heretofore or in other words against the party machinery of both, there will be much to reconcile us to his success—but I confess that while I look on his prospects as exceedingly strong, I cannot but feel very reluctant to support him and [feel] great apprehensions from his success. To be afloat as to principles, with a successful General at the Head of the Government, without a safe and steady and strong counsellor in his cabinet to keep him straight, is to exchange the corruptions of party usage as a present exercise, for almost if not quite as dangerous a condition. Still there is hope that he may be regulated.

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From R. B. Rhett

MAY 20th, 1847.

MY DEAR SIR

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The events of the war, altho very brilliant thus far justify your counsels. No signs of peace have followed our victories; and if the

[31] Taylor. [32] See Calhoun Correspondence, edited by Jameson, p. 1117.

war is still raging when Congress meets, you will undoubtedly hold a commanding position. The Whigs, unfortunately for them, will have a majority in the House of Representatives, and will therefore be put into the position of actors: but I do not believe they will act. They will not have the courage, to stop the war, because the Southern portion will be too proud to seem to back out of it, and the Northern Tariff portion desire the war. The supplies will be voted therefore and the war go on, for them. One result seems to be inevitable, the Democratic Party is to be overthrown in the next Presidential election—and Genl. Taylor be the President. I write today to Jefferson Davis [33] to know what we are to expect from Genl. Taylor on the subject of the Tariff. I suppose however the Kentucky Whigs, with Crittenden at their head, will rule the counsels of his administration.

The elections in Virginia seem to have somewhat quenched the rage of Old Ritchie, against the Calhoun clique. He and his masters have in two years overthrown one of the most triumphant Parties, that ever entered upon power, with a fair prospect of defeating also all its measures and principles.

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From Elwood Fisher

CINCINNATI [OHIO] *5 mo 25. 1847*

DEAR FRIEND

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The Clay Whigs are for Taylor: as was clearly envinced in the meeting recently held to nominate him in Louisville. And there is doubtless a considerable portion of the Democratic party leaders and following in this state and Kentucky who will go for him also. In fact the Editors generally of Demo. papers in this state are already non committal. But the successes of Scott have had the effect of producing a pause in the Whig demonstrations for Taylor. As yet however Corwin [34] is the strongest man in this state and next to him McLean. In conversation with the latter not long ago, he said that he was in favor of an immediate declaration by the next Congress against any acquisition of Mexican territory, and if the President did not immediately offer peace on that basis, then to stop the supplies.

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[33] Jefferson Davis was born in Kentucky in 1808; graduated from West Point 1828 and served in the Army until 1835; engaged in cotton planting in Mississippi; elected as a Democrat to the House of Representatives, 1845–46; served in the Mexican War; Senator, 1847–1851; defeated as secession candidate for governor, 1851; Secretary of War, 1853–1857; Senator, 1857–1861; President of the Confederacy.

[34] Thomas Corwin, a Whig of Ohio, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1831–1840; governor, 1841–1843; presidential elector on the Clay ticket, 1844; Senator, 1845–1850; Secretary of the Treasury under Fillmore, 1850–1853; elected as a Republican to the House of Representatives, 1859–1861; minister to Mexico 1861–1864.

And I find that becoming more and more the favorite ground with the Whig papers here. I think this arises from fear of the consequences of pressing the Wilmot Proviso.[35]

Walker it seems is getting very sick, and may be compelled to retire from the Treasury. In that event Benton might become Dictator of the Administration. Meanwhile however some circumstances have occurred which render it not very improbable that the policy will be adopted of attempting to conquer and hold all Mexico. Nothing probably but difficulties not now calculated on in the progress of our army will prevent the serious prosecution of this purpose. I was told the other day by a catholic of this place that a special messenger had just passed through here for Washington with despatches from Scott, and who stated while here to the Catholic bishop that numerous overtures had been made to Scott by eminent Catholic clergy of Mexico in favour of the annexation of the whole country to this, on the ground that then property would be safe in that event instead of being exposed as now to native military exactions. And the messenger said that Scott was in favour of the proposition. It is not unlikely that Walker also would be in favour of such a scheme, as he has always been for larger acquisition. And I see that eastern democratic papers are taking similar grounds. If peace can not now be made in accordance with Walkers views, and I see no probability of it, he will prefer to aim at the whole rather than to adopt thy counsel for a defensive line. And if Scott is really in favour of taking all, it is not probable that the Whigs can unite on the proposition of McLean. So that instead of having to discuss the controversy between the north and south, a subject sufficiently portentous of public calamity we may be called on seriously to consider whether we shall not relinquish our very identity as a people, social, political, religious and geographical, for such I think would be the result if the conquest of Mexico were accomplished, or seriously undertaken.

Meanwhile the present abundance of money here and its increasing scarcity in England promises us a financial revulsion before long to demoralize and disorganize us still more.

P. S. I have just seen a gentleman from the south, a very shrewd observer, and extensively acquainted there, though not a supporter of thine, who says that with a resonable prospect of success thee would get the votes of both Louisiana and Mississippi.

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[35] The Wilmot Proviso passed the House Aug. 8, 1846. It was worded so as to prohibit slavery in the territory about to be acquired from Mexico.

From N. Towson

WASHINGTON, [D. C.,] *May 27th, '47.*

DEAR SIR:

* * * * * * *

Important military events have transpired since we last saw each other. These have not changed, but confirmed my opinion as to the course that should have been adopted to bring the war to a speedy and happy termination. It is now, I apprehend, too late. This nation is infatuated with victory and conquest, anxious to advance, but will not listen to withdrawal. The Mexicans are getting up guerilla bands that will soon be beyond the control of that feeble government, and making a trade of war, will be able to continue it so long as the produce of the country and the plunder of their enemy, can subsist and pay them. Of all descriptions of force this is the best calculated to develope military talent and to attract it. Here then are the elements of a long war, that, I believe, can *now* only be terminated by annexing the whole country. Looking to this as a probable event, the question of slavery must be settled; and perhaps the sooner the better; and, I think, I can see how it will be done.

The great mass of the people of the U. States are cultivators of the soil, and when enlightened on political subjects in which they have an interest, will enforce that policy which best promotes the interests of the country, despite political gamblers, demagogues and fanaticks. The agitation and discussion of the question, under circumstances that must compel all to reflect seriously upon it, can not fail to enlighten the mass, and I feel confident that the northern as well as the southern states will see that it is the interest of the Union that slavery should be authorized within the latitudes where blacks alone can cultivate the earth.

The great staples of cotton, rice and sugar are as necessary to the non slaveholding states as to Europe; the white man cannot labor in the open air where these are produced, the negro can, but will not, unless compelled; hence slavery must be tolerated, or the cultivation of those important staples within the U. S. abandoned. Who does not see that the alternative will be disasterous to every section of this Union?

It is those staples that have made the U. S. the most flourishing nation on earth and the greatest power on this continent. Abolish slavery where it is necessary for their cultivation within the U. S. and we transfer all the advantages we have derived from them to Brasil. Capital and commerce will immediately follow and Brasil will occupy the position, as to wealth and power that the U. S. now do. I cannot think the people of the non slave holding states when they see the ievitable consequences of abolition will permit it. Slavery

is gradually receding South for the simple reason, that it is not profitable north of the cotton region and the time is not distant when all states, where cotton is not a staple, will voluntarliy abolish it. There is one thing that the free states will insist upon in settling the question and that is that the slave population of any new states that may hereafter be created shall not be represented in the federal govenment; but as the great increase of states will be south of Mason's and Dixon's line, I do not see any serious objection to your granting it after the North understands that the preservation of slavery for cultivating the staples named will be for the interest of the whole Union.

This view of the subject has relieved my mind of much anxiety in contemplating the consequences likely to grow out of the War with Mexico, which, I apprehend, will end in annexing the whole country.

From Edward J. Black

SCRIVEN COUNTY, JACKSONBORO GEORGIA
[*Between June and December, 1847.*]

MY DEAR SIR,

Your last letter, received a few days since, gave me great gratification. I appreciate it very highly as a testimonial of your approbation; than which nothing is more grateful to me. I send you herewith that no. of the Constitutionalist which contained Mr. Gardner's [36] erronerous report of the speech I made in your behalf in the Dem. Convention last June. I send it to you that you may be aware of the occasion which elicited my letter to him. He is mistaken, however, when he says that a defense of yourself is not the high road to favour with the Democracy of Georgia. You have many, and warm friends in this State, who look to you as the only safe and competent exponent of their principles. Pray send me Gardner's paper back again, as it is the only copy I have, and I am compelled to keep it by me for future reference, if I should find it necessary to write to him again.

I am, and have been, wholly with you in the proposition you make of *retaliation*. It is the true course, and the *only* one, because it will attack their pecuniary interests. That is the only point in which they are vulnerable. But how is it to be effected? I confess the attitude and evident inclinations of the Dem. Party of this State, as I found them in Convention in June last, were any thing but satisfactory to me. I found the great mass of the Party inclining strongly to their old ways of temporizing with principles, and postponing necessary, and ultimately, inevitable issues. They were disposed to cover up, and plaister over things, and while they acknowledged facts they could not deny, they were not disposed to look them full in the

[36] James R.Gardner was editor of the Augusta Constitutionalist. Gardner and Hopkins Holsey, of the Southern Banner, published at Athens, Ga., were leading Democratic editors of Georgia.

face. This state of feeling and position is not altogether attributable to the masses of the party, but may be traced to a few leading men who are eminently selfish, and are maneuvering for federal offices. I found great difficulty in restraining them from going the full length and breadth of Hunkerism. It was not until after a spirited remonstrance that Cobb, and his friends, gave up their resolution of "confidence in our brethren of the nothern Democracy." The Legislature which is about to convene, if Democratic, of which I am not yet aware, may be of diferent materiel from the Convention. We have succeeded in electing Mr. Lawton, native of S. Carolina, and a Democrat, from this Senatorial District. He professes to be your friend. I have conversed with him upon the subject of retaliating on "our Nothern brethren" if within a given time, they refuse to do us justice. He believes it is right, and promises to introduce a *prospective resolution* into the Senate upon the subject—that, if within a given time our rights are not respected and conceded, the ships and commerce of those states which have invaded, and are invading, our rights of property ought to be expelled from our Ports by an act of of the Legislature. In this shape it would stand a better chance in the Geo[rgia] Legislature than if it were immediate and peremptory. If you think so, and can find time to draft a set of resolutions for me, with a succinct preamble, setting forth the states that have assailed us, and the nature, manner, and time of the assault, I will keep the original strictly to myself, and send a copy by Lawton to our friends at Milledgeville. If the health of myself and family will permit I hope to be at Milledgeville during the session for some days, and will do all I can to organize and encourage our friends. The idea is here that Colquitt is anxious to be run for the V. Presidency on Cass's ticket, and that Cobb is manoeuvering for the Speakership. If it is true, neither of them will give us any aid. But I think if the preamble is full, and strongly sets forth the attacks that have been made on us, the Resolutions, if *prospective*, will command a strong support. At all events it will be a good ralying point. If you send me anything let me have it shortly, and I will keep the original strictly to myself. I would draw them up myself, but I know I cannot do it as you can. I would have written you before but I have been ill since the spring with a troublesome cough; I think I am getting better.

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I cannot close this letter without saying that every position you have assumed, and every vote you have given on the questions growing out of the Mexican war has met with my entire approbation. Although it is not so reported by Mr. Gardiner, I spoke of it in the Convention, and maintained it to the best of my poor ability. I was happy too to have, upon that occasion, an opportunity to

speak of Benton precisely as I have long thought of him. There is no other prominent man in the country for whom I have so utter an aversion as I have for that personage.

By the way Mr. Saml. J. Ray of the Macon Telegraph is warmly and truly your friend. He is altogether with us in principle and in feeling. His paper, far more than any other in Georgia, has on all occasions vindicated and maintained you. He was with me in the Convention and sustained me in every position I took. I doubt not but that he would be highly gratified to receive from you some mark of recognition—documents—perhaps a letter—if a proper occasion for one should present itself. I mention him because I suppose you may not know him personally, or receive his paper. If you could see the Telegraph you would find that he is neither afraid, nor unable, to defend you. Other than him, I know of no Editor in Geo. at present who dares say his soul is his own.

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From Saml. A. Wales

EATONTON, GA., *17th June 1847*

DEAR SIR At a recent meeting of the Whig party of this (Putnam) County, for the purpose of selecting delegates to represent the County, in the approaching Convention to nominate a Candidate for Governor, the resolutions herein enclosed were passed with entire unanimity.

By another resolution of the meeting, it was made my duty, as its chairman, to transmit them to you.

In the hope that they will not be wholly unacceptable, I perform the duty with pleasure.

The indications are many that the subject of slavery will shortly become the great party question. To the people of the Southern States it will be of vital interest. It is to you, Sir, that people look, as their leader and champion, in the contest, not doubting that all which can be done in their behalf will be done.

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(Newspaper Clipping Enclosed in the Above Letter.)

There is another subject upon which it becomes our duty to express our opinion; and it is that in reference to the institution of slavery. Mr. Polk had scarcely entered upon the duties of his office, before the South were given distinctly to understand, by the appointment of conspicuous abilitionists to office, that that clan of fanatics were to be respected. Several were appointed by him to high and lucrative offices. When Congress met, the rule prohibiting the reception of abolition petitions, and which had stood unchanged amidst all the changes of party, was promptly repealed—thus the feelings of

the whole South were disregarded, and those of the abolitionists regarded.

A proposition was then adopted by the House of Representatives, declaring that no territory to be acquired from Mexico should admit of slave labor;[37] and when a Southern Senator submitted resolutions[38] declaratory of our rights on this subject, his act was denounced by a Senator from a slaveholding State,[39] and a member of the dominant party, as a "fire-brand." After all these demonstrations, Southern Democrats were found voting for the establishment of the territorial government of Oregon, prohibiting the existence of slavery there.[40] All these facts show us conclusively, that such is the madness of party faction, that to attain its triumphs, the institution of slavery is ready to be sacrificed. It is time for the South to take care of herself.

Resolved, therefore, That as the North has demanded the exclusion of slave-labor from any territory to be acquired from Mexico, we demand that such territory as may be acquired shall be appropriated to the use of slave labor.

Resolved, We cordially approve the resolutions of Hon. John C. Calhoun on this subject, in the United States Senate, and we hereby tender to him the homage of our gratitude for his patriotic stand in behalf of our rights; and we can but express our deep regret, that the malevolence of party faction, and the blindness of political ambition, should have so infatuated any portion of the people of the slave-holding States, as to lead them to weaken the influence or destroy the standing of one so highly patriotic and talented, and whose whole energies are given to the support and defence of *our* institutions. We can but admire his lofty patriotism, which prompts him to rise superior to party shackles, and to advocate the true interests of the country, even at the hazard of denunciation from mere party followers.

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From J. W. A. Pettit

MEMPHIS [TENN.,] *June 18, 1847.*

DEAR SIR,

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I know the views you profess in relation to the Presidency, so far as your being a candidate is concerned, and I was in hopes that a fair and unobstructed way was about to be opened to you and the South;

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[37] The Wilmot Proviso.

[38] Calhoun's resolutions were presented Feb. 19, 1847.

[39] Thomas Hart Benton, of Missouri.

[40] To the recommendations of the President the House responded with a bill for a Territorial organization for Oregon, passed Jan. 16, 1847, which excluded slavery. This bill was tabled in the Senate.

opened, I say, by the Northern men through the Wilmot Proviso and other means whether we were ready for it or not.

But this hope we fear is for the present blasted by the determination of the South to run Genl Taylor for President. I have some how or other felt a desire to mention this candidacy of Genl Taylor to you and to suggest that notwithstanding his being a military man, raised in the army, it may still be a fortunate thing for the country that he is or will be a candidate *as he can be elected over* Mr. Bentons non-slaveholding man (whoever he may be) and any of the rest of our statesmen, yourself among the rest might fail in the contest.

I incline to think that Taylor will do, and I am told by the volunteers who have returned here that he is regarded in the army by the politicians there, as being opposed to the U. S. Bank and in favour of the present tariff.

I am fully persuaded that there will be a Northern and Southern candidate for President. Genl Taylor will run I have no doubt and the next Term the Northern and Southern lines will be still more distinctly drawn and then some other Southern man who may not be doubted on the Slavery question will be still more loudly called for. Would it not be wise to let this Taylor feeling go ahead and even to encourage it if you know enough about him to depend on his political views.

Something must be done to head Mr. Benton—he is regarded here to-day by Democrats as a dangerous and bad man. His letter which you have doubtless seen, is a disgrace to him. I allude to the letter he wrote to decline a nomination for President in which he goes for a candidate from the non-slaveholding States. It is believed by a great many that his personal feeling against you dictated that letter. And that letter and that opinion has greatly exalted you in this section of the country and will have the same effect all over the South. He is a great rascal and must be stopped some how from succeeding with his contemplated alliance with the North.

Just think of the wickedness of starting a candidate at the North expressly on the ground of his antislavery feelings or views, and of the vile hypocrysy and deceit of pretending in that letter as he does that the North is *defending itself* against the South.

That letter contains more guile than did the Serpent who approached our first parents in the garden. We must take a stand against it. I must stop at present.

From N. P. Talmagde

MILWAUKIE [WIS.,] *June 26th, 1847.*

MY DEAR SIR, I have understood from different sources, that you are in favor of Genl. Taylor for President in 1848. After your

patriotic course on the Oregon question, and in relation to our Mexican affairs, I was in hopes that your name might be successfully brought forward for that high station. I assure you it would have given me great pleasure to give you my support. But, I have for a long time felt that Genl. Taylor would be likely to command the popular vote, and from the high qualities he has exhibited, I am free to say I deem him a suitable candidate for the place, and believe he would give us an administration which would redound to the honor of the country. Being at this place on business, I suggested to some of Genl. Taylor's friends the propriety of making a public demonstration on that subject. A meeting was called, and I agreed to address it. I send you the proceedings with my remarks on the occasion. The people are right. The Politicians dare not oppose, but are not yet prepared to fall in, until they get farther light from high sources. Some wish farther information about Genl. Taylor's *principles*. Whether they are the same, as Randolph said of Ritchie's, "*five loaves and two fishes*," I go for Genl. Taylor, that the country may be freed from such principles, and of a party that is only "held together by the cohesive power of public plunder." I am tired and disgusted with this mere *spoils* system, and I think the opportunity is now presented of reforming it. Wisconsin will adopt a Constitution, and come into the Union in time to give a Presidential vote, and you may rely upon it, that her four votes can be given for Genl. Taylor. I have information from many old friends in New York from which I believe, with proper attention, the vote of the Empire State can be given him. I have no doubt of his success, if properly attended to throughout the Union. But, it requires the co-operation of those who think alike on this subject, and the information and suggestions they may be able to give each other. I have written you thus frankly my views, and should be glad to hear yours in return.

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From C. J. Faulkner [41]

MARTINSBURG, BERKELEY CO., VIRGINIA.
July the 15th, 1847.

DEAR SIR, The active and patriotic zeal, which you have always exhibited in every thing that affects the great and vital interests of this country and the special and particular position which you occupy as the most prominent defender of the institutions of the South, have emboldened me, notwithstanding our personal acquaintance is but limited, to advise and consult with you upon a matter which now

[41] Charles James Faulkner was a member of the State senate of Virginia, 1841–1844; Member of the House of Representatives, 1851–1859; minister to France, 1859–1861; member of the State Constitutional Convention of West Virginia, 1872; Democratic Member of the House of Representatives from West Virginia, 1875–1877.

intensely absorbs the attention of the slave holders of the State of Maryland and of that portion of the State of Virginia in which I reside.

I herewith enclose to you a copy of a law passed by the General Assembly of Pennsylvania in March 1847, also the proceedings of a public meeting recently held in Hagerstown Maryland exhibiting one of the consequences and results of that law.

I have been appealed to by many of my fellow citizens here to invoke the attention of the legislature of Virginia to this atrocious and perfidious legislation of a neighboring State and to suggest, if possible some remedy that may mitigate, countervail and defend us from the grievance under which we now labor.

The subject is full of difficulty and embarassment, and I should like to be fortified by the views and suggestions of one of your mature experience and comprehensive mind.

The Law of Pennsylvania referred to, has rendered our slave property throughout Maryland and a large portion of Virginia, utterly insecure and will, if it continues in force a few years longer destroy any further interest that we may feel in that domestic institution.

The law is manifestly prepared by a man of some shrewdness and legal ability, and is without exception the most deliberate and perfidious violation of all the guaranties of the Constitution which the fanaticism and wickedness of the abolitionists have resorted to, and the most serious and dangerous attack yet made on the institution of slavery.

It denies as you will perceive, to the master, all *legal remedies* for the recovery of his slave; treats him as a trespasser and a felon, and subjects him to harassing prosecutions for kidnapping and breach of the peace if he attempts to recapture them under the rihts secured to him by the Constitution of the United States.

I pray you Sir, read this law carefully and delberately, if your patience as a Southern man will allow you to do so; it is adapted to every exigency; suited to every change of circumstances and covers the slave with an invincible shield of protection in every emergency in which he may be placed in a contest with his master.

Since the passage of this law slaves are absconding from Maryland and this portion of Virginia in gangs of tens and twenties and the moment they reach the Pennsylvania line, all hopes of their recapture are abandoned.

The existence of such a law on the Statute Book of any State is not only a flagrant violation of the spirit of the Federal Constitution and indeed of its *express provisions*, but is a deliberate *insult* to the whole Southern people, which will not and ought not to be submitted to and would amongst nations wholly independent and disconnected by Federal relations be a *just cause of War*. It is a solemn, public

legislative invitation to our slaves to abscond from their masters, with the promise of an asylum and protection in the territory of Pennsylvania.

Have we any remedy and what is it?

Can the legislation of Congress reach the evil here indicated? And if it can, have we any just grounds for hoping, that the Act of 1793 will be so amended and enlarged in its provisions as to afford us adequate protection?

Is there any countervailing legislation within the power of the Southern States, or shall we be driven to the expense of establishing a cordon of sentinels along our entire Northern border.

Can it be hoped that Pennsylvania will repeal this law upon proper representations of its tendencies and effects by commissioners appointed by Maryland and Virginia, or could any advantage be derived from a convention of the slaveholding states of the Union?

No proposition can be plainer than that the slaveholding interest of this country is everywhere one and the same. An attack upon it *here* is an attack upon it in South Carolina and Alabama. Whatever weakens and impairs it *here*, weakens and impairs it *there*. The fanaticism of Europe and of Northern America is embarked in a crusade against it. We must stand or fall together.

I pray you Sir, revolve this subject in your mind. It is one of vital and absorbing interest to every Southern man. The time has come when we must maintain our ground with firmness or yield to an overruling destiny; and favor me with the result of your best reflections to guide us in our present emergency.

From John H. Brinton

West Chester, Penna., *16 July, 1847.*

Dear Sir: It is within your power to secure the ascendency of the Democratic party in 1848, and perpetuate, certainly strengthen, the liberal principles brought into existence since 1844. *Five lines* from Gen. Taylor to yourself, published in the Mercury, announcing that he is opposed to a National Bank, and to Distribution, and in favor of the Constitutional Treasury and the tariff of 1846, will secure an overwhelming support to him from the north in the National Convention. Local justice gives us the candidate at this time, but how cheerfully would our patriotic yeomanry adjourn any claim until 1852, in favor of Taylor. They are anxious to support him. They like him and would feel assured of success.

Not one word need be said about the slave limit of 36° 30′. I am persuaded the Democracy would agree to that line. Yet this Proviso is a complete humbug—for the Pacific States when organized and admitted into the Union, would have the matter of slavery com-

pletely under their control. Otherwise some states would be less sovereign than others. Without doubt, Ohio could establish slavery to morrow, despite the Ordinance of 1787. Taylor's consenting to the Missouri line, or saying nothing about it, would make no difficulty in conducting our campaign before the people. The misconception which clouds this question can be easily cleared away.

Why not then, have this matter attended to? Taylor must be sick of Whiggery, and so must the Army. Their deeds have been praised, but the justice of the war denounced—a very equivocal method of eulogy. The Whigs here have relaxed their hold of him. Just let a letter from him to you be given to the public, calling himself neither Democrat or Whig, but announcing his political principles as specified, and he will be supported with enthusiasm by the North.

I am and always have been a distinctive party man of the Democratic school. Your career I am well acquainted with. You have not always been with us, in every movement, but to your purity, as a public character, I have always borne testimony.

From R. F. W. Allston [42]

Waccamaw Beach [S. C.,] *28th July, 1847.*

Dear Sir:

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Absenteeism is the curse and will be, unless diminish'd, the ruin of the low country, in-as-much as its tendency is to disorganization. It diminishes the value of Estates, abridges the revenue of the planter, and the comfort of the negroe, except in the case of smart progressing fellows, because they (and there are a number of this kind) manage to convert to their own use and profit a portion of their time and labor which should properly go to swell the income of the owner and so far contribute to the comfortable supply of the whole plantation.

It breaks in upon (has broken in several instances) that tie between master, master's family and slave of which you know the force, and which depends so much upon mutual intimate acquaintance, and occasional, nameless, kindnesses shown.

I had occasion to address my constituents on the 5th inst, who were much startled by the plain manner in which I spoke of the "Wilmot Proviso" the reasons for it, and of our conduct in regard to it. (I fear our representative Sims,[43] train'd by his late relative Gen Dromgoole, is too much bound to "the party"). On this occasion I refer'd (the first time any one has had the temerity to refer to it publicly) to

[42] Robert Francis Withers Allston, of South Carolina, was a rice planter and civil engineer; State surveyor general, 1823–1837; served for years in the State legislature; governor, 1856–1858. He was a progressive agriculturist and author of a "Memoir on Rice," 1843.

[43] Alexander Dromgoole Sims, of South Carolina, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1845–1848.

absenteeism and traced its influence on pauperism: and in enumerating as well as I could from memory the Rice plantation settlements of Georgetown District, I discover'd that of 108 settlements, the proprietors (and in case of Estates, the Executors) of *46* only are bona fide *residents*. The proprietors of *50* are, at this moment, absent, and are habitually absent, without the limits of the district from the latter part of May till the beginning of November. The proprietors of *12* are absentees the year round, having permanent residence of family elsewhere, and coming up occasionally in winter to look after their individual interest. As you may well suppose the mass of the wealth is owned by the *62* absentees. The *46* however are creeping up, as they make more of their property and it is among them that you will find the best discipline.

From F. W. Byrdsall

New York [N. Y.,] *July 29th 1847*

Dear Sir, I enclose you a portion of yesterday's Globe for the sake of a well written article from the Worcester Palladium, as well as the Globe editorial. The Wilmot Proviso movement both in its origin and object is becoming better understood.

I learn that the calculation here is that the abolition voters in this State are about twenty thousand, at least so say the partisans of Van Buren and Wright, and that with this assistance they can carry the State of New York. I believe Van Buren, Wright, Young, Flagg, Hoffman [44] and Co. are going body and soul for the Wilmot Proviso. There is no doubt about it. I regretted the confirmation of Hoffman by the Senate, for now he requites the favor as I knew he would; he is one of the strongest of the conspirators against the constitution. It is openly declared by their partisans that no man can be elected president who is not favorable to the principle of the Wilmot proviso.

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From James L. Orr [45]

Anderson [S. C.,] *9th August 1847.*

My Dear Sir

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The Miss. Democracy are ultra in their support of the administration and Ritchie's hobby (expulsion) affords an admirable theme for

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[44] Michael Hoffman, a Democrat of New York, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1825–1833; canal commissioner of New York 1833–1835; member of the State house of representatives, 1841, 1842, and 1844; delegate to the State Constitutional Convention, 1846; naval officer of New York City, 1845–1848.

[45] James Lawrence Orr, a Democrat of South Carolina, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1849–1859; Speaker of the House in the Thirty-fifth Congress; served in the Confederate Congress; Governor of South Carolina, 1865–1868; minister to Russia at the time of his death in 1873.

the demagogue to round his periods with. Even the Democratic State Convention a body of some intelligence passed a Resolution *unanimously* setting forth the expulsion of Ritchie as an infringement of the liberty of the press. My observations in their midst led me to the conclusion that Miss [.] democracy generally knew no higher duty to themselves or their country than absolute and unwavering allegiance to *party*.

In my rambles through Georgia, Ala, Miss and Tenn. I found but *few* individuals, their number certainly not exceeding one dozen, opposed to Genl. Taylor, for the Presidency, and I am not sure that he is not the man for the South in the present crisis. I should be glad to hear your opinion on the subject but I suppose it would hardly be prudent for you to commit it to paper. I hope however I shall have the honor to see you at Pendleton the day of the Rail Road meeting at that place, when I may learn something on the subject.

From Eustis Prescott

HARRODSBURG SPRINGS KY. *Augt. 20th, 1847*

MY DEAR SIR, Having spent the summer at the Blue Licks and these springs for the restoration of my health—which has been much impaired during the last year—I have had an opportunity of meeting many of the western and southern politicians, and of scanning political movements.

I have arrived at the conclusion that the Whigs have only been using the military popularity of Genl Taylor with the hope of carrying the autumnal elections both State and Congressional, and that Mr. Clay will again be the candidate of the Whig convention. The Whig party of the South, and a portion of the West would prefer Genl Taylor, but the North and East will never give up their protective candidate. I saw him at Lexington, his health is good, and he is now on a tour to the eastern states.

The Administration will be in a minority this winter. Tennessee has declared most emphatically against it. Col. Benton will fulminate his opposition, he expressed it very decidedly, as I am informed, in this State, and I gathered it from Mrs. Freemont,[46] who spent several days here and with whom I frequently conversed.

I hope the little band of State-rights and Free trade, will remain united and firm, they will hold in the Senate, at least, the balance of power, and this may enable you again to save the country from the experiments of *small* men.

The War with Mexico, at its commencement was popular, in most of the western and southern states; it has rendered the Administra-

[46] Mrs. John Charles Frémont, the daughter of Senator Benton.

tion very unpopular, from the inefficient manner in which it has been conducted, and the appointment of Officers to a high rank, many of whom had no other recommendation than political subserviency.

The volunteers who have returned complain most bitterly of the discomforts and risks to which they have been subjected in consequence of insufficient supplies, and paucity of men, and however the *Union* may scold and attribute it [to] the want of action in Congress, they impute it to a want of decision and energy on the part of the Administration.

Believing most sincerely myself that Genl Taylor will not be a candidate for the Presidential chair, I have urged all other friends, whom I have met with, to abstain from a committal, and await the events of next winter, which will I believe indicate *our* position for the next presidency. I do not yet despair of seeing the people enlightened as to their true interests, and the unequivocal recognition, by a large majority, of those principles for which we have so long contended.

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From Joseph W. Lesesne [47]

MOBILE [ALA.,] *Aug 21st 1847*

MY DEAR SIR I thank you for your kind and interesting letter, which I designed answering before, but for the receipt of the circular from Col Hayne,[48] of Charleston relative to the paper proposed to be published at Washington.

I recognize the strength of your views with regard to the necessity of breaking to pieces the corrupt party combinations, and with increasing repugnance to and distrust of Genl Taylors fitness for the Presidency. I would vote for him or any one else to obtain the permanent object. Every day however convinces me that at present our wiser course is to wait developments at the next Congress, and not to precipitate matters. Our section of the party must if possible avoid the appearance of leading, altho' it is clear we shall have in fact to lead. I doubt if any thing is to be gained by forming a third party—our friends here think it can not be done, and that by prudent management we can bring over the democratic party of the South who are every day loosing confidence in their Hunker allies North and South. If these miserable miscreants had not the controll of the press we should have no difficulty, but it is melancholly to reflect that except in South Carolina the South has no voice—no speech. To read the papers in this region one would suppose that we were never

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[47] Joseph W. Lesesne was a prominent supporter of Calhoun in Alabama.

[48] Arthur Peronneau Hayne, brother of Robert Young Hayne, of South Carolina, served in the War of 1812 and in the Florida War; United States naval agent in the Mediterranean for 5 years; Senator, 1858.

more secure. The "Wilmot proviso" never attracts an illusion, and it is in fact shunned with a cowardice, utterly unaccountable except from the fact that the enemies of our institutions alone speak to us through the press. For my own part I freely confess that my feeling on the subject is almost that of flat despair. But I hope that our people are only asleep and that the fearful torper we witness all around us arises from the base fear and baser treachery of those who pretend to act as our centinels and guides. I believe that unless at the next session of Congress the Southern members unite the contest will be over, and we may surrender at discretion. It will afterwards be useless to continue a contest which tends only as heretofore to develope our weakness. If the laws, resolutions, and mobs in the north which have for years past nullified the constitution and the act of Congress passed to enforce our rights of property, have not heretofore produced Union among us, I know not what outrage will. In the present emergency we want political Apostles, who renouncing all selfish ends, all hope or expectation or desire of federal office, will travel from State to State, from County to County and house to house to rouse up and sound the fire bell of alarm. Through the Press our people will learn nothing, that organ of public information corrupter than the politicians is muzzled by ignorance in some cases, in some by sympathy and others by interest. If we are really in danger, it is time that those who see and feel it should know this truth and act upon it. Except in our poor brave little State of South Carolina, we have not a single newspaper that speaks out, and what she says falls lifeless because in the Southern press there is no echo.

I have had a great deal of conversation with our friends in relation to the paper proposed to be started at Washington. They think that the Session is now so near at hand and that so much will depend upon the views and temper of the next Congress that the enterprise ought for the present to be suspended. Our friend Dargan [49] is also of this opinion. And Mr. Soulé [50] of New Orleans, whom I met here the other day thinks that we had better wait the opening of Congress and be governed in regard to this project by what we find to be the state of things then existing.

Should the Whig party concur with us that for the sake of peace on this quest on we will take no more territory we may escape the danger that threatens us. But if you are decidedly of opinion that the paper had better be got at once under way if you will write and say so, we will do what we can for it. But in regard to the amount subscribed you must expect disappointment. The causes referred

[49] Edmund Spann Dargan, of Alabama, was a State senator in 1844; mayor of Mobile, 1844; Democratic Member of the House of Representatives, 1845–1847; chief justice of the Supreme Court of Alabama, 1849–1852; member of the first Confederate Congress; practiced law in Mobile after the Civil War.

[50] Pierre Soulé, of Louisiana, was born in France, 1802; came to New Orleans in 1825 and was admitted to the bar in 1826; member of the State senate, 1845; Senator, 1847, 1849–1853; minister to Spain, 1853–1855.

to in the first part of this letter (the prevalent apathy on the subject of our danger) together with the *season* will operate against any efficient action both here and in New Orleans. Allow me to say also in great confidence that the belief that Genl Green is to be the Editor gives the enterprise no additional favor; not that our own peculiar friends would be dissatisfied with him, but they think that his name would not command for the paper a favorable first impression. His course they think has been somewhat fickle and capricious, and he has been too much identified with Washington politics and newspaper tactics to give to such an organ as we desire that lofty and disinterested tone indispensable to its influence. His connection with yourself too they fear would be used as a handle by our opponents who will avail themselves of every pretext to give the enterprise in the public estimation a personal and selfish character. These views are certainly entitled to great consideration.

I think Soulé is a little shy, but still he is a warm friend of our cause.

From Elwood Fisher

CINCINNATI, [OHIO,] *8mo 22 1847*

DEAR FRIEND Much absence from home and the obscure aspect of public opinion in this quarter have prevented me from making an earlier response to thy last favour. The elections of several Western states have now occurred and have surprized almost every body. It was previously thought that the position of parties would be but little affected by them, and that if any change occurred it would be in favour of the Administration. The contrary has happened in Indiana and Tennessee and but for some local dispute would have taken place in Kentucky.

In all these States the War was the principal topic, the Whigs making no attack on free trade. Opposition to the War and the mode of prosecuting it were the main subjects. The result will be to bring the Whigs forward at next session again in opposition to all acquisition of Territory, by which they expect not only to put an end to the War but prevent the agitation of the Wilmot proviso. This is certainly the plan of McLean who is I think now in the ascendant of his party in the West and North. I had a conversation with him on the subject a day or two since, in which he repeated the views formerly expressed to me, of the propriety of passing a resolution at once repudiating accessions of territory, and then if the President did not offer peace to Mexico on that basis to stop the supplies. I remarked to him that such a policy would be much dependent on intervening events. That Congress might on assembling find a treaty made by which Territory was to be acquired, or the War might have

assumed a new complexion. I observed also that I thought something more would be demanded by the south: which would insist since the north had raised the question of the territorial rights of the two sections, that it should be settled now, when the relative strength of the south was greater probably than it would be hereafter. For that although territorial extension might be declined now as the fruit of conquest, it would probably in future be sought as heretofore by purchase. And I remarked that if Congress would pass a joint resolution next session recognizing the right of the people of every territory to determine for themselves the character of their institutions it would be as satisfactory as it was just, and would put an end for the present to the controversy. He seemed to think the south had better not press the point too far.

I observe that the southern papers of both parties are becoming more and more impressed with the magnitude of the Wilmot proviso question, and that they are united. In the north both Whig and Democratic parties have two classes of politicians, one in favour of waiving the question, the other of making it. I saw Gov. Corwin the other day who attended the Chicago convention [51] and saw many of the northern politicians of both parties. He says that those of New York are both warmly in favour of the Wilmot proviso, and that rather for the purpose of beating each other in that state than anything else. The Silas Wright men insist also on acquisition of territory to augment the strength of the nonslaveholding states. The older and abler Whigs who desire to preserve the strength of their party in the South are in favour of avoiding or evading the issue of the Wilmot proviso.

Here the Democratic party is perplexed on the subject and it is doubtful how it will act this fall in reference to it.

General Taylor is losing ground rapidly, and I think his last letter to Delany [52] will put an end to his availability as a Candidate. I think also that the Whigs are again turning their eyes to Clay who has put himself in motion eastward. If the Wilmot controversy runs high will not the Whigs make that a pretence for calling in Clay to make another Missouri compromise?

I saw Senator Yulee here the other day for a few minutes on his way with his wife to Kentucky. Having seen occasional notices in the papers of some correspondence between Dixon H. Lewis and the friends of General Taylor, I asked Yulee about it. He said that the answers had been unsatisfactory even on the Tariff. Yulee says he is himself in favour of preserving the States rights party unconnected with the Taylor movement. And he thinks that the no-party senti-

[51] A river and harbor convention met at Chicago July 5, 1847. See Niles' Register, Vol. LXXII, pp. 309, 331–333.

[52] Taylor to Edward Delany, a Florida Democrat, June 9, 1847, a noncommittal letter in answer to questions concerning his stand on the justice of war, the necessity and constitutionality of a national bank, the effects of, and powers of Congress to establish, a protective tariff.

ment so far as it is just on which the friends of Taylor desire to take ground belongs more justly to thyself.

The Chicago convention has made no impression here. Pretending to be more practical than that of Memphis, the recent convention did not dare to designate the works it would advocate. Their number was too great to be enrolled.

General Cass has gone hopelessly down.

The North it seems to me is now divided for the present irreconcilably on the Wilmot proviso and on the Tariff questions. On these two the South is united. If she could be united on a Candidate her success would be certain, and how she can hesitate, when not only safety but triumph are on one side and on the other ruin and degradation, is as derogatory to her honor as to her sagacity.

P. S. I send a copy of the Journal in which thee will recognize my hand. I have taken some pains that the War question should be properly presented to the country, and have not permitted Democrats to denounce with impunity those opposed to the War.

From Wilson Lumpkin

ATHENS, [GA.,] *Augt. 27th, 1847.*

MY DEAR SIR I am pleased to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 22d. Inst. with its enclosures. I had some time ago recd. the printed papers which you have forwarded, (from Charleston I presume.) My views, opinions and feelings coincide, with those who have called my attention, to the subjects embraced in your letter and the papers referred to.

And I have not been altogether an idle spectator of passing events, for the last six or eight months. But to effect any thing in Georgia on this subject, and at this time, I can assure you, is quite an uphill business. The interest of Georgia and South Carolina, on the slave question, is *identical*, but the political state of the public mind, is very different indeed, owing to various causes, which would require too much space to explain in this letter.

The only newspaper in Georgia, which speaks out upon this subject, freely and independently is the "Macon Telegraph."[53] The Editor of the Augusta Constitutionalist,[54] is right in principle, and possesses an Independent spirit, but with a view to expediency, or to the pending elections, or something else, has of late rather modified, his high tone on the Slave question. In fact our Georgia papers are all too closely identifyed, *with party*, and *party leaders*. The principles upon which it is proposed to establish the new paper at Washington, meets my entire appropation, for I am entirely disgusted, with most of the

[53] Samuel J. Ray was editor of the Macon Telegraph. [54] James R. Gardner.

leading papers of both parties, as well as with most of the leading men of both parties, as they now stand organized.

Unless we could have a party, that would rally on the Constitution, and maintain the principles of the Va. Resolutions of '98, it is all folly, to demagogue the people, with professions of Democracy, and love of equal rights. All I want is the equal rights, secured to me in the Constitution.

But the spirit of most of the leaders of both parties, at the present day, is to lay aside the Constitution, and cry out let the majority of the people govern, and thus change our system of Constitutional Govt. into one great consolidated Despotic Democracy. A many headed monster, which would speedily crush our section of the Union. Our Constitution was designed to guard the rights of minorities.

Upon the slave question, I firmly believe, that the apathy of tne South, is rapidly hastening trouble and danger. The conduct of our adversaries should before now, have been met, with decision and firmness. So long as we rely upon yielding and compromising any part of our rights on this subject, we are but nourishing and inviting further aggressions. Eventually we shall be forced to decisive and direct resistance, or we must yield everything, and become more degraded, than any people on earth, who have enjoyed the advantage and blessings which we now possess. If we yield our rights on this subject, the slow unwavering [?] finger of scorn, will point to us, by the present generation, and in all time to come.

I know the temperament of our opponents. We can expect nothing by argument and discussion. But when we of the South use imperative language, and say, we will yield nothing on this subject, the case will be settled. They will cease to trouble us.

Decisive action, without delay, is all that is necessary.

The Slave States United, would be impregnable on the slave question. But alas! What is the condition of our Southern people, at this moment? A large majority of the Southern politicians, are like clay in the hands of the potter, ready to be moulded into any form, that may best suit the aspirations of party leaders. And like Sampson we are thus I fear, to be shorn of our strength, until we hear a suddeh cry, our enemies are upon us. With but very few exceptions, our people in Georgia, are wholy unprepared to yield up, their old party attachments. The constant and unceasing efforts of the press, has been to disipate all their apprepensions on the slave question. And they have been so long accustomed to the cry of danger upon this subject, that they would scarcely believe, even one sent from the dead. Those who entertain the opinions, which is set forth in the paper before me, can and do exercise a great and salutary influence, in the present disorganized condition, and they can and do act, regardless

of the interests of present party organizations, and become a balance of power, [a] conservative party, which has done much good for the country. But the moment the contemplated organization shall be effected, it becomes to all intents and purposes, an organized political party, and nothing but the purest partriotism, prudence, and great wisdom, can prevent it from partaking of some of the evils of the existing parties. The design of this organization, like that of the abolitionist seems to be confined to a single object, that of resisting aggressions upon our rights as slave-holders.

And if the slave States, whose vital interests are in jeopardy upon this question, could be united, we should at once be in an attitude to defy all assaults from every quarter. Moreover, we should soon become, the glory and admiration of the whole earth, provided alway, that Gods blessings are continued to us, as heretofore to our progenitors. But to come to the particular point, to which you have called my attention. My heart is with So. Carolina on this subject. What little influence I now exercise, has and will be directed, to the promotion of the cause and objects contemplated. But my influence is very limited, to what it once was in Georgia. In politics I have run my race. I have finished my course. I am and old man. Age and experience, does not govern the country as it once did. The disposition to muster old men, out of the public service, is rapidly increasing. Moreover, if public trust be desirable, I have had an ample share, much more than I could have claimed. If office be a burden and scarifice to the incumbent, I have borne my full share.

I have voluntarily withdrawn from public life. I enjoy my retirement more and more, and am blessed with perfect health and quietude. I can and will cooperate with others, in the great struggle which awaits us, on the subject under consideration. I shall do it openly, fearlessly and independently. But cannot attempt, anything like leadership, even in a subordinate position. We have many patriotic, enlightened men in Georgia, who feel as we do, on this subject. But too large a portion of these noble spirits, have not yet adanboned forever party predilections.

In Georgia, it will still require further developements, to produce the conviction which rests upon my mind, of the utter corruption of both the great parties of the country. It is true, that on most subjects, the Democratic party, profess the principles by which I am governed, but it is equally true, that they hold the truth in unrighteousness, their practices are in many things, corrupt, selfish, and based upon the single object of engrossing the offices of the Country. The extent of corruption is so great, that the best men of both parties, are unpopular with their political associates.

Our Democratic candidate for Gov. Mr. Towns,[55] in his letter of acceptance has come out in a manly tone, and the convention which nominated him, was forced into a declaration, that they would support no man for the Presidency, who was not openly opposed to the Wilmot policy. They however go for continuing the Misourie Compromise. I claim some credit and took some trouble, to gain this much. I hope we shall adhere to the ground thus assumed.

The canvass now going on in Georgia, begins to excite unusual zeal, and the excitement will increase. Connected with the election of Govr. is that of the Legislature, and the Legislature has to elect two Senators to Congress and all the State house officers etc., etc. So you perceive the office seekers have much at stake, and a very large portion of the people, will not at this time stop to enter upon a due consideration, of the vital importance of the Slave question. Moreover, many begin to doubt, whether any acquisition of Territory will be obtained from Mexico, which will bring on an immediate collision between the North and the South on the Slave question.

The suspended state of opperations in Mexico, indicates difficulties of no ordinary character. The result of the recent elections, in a number of States, must be conclusive with every reflecting man, that a want of confidence in the administration pervades the country, to a very great extent. The administration at this time, is most certainly in minority, with the people.

The responsibility of your position, official and otherwise, your extensive range of thought and information, the weight and influence of your character, all combine, to give importance to any opinion which you express.

The closing sentence in your letter, excites more than ordinary solicitude in my bosom, and inclines me to extend my contemplations to the future. What are the momentous events, connected with the action of the next Congress? What are the calamities to be averted?

I have discontinued Mr. Richie's paper, some time since, and will most cheerfully support, as far as I can, such paper as the one proposed, to be edited at Washington. But am not prepared at this time to pledge any sum for the establishment of such a paper. I have neither the means nor the position to lead in such an enterprise.

From H. W. Peronneau [56]

Charleston [S. C.,] *Sep 25th 1847*

Sir The Executive Committee of the Citizens of Charleston who have associated to resist agressions upon the property and rights of

[55] George Washington Bonaparte Towns, of Georgia, was elected as a Union Democrat to the House of Representatives and served, 1835–1836, 1837–1839; elected as a Democrat and served, 1846–1847; governor, 1847–1851.

[56] This letter was written on the unused page of the circular letter from Huger and others, printed below (pp. 399 to 402). Peronneau's name is one of the 37 names signed to the circular.

the Slave holding States invite your attendence at a meeting of the Citizens of Charleston to be held on Wednesday Evening 13th October next at 7 o'clock P. M. for consultation with regard to organizing an association throughout the Southern States and for the adoption of such other measures as may be deemed necessary for their safety.

From Daniel E. Huger and others

CHARLESTON, *August 2d, 1847.*

SIR—We trust that we shall not be considered as taking an unwarrantable liberty in addressing to yourself, and some others, in whose discretion we rely, the following communication. We make an appeal to you, irrespective of Party Politics, as one having a common interest with ourselves, upon a matter, as we conceive, of momentous concern to every Southern man.

You cannot but have observed the rapid progress of the Anti-Slavery spirit, for some time past, and the alarming influence it has exercised on the politics of the country, as exhibited at Washington, and throughout the non-slaveholding States of the Union.

The inundation of Congress with petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, though the act of petitioning for such a purpose assumes an inferiority in the Slaveholding States, and the language of the petitions is replete with vituperation and insult, has been presereved in until it has almost ceased to arrest attention. The application in the United States of the principle of the English case of Somerset decided by Lord Mansfield, by which it is declared that the relation of master and slave ceases as soon as the parties pass the jurisdiction of the local laws which authorize slavery—a principle which isolates and degrades the slaveholder, has been more than half acquiesced in. We have seen State after State legislating with a view to avoid the act of Congress in regard to fugitive slaves, and present its interference with the above principle, until we are so familiarized with such legislation, that the public are scarce aware that the Pennsylvania Legislature has recently nullified this act of Congress, and affixed a heavy punishment to the attempt to enforce it within the limits of the State.

The missions of Hoar [57] and his compeer [58] to South-Carolina and Louisiana, by which Massachusetts undertook, on the very soil of these States, by agents resident in Charleston and New-Orleans, to obstruct the execution of the local laws in regard to the introduction of free colored persons, though met promptly by the States respectively to whom particularly the insult was offered, excited in the South but a passing interest, and is now almost forgotten.

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[57] Samuel Hoar, of Concord, Mass. [58] Henry Hubbard, of Pittsfield, Mass.

Apathy on our part, has been followed by increased and still increasing activity on the part of the enemies of our institutions.

The introduction at the close of the session of Congress before the last, of the *Wilmot Proviso*, and its passage then in the House of Representatives, by a vote of 85 to 80;[59] the provision, at the last Session, against Slavery, in the bill, organizing a Government for Oregon; and the repudiation of the principles of the Missouri Compromise evinced by the rejection of Mr. Burt's amendment;[60] the renewal of the Wilmot proposition by Mr. Preston King, the vote on this;[61] and the adoption finally of the Proviso, as shaped by Mr. Hannibal Hamlin of Maine, in the House of Representatives, by a large majority, are facts, which leave no shadow of doubt as to the utter disregard of Southern rights in that body. The defeat of the obnoxious measure in the Senate, give us no security in the future. Senators, in their places, openly proclaimed their approval of the principle it contained, and placed their opposition, distinctly, on the ground, that, though right in itself, the "time and occasion" rendered its adoption inexpedient. The Legislatures of eleven States have, with singular unanimity, urged a renewal of these efforts. Delaware, Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, New-York, Rhode Island, Vermont, New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Ohio, Michigan, and more recently Maine, have all, through their Legislatures, spoken still more explicitly than by their Representatives in Congress.

The tone of the Press, Whig and Democratic, Agrarian and Religious, in every non-slaveholding State, manifests a foregone conclusion, that the Abolitionists are to be conceded to, at least so far as to forbid the extension of slavery in the United States beyond its present boundaries.

While clouds thus gather, what preparation do we make for the impending storm? Are our people even aware of its approach?

How have the Abolitionists, so inconsiderable in numbers, and themselves without official station, effected so much? The answer is obvious. They have *adherred to principle*. They have made it paramount to party organization, and temporary policy, and they have thus held the balance of power between the two great parties. They have on this account been courted alternately, and together, by Whig and Democrat, until it has come about that no politician on either

[59] The final vote in the House was 87 to 64.

[60] Armistead Burt, of South Carolina, offered an amendment to the Oregon bill giving as a reason for the exclusion of slavery from Oregon the fact that all the territory lay north of the Missouri Compromise line; but the House, by a vote of 82 to 113, refused to adopt this explanation, January, 1847.

[61] Preston King, a Democrat from New York, sought to introduce a bill on Jan. 3, 1847, appropriating the $2,000,000 asked for by the President to open negotiations with Mexico concerning a boundary adjustment; the King bill contained a section excluding slavery from all subsequent territorial acquisitions by the United States. The House refused to suspend the rules for the introduction of this bill, but another bill, with a similar "Wilmot Proviso" attached, passed the House in February, 1847, by 115 to 105.

side, is considered as "*available*", who can not enlist in his behalf this necessary vote; and they are actually at this moment controlling the destinies of this great Confederacy. Shall we not profit by their example?

The Abolitionists have throughout the non-slaveholding States presses zealously, ably and efficiently enforcing their views, and presenting *their* paramount principle—and they have lately established an organ in the City of Washington.

We have, in the South, papers of both parties worthy of all confidence, but these are but little read elsewhere, and there is no one of them of very general circulation, even in the Southern States; and we have not one paper in a non-slaveholding State, and none in the City of Washington, which, in this emergency, has proved a fast and fearless friend; not one which habitually reflects the public sentiment of the South on this question. The Intelligencer blinks the question; the Union rebukes equally the spirit of Abolition, and the spirit which resists its aggressions; and with ALL, except the Abolitionists themselves, *party success*, with its triumph and spoils, is the absorbing, if not the sole consideration.

The object of this communication is to obtain your aid, and active co-operation, in establishing, at Washington, a paper which shall represent Southern views on the subject of Slavery—Southern views of Southern Rights and Interests, growing out of, and connected with this institution.

We want a paper whose polar star shall be the sentiment, "that danger to our Institutions can only be averted by jealously watching our rights under the Constitution; by insisting upon the proportionate influence intended to be secured to us by the compromises of that compact; and, above all, by maintaining, at all times, and at all hazards, our equality full and complete with whatever other communities we hold connection." We wish a paper which we can *trust*, firm and fearless, which cannot be bribed, cajoled, flattered, or frightened, into furling, for an instant, the Banner of SOUTHERN EQUALITY.

To effect this, we must render the press free from party influences, and unite in its support others besides politicians. We would therefore desire to engage in the undertaking men in every way INDEPENDENT; and whose means and positions are such as to free them from all temptations of profit or place.

If you concur in our views, please confer with us, as soon as practicable; and inform us what amount in money you are willing, yourself, to contribute to effect this object, and how much you think can be raised in your immediate neighborhood.

Enclosed you will find a subscription list with a heading, setting forth the principles on which it is proposed to establish the paper.

If you approve of it, please obtain such signatures as you can and return the list by mail to this place.

Address your communications to Isaac W. Hayne,[63] Esqr., No. 3 State-street, who has consented, until the proposed association is fully organized, to act as Secretary and Treasurer.

From L. M. Keitt [64]

ORANGEBURG, C. H. [S. C.], *1st Oct 1847*

DEAR SIR I trust the magnitude of the subject upon which I address you, will excuse the liberty I take. The momentous controversy now pending between the North and South, and threatening, unless speedily and pregnantly arrested, to terminate in a portentous catastrophe to the South, forces her to gird herself in every way to meet the necessities of the conflict. The local Legislation of the North has been of such an aggressive character, as to sap and impair the institution of Slavery unless met by corresponding Legislation at the South, of a vital and retributive nature. The confiscation of our property at the North, justifies us in adopting a similar policy. We are in the position of distinct and conflicting communities. Piracy justifies Letters of Reprisal, and forays, of such an insolent and rapacious kind, as have been perpetrated upon us by the North, should not pass unnoticed and unredressed. I propose then, at the next session of the Legislature to introduce a Bill, prohibiting under proper penalties, the Courts of this State, from extending any aid in the collection of debts, due to citizens of any State, which has made it penal for similar tribunals within her jurisdiction, to aid in the recapture and restoration of fugitive slaves. I should be very glad, if you have any documents touching the subject, if you would communicate them to me. Any information or advice you have leisure to give me in this matter, I shall be very glad to receive. I regret very much there are rumors here that in consequence of failing health, you design resigning your seat in the U S Senate.[65] The State will regard it as a great calamity, and we hope it is a mistake

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From H. W. Conner

CHARLESTON [S. C.,] *Wednesday Oct. 6, 1847*

MY DEAR SIR I have just returned from the North and hasten to say a word or two in refenence to the state of things there as well as here

[63] Isaac W. Hayne, of Charleston, S. C., was a member of the State conventions of 1852 and 1860.

[64] Lawrence Massilon Keitt was a lawyer of Orangeburg, S. C.; Democratic Member of the House of Representatives, 1853–1860; member of the provisional Congress of the Confederacy; colonel in the Confederate Army; killed in the battle of Cold Harbor.

[65] Calhoun did not resign, but served until his death in Washington, Mar. 31, 1850.

which may be not unacceptable to you. At the North the disposition to escape from the Wilmot proviso is becoming general, among the politicians and people, not the abolitionists or Eastern folks for they are as rabid as ever. The desire to escape from the Proviso originates in no conception of its [being] wrong, as to principle or its practice but because it is ascertained to be a false move, in fact a political blunder for it has given us the advantage of position and all the argument on our side, but what exerts the most decided influence in effecting the change is the apprehension of a *union of the South.* Our papers and documents have been widely extended (I distributed 5000 of out circulars with copies of the Mercury of the 11th August to every part of the U.S. myself) and their effects have been far beyond my expectations. The movement has been considered as evidence of a determintion to unite, and the power of such a union, based as it is upon a principle and a feeling, the strongest known to man, that of interest and self preservation, I am sorry to say is far better understood and appreciated by the people of the North than by ourselves. They see at once that if united we are the controlling power and must ever be so and it is the dread of it that has produced the change. In the condition of things that must always exist at the North and even at the West, they combine as the free booters used to do to descend upon and pillage the Coast of Mexico and as the plunder was secured fell to pieces and had again to be reorganized for any voyage. The South united upon a principle and kept united by the constant outward pressure from the abolitionist, they readily perceive must be the lever to regulate the whole machine. This we seem to understand but imperfectly. To prevent this union and to make up a better issue for themselves is now the motive for postponing the action on the Wilmot proviso until after the next presidential election. In a work, united, the South is destined to be a stronger power than that of the abolistionists, hence the court paid to the South as you perceive by all the apirants to the Presidency. Such are in part the result of may observations as to the condition of things at the North.

As to the South—I saw many very many people in New York, Boston, Phila., Baltimore and Washington from every slaveholding state in the union, and I found but one sentiment to prevail and that was opposition to the Wilmot Proviso and all other similar aggressions. But while that was found to be the universal sentiment, I readily preceived it varied greatly in degree. Some considered the danger emminent, others as remote. Some were for immediate and decisive action—some wanted to wait and others thought they would fight very hard when the abolitionists come to take the negroes out of the field; but none of them had any fixed or well defined plan of action, but agreed that some organization ought to take place and appeared will-

ing to come into [any] arrangement that might be proposed. Mississippians appeared to me to be the most decided and most aroused. So were many in Louisiana, but they look at the danger as prosepctive. Alabama appeared to be pretty well up to the mark, Florida quite so. I saw fewer Virginians, but what I did see they were right, and the whigs as much so as the democrats.

There is to my mind two great difficulties we have to contend with all over the South. The first and greatest is our *own indolence and procrastination.* This to me is the source of extreme mortification and pain. The next is the difficulty of affecting organization or association of any kind in the Southern States in the absence of quick and easy communication between different parts, in a word the dearth of railroads. Yet with proper efforts I feel great confidence in these difficulties being overcome, for the feeling and interest of the whole South is one and the same and with labour and address may be brought into action.

The cause here I regret to say has languished—a new and larger committee was appoined soon after my absence. They placed my name at its head, but I was not here to perform its duties. A meeting had been called for the 15th, but it was reconsidered and abandoned. I called the committee together last night (many were absent) and organized the best measures we could for proceeding right ahead in collecting subscriptions and all that can be done shall be done as speedily as possible.

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From Percy Walker [66]

MOBILE [ALA.,] *October 10th 1847.*

DEAR SIR For some time past I have thought of addressing you upon a subject of vital moment to the South, and one that has been to you full of painful interest, but my unwillingness to trespass upon your time and the fear of being considered obtrusive have thus far deterred me. I have, however, determined to run the hazard, and trust to your kindness.

Unless I am wholly forgotten by you, I need not assure you of the weight your opinions have with me, and the almost reverential regard I have for your person and character. In common with all who value Southern rights and institutions, I look to you as the only safe guide and counsellor, amid the perils that threaten all we hold most dear, — state power and dignity, and individual right.

[66] Percy Walker, a physician of Mobile, Ala., later studied law and practiced in Mobile; member of the State house of representatives, 1839, 1847, 1853; elected as an American to the House of Representatives, 1855–1857.

Northern fanaticism has acquired fearful strength within the last year or two, and the manifestations it has made of its strength and energy within that period are well calculated to awaken alarm, or rather arouse us to action. The Mexican War has been used by our Northern and Eastern enemies as a means by which they hope to rob us of all constitutional guaranties, subvert institutions most essential to our peace and prosperity, strip us of the insignia of sovereignty, pass a sentence of social degradation upon us, and effect our complete and total ruin. The "Wilmot Proviso" and its substitute of "No Territory" are schemes designed solely for the purpose of destroying that equality of political power to which the Southern States are entitled under the Constitution. The danger they threaten to us is imminent, and force upon us the question, how is this danger to be met and overcome? The assult has been kept up for years, but under the false assurances that the great majority of the non-slaveholding people were not parties to it, we have remained idle and inactive, untill our enemies have become powerful enough to control the Legislatures of *Ten* Sovereign States, which in the most solemn forms of Law, have declared against us. In this emergency I again ask, what are we to do? Submit to this emasculation of State power and its consequent social and political degradation! God forbid, that any Southern man should be sunk so low, as to utter the craven cry of Amen! Perish rather our whole Gouvernmental fabric. In its fall we may go down, but we will be saved the bitter reflection of having lost our dignity and self-respect.

But it will not do to content ourselves with empty declamation, and Resolves, that look fierce upon paper. Our action should be calm, determined, and above all united. We must endeavour to make the Southern States think and feel and act alike, upon this subject. How is this to be done? And to you, my dear sir, I apply for an answer. I am determined to do all in my power to bring Alabama "up to the mark." I have been elected a Representative from Mobile in the Legislature, and am anxious to get that body to take a decided stand in support of Southern institutions. I have thought very seriously of introducing resolutions, as soon as the session opens, instructing our Senators and requesting our Representatives in Congress, to abandon their seats and return home to their constituents, in the event of the passage of the Wilmot Proviso, or any similar law.

What think you of this? Again, how would it do, formally to request the disaffected States to withdraw from the Union, if they cannot tolerate the Constitution? I think that we had better "*show fight.*" We have lost much by silence and being tender-hearted towards our "Northern Allies." It is time to be in earnest about this matter.

Will you, my dear sir, favor me with your advice and counsel. I earnestly solicit them, and trust that my motives for doing so, will sufficiently apologize for this intrusion.

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From David Johnson[67]

LIME STONE SPRINGS [S. C.], *26th Oct. 1847.*

MY DR. SIR:

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The other subject, abolition, to which you refer is one of infinitely more importance. That too I shall feel it my duty however reluctantly to bring to the view of the Legislature. The Virginia resolutions[68] on the subject of the Wilmot proviso and of several of the non slave holding states in support of the proviso have been forwarded to me with directions to submit them to the Legislature and however willing I may be to avoid the excitement which it may create I feel that the occasion and the subject leave me no right to exercise any discretion. I agree with you that in itself the Proviso is unimportant compared with the other movements of the abolitionists. The flagrant violation of the Constitution of the U. States in the act of the Legislature of Pennsylvania punishing all who may aid the owner in the reclamation of a fugitive slave and the general habit of the citizens of the non slave holding states to oppose by force even without the sanction of local law all attempt to reclaim our runaway slaves are evils which strike at the very root of our peculiar institutions, and must if it cannot be corrected break up the very foundations of our happy and prosperous Union. The case contemplated by the Wilmot proviso may never arise. If unhappily it should—for I should deprecate the acquisition of territory from Mexico by conquest—the new states will probably come to our aid. But when the abolitionists invite our slaves to run away from us ——— [69]promise them security and protection, it is time we should inquire whether the guarantys of the Constitution is sufficient to protect us and if not to vindicate our rights in the best way we can. An occasion has recently presented itself to show how far Pensylvania is prepared to go. In the course of the last summer a man by the name of Eaton a native of that state but for some time an inhabitant of Columbia, stole two slaves there and carried them to Phyladelphia. At the last court held in Columbia the grand jury found true bills against him for these offenses and I have sent in a formal demand on the Governor of that state for his

[67] David Johnson, a jurist of South Carolina, served in the State courts for years and became chancellor in 1835; governor, 1846–1848.

[68] The Virginia resolutions on the Wilmot Proviso; see *Niles Register*, Vol. LXXII, p. 39.

[69] Illegible.

arrest and delivery and have authorized the Agents to offer a reward of two thousand dollars for his delivery here in the hope of bribing him to do right. Sufficient time has not yet elapsed to know the result and it remains to be seen whether the Governor will have courage enough to oppose himself to their legislative enactments. I hope he has and have indirectly some authority to suppose that he will; but if it proves otherwise that of itself would require that I should bring it before the Legislature. But I have dwelt already too much on this incident. The evil practically exists and the question is as to the remedy and the time of action.

I had thought of this matter before without being able to form any satisfactory judgments, and I am exceedingy obliged by your suggestions on the subject. Our only means of retaliating is through their commerce, and knowing that this was by the Consitution of the United States under the protection of the general government, my habitual respect for the law and the Constitution induced me to hesitate about the adoption of this remedy, but more reflection has satisfied me that it is admissible on the soundest principles of morality and justice. The precise case is provided for by the Constitution and if disregarding this a sister state invades our rights and the arm of the Federal Government is unable to protect us, we are thrown back upon our natural rights and must depend on ourselves. This may well be said to be in violation of the Constitution of the U. States and an usurpation of the powers of the Federal Government. Be it so. I hold it fair to defend ourselves with the same weapon that our adversary uses to assail us and if the Federal Government employs force to put us right let her begin at the root of the evil and do justice.

I agree with you that there ought to be concert between the states similarly situated with us both as to the time and remedy. How is this to be brought about? But two modes have suggested themselves to my mind. Let some one of the states lead off in a manner sufficiently strong to indicate a course and a decided purpose to pursue it without acting definitively untill the purpose of the others are sufficiently developed. The other is a conference of the members of Congress of these states recommending some decisive course and simultaneous action by the several states, and I agree with you that definitive action ought not to be delayed for the obvious reason that the enemy is daily acquiring strength and every accession to it diminishes our own. How far it would be prudent on me to press this matter before the Legislature at the present time is a question about which I must beg your opinion and advise. I would not willingly do anything calculated to widen the breach between the states, but I have neither motive or inclination to shrink from any duty demanded by the occasion.

There is another subject about which I very much desire your advice. This War with Mexico. The ostensible object of its commencement was the protection of what was assumed and I suppose rightfully our territory against the intrusion of Mexico. That was attained in the battles of Palo Alto and Reseca de la Palma and the reduction of Matamoras. To "conquer a peace," the avowed object of carrying it into Mexico. Let the Seminole War tell how visionary such a project was. Having failed in that the indications of the public journals point to the conquest and permanent occupation of the Country. If that be the object of the Government, I protest against it from the bottom of my heart as unwise and unjust. I have alrcady troubled you too much with these undigested lucubrations to attempt any argument in support of this conclusion, but I will go further. The acquisition of thc territory on the rout[e] of a communication between our North Western territory and the Gulph of California, and an indemnity for the expenses of the war is made the pretense for seizing on this territory by force. I cannot reconcile this course to my notions of moral right. To make offensive war upon an enemy as a justification for seizing on his territory as an indemnity for the expenses admits of no paliation. Supposing the war is rightfully wagcd, is not the wrong of the enemy already sufficiently punished and the honor of the U. S. sustained in what has already been done and may we not without dishonor fall back upon our own rights and depend on the occupation and blockade of the cnemy's ports as the means of bringing her to a sense of justice.

I am disposed to look with indulgence on the commencement of the war. It was probably the necessary consequence of the acquisition of Texas. Mexico seems to have acquiesced in our right to the Nueces but disputed our claim to the country lying between that and the Rio Grande, and having driven her out of that, might it not have been reasonably concluded that she never would again have intruded upon us. In her feebleness she had yielded much more to Tcxas standing alone and it is unreasonable to suppose that she would have again invaded the territory of the U. S. What under these circumstances ought to be done? Of necessity I must allude to thc subject in my message to the Legislature and I beg you will advisc me how far I ought to go, for I feel that it is one of much delicacy and what in your judgment ought to be the action of the Legislature. May I ask your early attention to it in the spirit of kindness which has characterised our intcrcourse through a long acquaintance certainly on my part and as far as I know on yours.

From Eustis Prescott

MEMPHIS [TENN.,] *8th Novr. 1847*

MY DEAR SIR I have to thank you for your notc of 5th Sept and accompanying documents. I concur fully in the sentiments they embody, and hope that our friends in Louisa. will havc ere this come forward with their full quota of money in aid of the undertaking. I now hope to reach New Orleans in about a weck, and shall use all the influence I can excrt in furtherance of the cause.

I deem Kentucky and Tennessee sound on the great question, and if ever brought to a votc I doubt whether the "Wilmot Proviso" will receive a single affirmative votc in cither State; they may submit to the "Missouri compromise," but it strikes me that [that] at last is but an expedient, and that any compromise of the constitution should be resisted.

If we must receive territory it should be open to thc citizens of every state with their property, if such tcrritory ever applies to become a member of the Union, the people will decide whether we shall or shall not prohibit slavery within hcr borders.

The Van Buren section of the Democracy have, as I anticipated, taken their stand for the "proviso" and parties must now divide, for or against and this will be an important feature in the next presidential election. Genl Taylor has about served the purpose of the Whigs in the State elections and will now be permitted to rest Major Genl.

From F. W. Byrdsall

NEW YORK [N. Y.,] *Nov. 12th 1847*

DEAR SIR. I enclose you the Herald's full rcport of the vaunted speech of John Van Buren [70] at the Herkimer mass convention.[71] The editorial remarks in relation to the speech are neat, appropriate, and give several admirable hits as regards the "Sage of Lindenwald."

Our State Election is over and the enemies of what they term the "Southern influence," have destroyed their own influence and placed the matter of the next presidency in the hands of the South. Thcy have placed New York in a poistion disgraceful to her as a State, and disadvantageous to her amongst her sister States, for none can make any safe calculation upon her in the contest of 1848. Her politicians with all their cunning, have shewn their want of true wisdom to be as deficient as their lack of steadfast principle. "The dough faces" are also dough brained.

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[70] Son of President Martin Van Buren.

[71] The Barnburners of New York held a mass meeting at Herkimer, which was addressed by Wilmot and John Van Buren; resolutions were passed demanding that slavery be prohibited in any territory thereafter acquired. A State convention of Barnburners was called to meet at the same place on Washington's Birthday next.

New York politicians have "headed" themselves. While they had the great personal popularity of Andrew Jackson as their support, they were invulnerable, but since he left public life, they have been going down hill and will soon be at [the] bottom. It is a laughable fact that in the recent election three victories were achieved;—the Whigs gained a victory by carrying the State;—the Barnburners gained a victory by defeating what they call the Old Hunker state ticket, and the old Hunkers gained a victory by laying Flagg and his coadjutors of the central Regency on the shelf.

As to the Wilmot proviso, it was only assumed as a cover under which to do battle against the old Hunkers and the administration at Washington. The Barnburners of this State have never been reconciled to the defeat of Mr. Van Buren's nomination in 1844. In their eyes it was a fraud and a usurpation over him that brought in Mr. Polk and they dislike him as a usurper. But the great body of the people care little about the Wilmot Proviso at this time. It would soon die a natural death if the politicians and papers would let it depart in peace. Politically it is a monstrosity, for if Congress has power to *prohibit* slavery in the territory of the U. States, then it has power to *establish* it in the territory of the U. States. Here we have the idea of the old federalist party of forming a supreme National Government. As regards the extension of slave territory, those who want to abolish slavery should go for diffusion instead of concentration, for they would find a natural law in their favor if the Institution be an evil. Morally considered, I am satisfied that the Southern patriarchal system is the best condition for the African race, so long at least as it remains in the United States. There is far less suffering and crime in the millions of the slaves than in the thousands of the free negroes.

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From John A. Calhoun [72]

EUFAULA [ALA.,] *November 22d 1847*

DEAR UNCLE, I am about to visit Montgomery during the sitting of our Legislature, and should like to hear from you in advance, on the probable course of events, so as to shape my course with the more discretion. I declined a seat in the Senate of this State in order to effect a certain end (the amalgamation of the old Parties with a view to the formation of a new one under the suggestions of your last letter to me. So far my efforts have been quite as successfull as I

[72] John A. Calhoun was a member of the South Carolina Legislature, 1838–1840; he later moved to Alabama.

expected. The gentleman whom I yielded to in the Senate is Mr. Buford—a *Carolinian*, a *Nullifyer*, a *Whig*. He occupies much the same ground which Mr. Hilliard [73] occupies. I was assured on all hands that I could have been elected—but it would have been by the aid of ultra Whigs and Democrats; and it would have separated me from that portion of the Whigs which I think must soon be with us—hence I declined, and managed so far in bringing over Mr. Buford and his friends that they are now your *loud* advocates. My reason for visiting Montgomery is to carry out these plans in our State as far as practicable. The only way to manage the Democratic party, constituted as it has been, is to keep them in such a situation as to render our aid *necessary* for their success. Plunder is all they seriously contend for. The tone of the old hunkers of this section of country has materially changed within the last six or eight months. Then you were a *trator*—now they say you were right in all your positions, but were to[o] *arrogant* in announcing them.

My particular object in writing to you at this time is to ask your opinions on certain features of political movements of the day. What do you think of the Taylor movement for the Presidency? What of Woodberry, Dallas, and Buchanan's position on the "Wilmot Proviso" and what course should we adopt towards them? To what extent should we (I mean the States right portion of the Democracy) concilliate the old hunker portion of the Democracy? What degree of interest do you feel in the election of Lewis over King [74] for the Senate? And finally I would like to have your views as to the probable course on the Mexican war, which will be adopted by the administration? Information on these points as well as on any others you may deem proper will be thankfully received by me. It is scarcely necessary for me to add that all the information you may impart will only be *discretely used*, and will be held as strictly confidential. As I expect in future to take a more active part [in] the political transactions of my adopted State I am anxious to take a position, and hence my contemplated visit to Montgomery.

My family are all well and have been so during the last summer and fall.

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[73] Henry Washington Hilliard, a Whig of Alabama, was a Member of the House of Representatives 1845–1851.

[74] William Rufus King was a Senator from Alabama, 1848–1853; he was appointed to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Arthur P. Bagby, and was reelected. Dixon Hall Lewis, of Alabama, served in the Senate, 1844–1848, when he died in New York City. Benjamin Fitzpatrick was appointed to fill the vacancy and took his seat Dec. 11, 1848, but Jeremiah Clemens was elected to fill the vacancy and took his seat Dec. 6, 1849.

From Wilson Lumpkin

ATHENS, [GA.,] *Dec. 20th, 1847.*

MY DEAR SIR I am in receipt of your letter of the 12th. Inst. Upon the subjects of our Internal, and External affairs, I find every one in suspense, from the President down to the humblest Citizen; we have to wait for the developments of time, to write the history of the future. We have no divinely inspired prophets in whom we can confide.

I have no doubt, the *President makers, of both parties,* are disposed at present, to avoid any action in Congress, on the Slave question. But as a private Citizen of the South, I am wearied with annoyance, and menace on this subject. The Wilmot Proviso, is but one item in one Bill of Complaints. I am tired of skirmishing on this subject. Let us have no more *bush* fighting. I want an issue, that will embrace the whole subject.

I want nothing but a literal and faithful adhereance to the compromises of the constitution on the Slave question, and nothing less can be satisfactory to the people of the Slave-holding States. Violations of our rights, and assaults upon our peace and quiet, whether they come from Congress, or State Legislation, are equally provoking, and tend to allienate our affections and produce those sectional prejudices, which endanger the perpetuity of our system.

It is often, much less difficult to get into trouble, than to get out of it. Solomon said, "A Wise man foreseeith the evil and avoideth it." As a public man, I have often been accused by my friends, of extending my prudence, to the point of timidity. But I still think, it is much better to do but little, than to do great mischief. It is the present state of our Mexican relations, that gives rise to the foregoing reflections. I dont know how we can best get out of the War. Mr. Clay's plan wont do. His Lexington speech[76] may be considered his political Epitaph. But a very small portion of the people will sustain Mr. Clays views. It will require the United Wisdom of every patriot at Washington, to make the best of the Mexican War.

I am uncompromising in my aversion, to the idea of annexing the whole of Mexico to our Union, either by a speedy or more gradual process. It is best for Mexico to retain her national character. I am equally averse to the idea of our governing it, for a long course of years, as a conquered province.

All things considered, as they exist at present, I can see nothing better, than to seize and retain a proper Territorial indemnity. Notwithstanding the extended argument of the President in his message,

[76] Clay's speech was delivered late in the autumn, before Congress met. He stood against the acquisition of territory from Mexico and for "only a just and proper fixation of the limits of Texas," and "that we do positively and emphatically disclaim and disavow any wish or desire on our part to acquire any foreign territory whatever for the purpose of propagating slavery, or of introducing slaves from the United States into such foreign territory."

against the course which I suggest, I think he magnifies the difficulties of changeing the Mexican War, into a *defensive* war. Unpleasant as a border war may be, allmost every State of this Union, have proved their capacity and ability, to maintain such war successfully, and at a limited expense, compared with that of an invadeing war. However, I dont assume to know, what is the best policy to be pursued. Your individual position, is an extremely delicate one. You stand aloof from the corruptions and intrigues of both the great political parties of the country. The selfish of both parties look upon you with an evil eye. Strictly speaking, you are attached to no party whatever. Yet you have a strong hold on the confidence of honest intelligent men every where. Connect your name, with the idea of official power and station, and the party leaders of all parties are at once united, in leveling their heaviest metal against you. And yet I do not entertain a single doubt, if your name could be brought directly before the people, for the first office of the country, in opposition to any one man, in the U. S. of either, any, or no party, you would be overwhelmingly the choice of the American people. And yet strange to see, the combination and machinery of party is such, that your influence is limited, to comparatively a small circle. Your position, is rather limited to the work of preventing evil to the country, than that of devising and carrying out great measures of utility to the country.

You have however much to console you, on reviewing the past. The efficiency and glory of our triumphant army in Mexico, is by no means disconnected with your labors, while at the head of the War Department.

Our present Treasury System, with all its multiplyed advantages to the country, points to you as one of its founders. The present admirable state of our currency and commercial Exchanges, must be connected with your name. Your *Free Trade* views, long entertained and nobly advocated, will pervade the civilized world, and its inestimable benefits be felt, by every consumer of food and raiment. I might enlarge, but enough for the present. At your leisure, please keep [me] apprized of such under currents, as cannot be seen upon the surface.

From J. D. B. DeBow [77]

New Orleans [La.], Dec. 26, 1847.

My dear Sir, I was honored by the receipt of your esteemed favor of the 12th Decr. and forthwith forwarded the Number of Review containing Dr. Nott's [78] paper on the health of Negroes North and

[77] James Dunwoody Brownson DeBow, the famous editor of *DeBow's Commercial Review*, published at New Orleans.

[78] Dr. J. C. Nott.

South, which it appears you had not previously received. I have nothing further before me on this subject now, though I endeavored last summer to obtain information at the North. The fact is that they are unwilling in that quarter to divulge more than can be helped and almost neglect entirely this branch of statistics.

I noted your inquiries about Genl. Taylor. His most intimate and particular friend in Lousiana Col. Maunsel White, a Democrat, also a very dear friend of mine, knows more perhaps of Genl. Taylor than anyone else. They have been companions from youth upward. I was at Col. White's on Genl. Taylor's arrival in the State previously to his visiting the city. The Col. has been in close correspondence with Taylor. In answer to a note which I directed him the other day Col. White made this response "Genl. Taylor is an honest man and a true patriot and said when asked of what party he was that 'in the battles he fought for his country a whig fought bravely on one side of him while a democrat fought as bravely on the other—he knew no party but his country.' I know that his politics are those of Mr. Jefferson for he told me so. He is a Southern man and will of course be opposed to the Wilmot Proviso. (Was not Mr. Jefferson opposed to the principles even of the Missouri Compromise?) He is in favor of peace provided it can be had without any dishonor or danger to the country—as to Tariff and Banks I don't believe he has ever given them much thought, in short he is no politician and has often said so, and as to caucusses I don't believe he would have anything to do with them. I don't know of a man in this Parish (a democratic one) of both parties that won't vote for him."

You will see that this still leaves his Tariff views in the dark. I know however that it is Col. White's opinion that Taylor would not willingly have the Tariff of '46 touched. In fact I can hardly believe that that issue is to be sprung upon this Country again for a very long time to come.

The Whigs here have taken mortal offence about Mr. Clay's course on the Proviso, *all his old friends*. The movement in receiving Taylor begun with them, but extended to all parties. The Democrats of the State are strongly administration which absorbs the strength of their Taylorism. However I think the Genl. clearly has carried the State. The same may be affirmed positively of Alabama. All Mississippi is enthusiastic in his support.

South Carolina is you know where. Did it please God and could political honesty combined with intellectual greatness ever again be rewarded with that high chair, she would see her own proud son occupy it. If this must not be so, on the issue of the South and North, she would stand to Taylor. I know of no man in Louisiana however who does not regard it a compliment to the Presidency to couple *your* name with it.

Genl. Taylors position in view of the Presidency is to a great extent dependent upon the slavery agitation. What effect the previous settlement of that question may have the future will show. The strength of feeling in opposition to the Proviso here though not as great as in South Carolina is marked. The contemplated Southern paper at Washington has elicited many considerable subscriptions from planters etc.

Our election for U. S. Senator in place of Johnson comes on in a week.[79] A whig or Taylor democrat (i. e. this is a distinct branch of the democratic party proper here) will be elected. If a whig perhaps J. P. Benjamin [80] an eminent jurist, formerly of South Carolina, if a Taylor democrat probably Judge Nicholas [81] of Rapides, formerly in the Senate for a short time. The Democrats speak of Slidell [82] most prominently.

I am afraid that the present low prices of sugar will be interpreted unfavorably to the Tariff by those of the planters who had previous doubts, this is natural with men who have not studied the subject in all its bearings.

I think the Legislature will pass very strong resolutions on the ground you have taken on the Wilmot proviso, if not previously determined.

From George H. Hatcher

BALLSTON CENTRE *Jan 5th 1848*

HON. AND DEAR SIR, I regret exceedingly that I had not time when in Washington a few days since to converse with you at length on the subject which most interests us as patriots and friends of the republic. I mean the subject of the present War as it relatives to Slavery. Perhaps you will recollect my saying to you just as you were leaving the Capitol for your lodgings a few days ago that in my judgement you Southern gentlemen do not appreciate the *real* state of things at the North in regard to Slavery, and the War. I intimated to you that I intended writing you on the subject. Hence this communication. What I am about to say is of course in confidence. I am a clergyman (Presbyterian) and do not, for prudential reasons, wish my name made public, tho' if the *matter* of this letter would in any way serve you you are at liberty to use it as you choose. Much of my information I gather from Abolition sources, and from

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[79] In the Thirtieth Congress, 1847–1849, Louisiana's Senators were Henry Johnson and Solomon W. Downs; in the Thirty-first Congress, 1849–1851, Downs and Pierre Soulé.

[80] Judah Philip Benjamin, a lawyer of New Orleans, was elected to the Senate as a Whig in 1853 and served 1853–1861; Attorney General of the Confederacy, 1861; Secretary of War, 1861–1862, when appointed Secretary of State.

[81] Robert Carter Nicholas was Senator from Louisiana, 1836–1841.

[82] John Slidell, a State Rights Democrat of New Orleans, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1843–1845; Senator, 1853–1861; figured in the *Trent* affair during the Civil War.

men who are well acquainted with that class of our Northern people who style themselves opponents of Slavery. From what I can gather I think I am safe in asserting that the project of an extensive acquisition of Mexican Territory is fast gaining ground among anti-Slavery men at the North. Familiar as I am with political and religious factions at the North I was not a little surprised to see how rapidly this idea is making a favorable lodgement in the public mind—or, rather in the minds of this class of men. I refer now not simply to nominal Abolitionists but to that large portion of anti-Slavery men at the North who do not belong to Abolition organizations technically so called. It is this class of men and to the South the most formidable class who are fast becoming converts to the idea of *extensive annexation.* In their view the *more extensive the better.* Whether Slavery be extended over this territory or not they think its annexation will ultimately overthrow the institution. Mind you, however, they connect this effect with *extensive annexation.* They are coming to adopt this ground—"Territory without slavery *if they can,* but *with it rather than not have the territory.*" On the supposition that large territory be acquired and slavery extended over it they reason thus: "In proportion as you extend slavery over a greater area in that proportion you weaken it." In a conversation with one of these men who has the reputation of great shrewdness as a man of *policy* I took occasion to reprove him for inconsistency in some of his views. In reply he used as nearly as I can remember the following language—"Why Sir," said he, "we understand this matter perfectly. The South are committing political suicide with this annexation project. They are over-reaching themselves. Do you not know, Sir, that just in proportion as you extend slavery over a greater area in that proportion you weaken it? Suppose they extend it over half or two thirds of Mexico? The slaves they move there they must take from the old slave States. You cannot deny that in those States after a large portion are removed fewer slaveholders and friends of the institution are left to bear up against the onsets of their enemies. More white laborers will immediately take the places vacated by the removed slaves. You know how this class of men will act. They will at once throw their influence, their sympathies and their acts and votes in favour of emancipation. Immigration and the laws of population will soon give such a preponderence to the whites that will ere long overwhelm slavery. More still. As the effect will be to make the slave population exceedingly sparse (i. e. in a short time) we can set up our anti-slavery presses right among them without fear of molestation. We cannot do it now because they are *too many.* But thin them out, and the non-slaveholding whites will defend us. When we can do this more than half the battle will be won. This is one of the most important points

we are striving to gain. Let us attain this and we may defy them. Now what is true of the old States will be true of the States newly created out of this territory. The same cause will operate, the same effects will follow sooner or later. The fact is the South have not *slaves enough* to take permanent possession of this territory and yet hold their own in the old States. They might get along very well if they were to stop with Texas. But by extensive expansion they divide their powers and distract their energies. When Napoleon fought the Allied Powers he adopted the policy of attacking detachments of the enemy and thus cut them up *in detail.* Whereas had they the enemy kept connected and combined, his force would have been insufficient to overcome them. So in this case will we do with slavery. We will attack it in detail if the slave-holders expand the institution." But, said I, would not the creation of new States out of this territory give the South the preponderence in Congress? "Temporarily it might. Not permanently. For while they gain Slave States at the South they would lose them at the North. Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Tennesee, Kentucky, and North Carolina would soon become free. What then would the South gain? If they cut off a foot from one end of the stick and add it to the other will they increase its length?" These are among the views he advanced on the supposition that large territory be annexed and slavery extended over it. Anticipating these effects he seemed willing to wink at its extension over this territory rather *than not have the territory.* But on the supposition that he could get the Territory and keep it *free* he thought they could also bring about the downfall of slavery sooner than in the other case. ["]Out of this territory there would be many free States created. These would unite with the Northern free States in opposition to slavery. That would prevent the South from dividing the Union. Slavery would be between two fires. Besides, the facilities for the escape of slaves would be greatly multiplied. Thus the South would be like a barrel tapped at both ends, etc., etc." Whether this reasoning be sound you are better able to judge than I am. But to an anti-slavery Northerner it is very plausible. It is fast reconciling this class of men to the idea of extensive annexation. From what I can learn I think the signs of the times hereabouts indicate that the Abolitionists and their coadjustors will go for extensive annexation at all hazards. If they can enforce the Proviso they will. But if not they will favour *secretly* if not *openly* what they regard as the *next best,* i. e. a great extension of territory and a *corresponding* expansion of slavery. This will, perhaps, explain the reason why the National Era, the anti-slavery paper at Washington goes for the acquisition of territory and yet strenuously urges the Proviso. It

betrays their *secret* intentions. But, Sir, my reasons for writing you relate not to the merits or demerits of these questions but to the preservation of the Union. I love the Republic. To you Sir, I convey no information when I say that in view of this state of things and the movements of political parties the times are pregnant with mighty events—events which are to effect materially the interests of the Republic. Deem it not flattery either when I say that to *you* all eyes are turned, especially of the sober, intelligent, and reflecting portion of this great people with the most earnest solicitude. Your position as foreshadowed in your resolutions I fully believe will meet their unqualified approbation. Let that policy be adopted and the Union is safe. Let these antagonist schemes be carried out and Heaven only knows the diasters that may follow. For your encouragement, if indeed any thing can add to *that* courage which derives its virtue from conscious recitude and love of country, let me say, you have with you the hearty good wishes of those of our citizens whose approbation is of the most value. Persevere, then, my Dear Sir, and may success under the blessing of God crown your praiseworthy efforts. Save the Union. If you succeed in confining our territory to nearly its present limits you will place our national compact on a firmer basis than ever.

If at any time I could afford you information as to anti-slavery developments of the North I will cheerfully do so. My opinion is if you Southern men would keep an agent here at the North to ascertain what new movements are started from time to time, one who would devote his time to it and give you accurate intelligence you would be the better prepared to meet future political emergencies. Abolitionists have their disguised agents among you, and you would do well to counteract them with their own weapons. Were it not too expensive I would come and see you personally and talk with you more fully on what I have said in the fore-part of my letter. Please do me the favour to acknowledge this and oblige one who entertains for you the profoundest respect.

P. S. Various causes operate to predispose different factions to entertain favorably the idea of an extensive acquisition of territory. Anti-slavery men for the reasons before stated. The more ardent friends of the Administration favour it because it affords them a ready apology for a vigorous prosecution of the war with a view to conquest. Speculators favour it because it affords increased facilities for speculation and that in a variety of ways. Kindred to these are the great capitalists who think it will stimulate enterprize and thereby create a permanent demand for money, irrespective of that which must arise from Government loans. Then the manufacturing classes and high tariff men think the effect will be to increase the

National debt to a degree that will of necessity require a high rate of duties in order to carry on the Government. Besides these, are the Military who see in this scheme employment and openings for military renown. Others favour the scheme for still other reasons. The more I think of it the more am I convinced that you have hit the nail on the head. Let it be driven and clinched *now*. Six months hence may be too late. Surely no benefits can adequately compensate for the political convulsions and the manifold disasters that will inevitably ensue in case the policy antagonist to yours be carried out. My dear Sir, let not the golden opportunity pass. Fix the policy of the Government by your resolutions and all will be safe.

From Joseph Pickens

EUTAW ALABAMA *6th January 1848*

DEAR SIR By the last mail, I was much gratified to receive your speech in pamplet form, which you had the kindness to forward me, and for this mark of kindness I thank you, and shall be very thankful to receive any thing from you at any time. Your speech I had read in the Intelligencer which paper I take, and I am pleased to say to you that every sentiment and views in that speech meets my entire approbation and that of every Whig friend that I have conversed with without one solitary exception. Some of the old Hunkers here dont like it so very well thinks you rather independent.

I have from the first thought that the war might have been avoided if propper prudence had been used by Mr. Polk. I think he lacks the bump of caution if nothing else.

I have no hesitation in believing that the President violated the Constitution knowingly and willfully in rushing us into this uncalled for and unnatural War with Mexico, and if his acts are allowed to go unrebuked the Constitution is a perfect dead letter.

In thus believing I could not vote him either men or money to carry on the war, only so much money to march the Army out of Mexican territory, to Corpus Christa if you please, and then treat for boundary. We may then have a permanent peace and not untill then, can we expect anything permanent.

It has always been a source of much gratification for me to agree with you, as I do now on this Mexican War and its management, as also your entire course on the Oregon question, and I hope ever to be so, going for Country in preference to the dictation of a party.

From W. F. DeSaussure[83]

COLUMBIA [S. C.], *Jany. 7, 1848.*

MY DEAR SIR: It may be that in the course of the debate upon the Mexican War some one may object that the South Carolina Senators[84] have taken a course opposed to that of their State and cite resolutions and a report passed by our Senate at the late session, and which I find have been published. I desire to say that the Senate report and resolutions were not adopted by the House, but laid on the table. As Chairman of the Committee on Federal Relations I made a report, which with the resolutions appended were adopted by the House, but were not passed by the Senate. I send by this mail the Palmetto Banner of 14 Dec 1847 which contains both reports.[85]

The contest with Mexico is exciting our liveliest apprehensions. The curtain is lifting, and the future becoming daily more alarming. What is to be done with this unhappy Country which can neither make war, nor peace.

I believe the prudent portion of our people desire no Mexican Territory, beyond what may be necessary to pay for past spoliations and the expenses of the war; but a large proportion will not be satisfied short of this, no matter what may be the consequence.

The letter of Genl Cass[86] plainly indicates that the Wilmot proviso is an abortion. The Administration party seem to be sensible that the South will withhold the supplies unless this instant claim is abandoned. But I do not see what pledges we can take; especially against people who deal in bad faith with the Constitution, habitually, as well upon this as upon other matters. The treaty making power and the veto are sheet anchors, and that the last may continue to be available, it is manifest that we must look well to the Presidential election.

Alas for the South—who would have thought twenty years ago that we should have to fall back so soon upon this last line of defence.

From A. J. Donelson

BERLIN [GERMANY,] *Jany. 8, 1848.*

DR SIR, Young Mr. Geddings and his companion have arrived safely at this place; and I have secured to them admission to one of

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[83] William Ford DeSaussure, a lawyer of South Carolina, was a member of the State legislature several terms; Senator, 1852–1853.

[84] Calhoun and Andrew P. Butler.

[85] The Senate stood for resolutions stronger than the House was willing to adopt. The particular Senate resolution to which the House objected provided that in the event of the passage of the Wilmot Proviso in any form (prohibiting slavery in any territory to be acquired) the governor should convene the legislature at once, to take such action as it deemed necessary; and that between the summoning and assembling of the legislature, the governor should correspond and consult with the authorities of other States with a view to harmonious action on this important subject. Charleston Courier, Dec. 16, 1847.

[86] Written to A. O. P. Nicholson, of Nashville, Tenn., Dec. 29, 1847, by Lewis Cass, and widely published.

the best Gymnasiums where they will be under the direction of Professor Bonnell, and will, I trust, realise the hopes of their parents. I have a son at the same school with whom they will be associated, which will make it more easy for me to assist them with such advice as may be useful.

The President's annual message as published in the *British Times* reached Berlin yesterday. It will be severely criticised by the European press as exhibiting the spirit of defiance rather than of conciliation. We cannot expect monarchs to relish the intimation that one example is a proof that their agency in Government ought to be dispensed with. But such criticism cannot hurt us much. The main thing is to be sure that we do nothing wrong or that will lessen the confidence inspired by the past that the agencies which have thus far made our Union the instrument of the general prosperity will be preserved. Whilst such is our conduct the force of our example will increase and the liberal party on this continent may gradually introduce and strengthen the Representative principle. In this point of view it is all important that our war with Mexico should cease, and it is fortunate that the brilliant atchievements of our arms will enable our Government to exhibit a forbearance and magnanimity in the negotiation for peach which under other circumstances would not have been tolerated by the people.

You are aware that I was one of those who regretted the movement of Genl. Taylor to the Rio Grande, in as much as the question of limits was one of negotiation unless Congress gave it a different character. Foreseeing that Mexico could give us no indemnity but land and dreading the application of the annexation principle to the Territory west of the Rio Grande, I would have preferred almost any expedient to an aggressive measure.

In my argument with Genl Houston I treated the annexation of Texas as the only step that could check the spirit of aggression and wild adventure on that frontier. His idea was that without money or arms he could dismember Mexico—that he could defeat our negotiation with England—that under European auspices he could form a new empire embracing Oregon, which would be a counterpoise to the United States. He was not mistaken. This he could have done; but it was his merit to abandon the abmitious temptation, and I thought I had done something beneficial in commending his self denial. In other words my belief was that in annexing Texas, a compromise was secured by which the nationality of Mexico was confirmed, and a war with England on account of Oregon avoided.

But it may be that no conduct on the part of the United States would have prevented war with Mexico and that for this reason the movement by Genl Taylor was considered immaterial in determining the judgment of Congress. At all events after the declaration that

the war existed the public will seems to have overlooked all previous irregularity amd made it imperative on the President to chastise Mexico in the most exemplary manner with the means voted by Congress.

Yet the original difficulty remained. What could we do with a nation that seemed to have lost all character, and to have no other policy but that of opposition to the United States? Must our chastisement of her necessarily throw upon us the dangerous responsibility of taking care of here hereafter?

I state these questions, not to answer them—for remote as I am from the scene of action, it would be presumptuous in me to intrude a suggestion upon your time. I have referred to them as connected with the message, and to express my hope that Congress will give them a satisfactory solution.

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From Elwood Fisher

INDIANAPOLIS [IND.,] *1 mo. 17 1848.*

DEAR FRIEND: I learned with much regret from thy last letter the probable intention of the southern whigs to support Taylor, and with still more regret that there was a disposition on the part of the southern democrats also to support him. I do not see clearly that any important advantages would result from his success. The slavery question would be evaded instead of settled: It would be postponed to arise at a future day under circumstances probably less favorable to the rights involved. It is not now at all clear even that Taylor remains in favour of a defensive line much less opposed to the War. The course of his friends in Congress indicate the contrary. And if the Whigs of the North should give way to him, he will probably consent to go into a Convention, and thus that abuse will remain untouched.

On the other hand the incapacity of Taylor, and his Whig principles, his exclusively military pretensions, his hostility to thyself, his pledge well known here to appoint a Whig cabinet, present altogether an array of objections to him which could hardly be made worse. Of his opposition to thee personally I became aware on going up the river the other day from Louisville to Cincinnati. Senator Archer[87] was on board—no friend of thine is he either—and sat at the dinner table with an officer recently from Mexico, both near enough for me to hear their conversation. This officer said General Taylor had an unfavourable opinion of Mr. Calhoun and entertained a much higher regard for Mr. Benton and had so stated to him.

[87] William S. Archer, a lawyer of Virginia, was for several years a member of the State Legislature; Member of the House of Representatives, 1820–1835; became a Whig about 1834; Senator, 1841–1847.

Thee will have observed that the Dem. Conventions of Ohio and Indiana waive the Wilmot proviso. That of Ohio declared for Cass. As for the Convention here it is more doubtful although W. J. Brown Asst. P. M. General wrote a letter here advising no expression of preference to be made but that Cass delegates to the National Convention should be selected. If we should be compelled to choose between Cass and Taylor it would be emphatically a choice of evils: a choice between the negation of moral principle and the negatoin of intellectual ability. Surely we can not acquiesce in that. Surely there is no necessity for it. There are ample materials throughout the country for another and a victorious party. And for one I will not submit to the miserable alternative of voting either for Cass or Taylor.

I have just had the pleasure of reading thy speech on thy resolutions.[88] It is worthy of the occasion and the author, and but for party feeling it would command the approbation of three fourths of the people. It is condemned in very feeble terms by the vigorous prosecution War Democrats, it is approved by the Whigs generally who however are becoming more reserved on the War question as the prospect of nominating Taylor becomes stronger.

I got here after the Conventions of the two parties had adjourned, but before the members generally had left. The Whigs were generally friends of Clay but generally yielded to the expediency of making no nomination before the National Caucus, and are preparing to go for Taylor. But to show the curious condition of sentiment now existing, I had a conversation the other night with two of the electors among the most distinguished of their party one on each side, E. McGaughey [89] and J. A. Wright [90] both exmembers of Congress—both said they would be ready at once to vote for thee if thy election could be made probable.

I do not think that Taylor or Cass can unite their respective parties. And the more I see of public sentiment, the more am I satisfied of the predominance of opposition to the War. The only thing is to detach the friends of peace from both parties, and unit them. If General Taylors friends Crittenden and Johnson represent the position of his party on the War question, I am certain that the Whigs of the West and North will not support him. On the other hand if General Taylors position were satisfactory to the friends of peace, there are many of the latter among the Democrats favourable to free trade who could scarcely be prevailed on to support him. Under the influence of these

[88] Speech on his resolutions in reference to the Mexican War, delivered Jan. 4, 1848. Works, Vol. IV, p. 396.

[89] Edward Wilson McGaughey, a Whig of Indiana, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1845–1847, 1849–1851.

[90] Joseph Albert Wright, a Democrat of Indiana, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1843–1845; governor, 1849–1857; minister to Prussia, 1857–1861, 1865–1867; Senator, 1862–1863.

views I have written an article for the New York Journal of Commerce and intend to present similar ones in some of the Western papers, so as that no reasonable effort however humble shall be left untried to avert the evils which threaten us.

If General Taylor should become committed in favour of a prosecution of the War, should be nominated, and the Democratic candidate should be brought forward on the other side in favour of the same policy in that respect, the impending commercial embarrassment of the country if it were to burst forth in the spring would confound the friends of both. It would of necessity arrest the War. If the friends of peace were then ready, they might elect a President of their own. I confess I look to the threatening aspect of monetary affairs with hope. I believe we shall have an explosion. The Banks of New York State have but six or seven millions of specie for sixty odd of immediate liabilities. They are therefore at the mercy of circumstances, the rumour of an hour may suspend them. Much as I should regret such a catastrophe of itself, I should hail it as a blessing as a kind interposition of Providence, to terminate the War, after the reason and principle of the country had failed.

On the whole the changes occurring in party movements are so frequent and important, and are so much complicated by events as to impress me with a determination to stand by all our principles until the very last moment. If then something must be sacrificed in order that something must be saved, then and then only would I be willing to acquiesce in the necessity.

I intend to be in Washington by the beginning of Spring, the condition of my family not admitting of an earlier trip. I have heard nothing recently about the paper proposed last session. We shall be ready and willing to give it our full share of support at an early day.

From Louis McLane [91]

BALTIMORE [MD.,] *Jan. 18, 1848.*

MY DEAR SIR, I make you my thanks for the printed copy of your speech, which I have read with the deep interest I always feel in your public acts. If I cannot in all respects concur in your views, I do not the less appreciate your motives, or the ability with which you have maintained the policy you would adopt.

I must confess to you that, in my opinion, after the annexation of Texas,—which I advocated at that hazard,—a war with Mexico could not well have been avoided; and, even if that had been possible, I do not think the *President* should be held responsible for the occurrence

[91] Louis McLane, a Democrat of Delaware, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1817–1827; Senator, 1827–1829; minister to Great Britain, 1829–1831; Secretary of the Treasury, 1831–1833; Secretary of State, 1833–34; minister to Great Britain, 1845–46; president of the Baltimore & Ohio R. R., 1837–1847.

of a war which it was next to impossible to avoid. I am of opinion, too, that after it was commenced, the war should have been prosecuted with the utmost vigour and energy, until, by the subjugation of the Mexican power, peace could have been dictated upon just and final terms; and I can not help thinking that the remissness of the administration in this respect, constitutes its real weakness. I cannot doubt that Mexico has been much encouraged by the opposition in this country, and that if the war had been promptly and rigorously pushed, less mischief would have arisen from that source. I am not capable of adding to the embarrassments of the administration, in the present crisis; but it has always appeared to me that, from the capture of Monterey, there has been a greater desire to give eclat to the civil diplomacy of the administration than to realize the legitimate results of military operations. Indeed, I am persuaded that the actual achievements of our army have transcended any reasonable expectation that could have been entertained.

The policy of the "Whigs" is evidently, by discrediting the war, to break down the Democratic party, and reduce our acquisition of territory within the smallest possible compass; and although my notions as to new territory are by no means immoderate, I should be sorry to see such a scheme succeed; and I could not be brought to accept less than would afford just indemnity, and a resaonable security against the future, in all its bearings. The present war appears to me to have hastened a crisis in Mexico, full of the gravest interest to us; and I have a strong conviction that whatever we leave of that country will immediately become an object of European interference. If that is to be depracated by our statesmen, the mode of preventing it ought to enter largely into their notions of *future security*, and not be without weight in deciding upon the best means of prosecuting the war.

From J. Gadsden

CHARLESTON S C *Janr 23 '48*

MY DEAR SIR The enclosed express so strongly the views I have previously conveyed to you; that I have cut them out, lest they should have escaped your notice in the columns of the Mercury. The great object at this time is to arrest the mad designs of Conquest; involving the still more dreaded but unavoidable policy, if the first succeeds, of the Annexation of the whole of Mexico, in states to the Union. I can not reflect on the measure without the most fearful apprehensions for the character and security of this Government or Confederation. The Question of indemnity however, and the certainty that it can only be met on the part of Mexico in the surrender of Territory is no longer debatable with our People. The cry of the

administration on that subject has been echoed and the whole Pack of hungry land hounds have opened on the scent. If the Wigs therefore don't give up their repugnance to any extention of Territory, you will be left in an awful minority, in your wise position to stop short of conquering, anything but Territorial indemnity. If the Wigs and Sober minded Patriots of the Democratic Party coalesce on the subject you may carry your restrictive measures, and thus the Country [be] rescued from a catastrophe into which Presidential making and a blind ambition of conquest is hurrying Polk and his advisors. I am the more persuaded likewise that whatever we do should be permanent. Our Landmarks of future boundaries should be so fixed by strong natural features as to put a limit to future extensions. A river will not answer. The whole of a valley must be settled by the same people, and the valley of the Rio Grande is so susceptible of a large population, that it will constitute a barirer population, which with the difficulties of the Sierra Madre will always make us safe on that frontier. The Sierra Madre was intended by nature to separate the people of Texas and New Mexico from what is old Mexico and the more the map is examined, and the more the information received from those who have traversed and crossed the range, the more are we confirmed that it is the great natural barrier which should be placed between the Anglo Saxon and the Spanish Race untell what will probably be the fruits of "masterly inactivity," the latter are absorbed in, if not destroyed by, the former.

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From D. J. McCord [92]

LANGSYNE, NEAR FORT MOTTE [S. C.,]
Jany. 23d, 1848.

DEAR SIR I received a few days since your speech on the Mexican War, in a pamplet form, for which I must thank you. I had already read it with great pleasure in the Newspapers. I am extremely pleased with its style and substance. Its simplicity, purity and dignity is admirable. Preston says it is antique, and an imitation of Demosthenes. He could not have paid it a higher compliment. In assuming an independent course, it is not likely that either party, into which our country is divided, will be pleased, but it does seem to me impossible for any honest patriotic man to agree on all occasions with any party, where people submit themselves so blindly to party leaders. Our great men must do what is right, and look to

[92] David James McCord, a lawyer of South Carolina, was an advocate of extreme State rights; editor and writer on legal and agricultural subjects.

posterity alone for their justification; for in these days the interest of the country is lost sight of in the greater interest felt for party and sections.

It does seem to me, that whether men think you right or wrong, your self devotion and independence must give you a position of high patriotism quite above anything of the day. With most of our leading men, patriotism seems defunct. The prospect ahead is alarming and mortifying. The Constitution! We have none. It is the will of the majority.

I most fully concur with you as to the practicability of taking and keeping a line, at a much less expense of life and money, than must be expended on a War of general conquest of Mexico, and in the great danger of such a conquest.

From J. K. Paulding [94]

HYDE PARK, DUCHESS COUNTY [N. Y.,]
January 24th 1848.

DEAR SIR, It was with great pleasure, I received the day before yesterday, a little packet bearing your Frank, and containing a copy of your speech on the Mexican War. In my opinion, it is a wise and masterly exposition of a subject presenting many difficulties on all sides; and though I may not precisely coincide with you in every view, yet I frankly confess, I should be a little puzzled to say wherein we differ. We have got into one of those unlucky positions from which it is impossible to move without committing a blunder.

You however are I think beyond all question right in the course you have taken on this question. As a steady inflexible guardian of the rights of fourteen States you could not do otherwise, than oppose the acquisition of Territory from which their citizens were to be virtually excluded, after having expended their blood and treasure in its conquest. All things considered, I think the Wilmot Proviso is the most impudent political movement of my time. I know nothing of Mr. Wilmot,[95] but presume he is a catspaw in the hands of others, who wish to ride into power on the back of the Fiery Dragon of Slavery. I think they will fail as heretofore; and they *must* fail, if the States equally involved in one great interest paramount to all others, are true to themselves. There is no such bond of Union in the other States, and some of them will certainly refuse to rally under the Black Flag, unless I am greatly mistaken.

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[94] James Kirke Paulding, the noted author, filled the office of naval agent at the port of New York for 12 years. He was Secretary of the Navy under Van Buren, 1837–1841.

[95] David Wilmot, a Democrat of Pennsylvania, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1845–1851; supported the Free Soil ticket in 1848 and became a Republican in 1854; Republican Senator, 1861–1863; noted for the Wilmot Proviso.

Much will depend on New York, and New York is not to be depended upon. What she is now, is no indication of what she will be six months hence, except as it affords grounds for concluding that she will present a complete contrast at that time. Our Governor [96] puzzles me not a little, and at this moment I am at a loss to decide whether he is most knave or fool. I think however he will turn out an equal compound of both. Our Legislature is a compound of ignorance, and fanaticism; and it is only necessary to watch its daily proceedings to be convinced that the majority has not the slightest perception of the limits of Legislative authority, or the true functions of Government.

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From J. Winslow [97]

N York [N. Y.,] *1 Feby 1848*

. Sir The undersigned though a native of New England and a decendent directly of the first governor of Plymouth colony is not however either a protectionist or anti slavery advocate. On the contrary from a personal view of the laboring classes of Europe and the free negroes of the British West Indies he is convinced that as a whole, no class of people of this description exist, so happy and comfortable as the slaves of our Southern country. Not only is the writer impressed with this opinion, but he has adopted the yet bolder one, that the attempted suppression of the slave trade as now carried on by several civlized nations, is erroneous and productive of far more injury than benefit to the Africans themselves. Some letters of mine in the New York "Albion" of the last year may have met your view. In those I boldly and in advance of the age advocated the regulation rather than the suppression of the Slave trade, and proposed that it be legalized under such regulations as now prevail in respect of emigrant ships, whereby a trade that is impossible to suppress might be so regulated as to afford relief and comfort to the superfluous population of Africa and tend to destroy the custom of sacrificing prisoners in war so long prevalent before the slave trade arose. It would appear that the British Colonial Secretary in view ostensibly of the decadence of the West India islands, but probably aware of the impossibility of suppressing the Slave trade, or perhaps both, gave permission for the exportation of free laborers from such parts of the coast of Africa as lay within the British possessions to the W India colonies, as passengers and laborers. I do not see that the same privilege can be denied to other nations and who having no possessions on the coast, must naturally select their laborers at large along the shore. As respects

[96] John Young was a Whig Governor of New York, 1847–1849.

[97] James Winslow was a New York banker.

Spain, France etc such laborers are likely to be converted into slaves as soon as landed in Brazil, Cuba etc, and it may be, that under this facility of providing black labor, new conquests and settlements may be effected by European Powers in the Southerly neighborhood of the U. States. And now, I arrive at my intended suggestion, whether a system of African emigration as proposed by Great Britain might not be useful to our Southern States? If we are to occupy yet more territory in Southern latitudes the earliest desiderata are capital and labor. To retain the markets of Europe for Cotton Rice and Tobacco, to enter them with Sugar and Indigo the lowest cost of production is an essential point. This object is not to be obtained by spreading the Slave population of our Southern States over a large space of newly acquired territory, although the value of the slave himself may be encreased.

Hence, how far would the prosperity and extension of the United States in general and the weight of the Southern States in particular be promoted, by the introduction of free black laborers, who should be bound for a certain period, to pay the cost of their transit?

I approach a subject, capable of so many considerations not in its advocacy, but as one for older and wiser heads to bestow serious reflection upon. No objection that I can see will arise from other nations, these must be founded upon domestic considerations, more of which will occur to you as one of our most experienced and upright statesmen and well versed on Southern interests, than can possibly present themselves to yr ob svt.

From B. F. Perry [98]

GREENVILLE S. C. *Feb. 23rd 1848.*

MY DEAR SIR I had the honor of receiving from you, some weeks since, a copy of your speech on the Mexican War, for which you will please accept my sincere acknowledgements.

I need not say to you, that I read, with profound interest, your views, as to the future policy of the United States, in regard to Mexico. They have had a most salutary influence upon the State, and I hope, the whole country in allaying that aggressive war feeling, which has pervaded it, for the last eighteen months.

Your views as to the annexation, or subjugation of the whole of Mexico, by the destruction of her nationality, should meet the cordial approbation of every just and patriotic bosom. They are founded in wisdom as well as in justice and patriotism.

In regard to the termination of the War, it seems to me, that there should not, now, be two opinions. We have acquired all the glory

[98] Benjamin F. Perry was for years the editor of the Greenville, S. C., Mountaineer, and later of the Greenville Southern Patriot. He was a strong Union man as an editor and as a member of the State legislature.

and honor which can be achieved in this War; and we are in possession of an ample "indemnity for the past and security for the future." There is little probability of a permanent treaty with such a Government. The expenses of the war and the sacrifices of human life, in carrying it on, are enormous.

I hope you will pardon me, in the seeming presumption, in saying that I had hoped you would submit to Congress and the President, a distinct proposition or plan for closing the war. Such a plan might not be *entirely* acceptable to either of the great parties, and yet command a majority of both Houses of Congress. Should it be adopted the President would, of course, feel himself bound to act in conformity to it.

The suggestion of Judge Butler, to send an Embassy, and make an effort, once more, to accomplish a peace, before taking a defensive line, is a good one. The Mexican Government should be warned, that if no peace can be made with them, their fortresses and castles and the walls of their towns will be destroyed, their public property, cannon and ammunition carried off, and their country occupied as far as the *Siera Madre*. I would take the mountains as a line of defence instead of the Rio Grande, because they can be more easily defended.

This destruction of fortified places and public property may seem vandal like, but it is in accordance with the Law of Nations, and should be resorted to, where all offers of peace have been rejected. It may be adopted for the purpose of weakening and disabling an enemy, so as to prevent his aggressions hereafter.

Should a defensive line be adopted, it will be a matter of very little consequence, whether the Mexican Government makes peace or not. In a few years the country occupied by our armies will be *settled by our citizens*, and they will be able to defend the line themselves. The Mexicans will have to retire before them, as the Indians have done.

I hope you will excuse the liberty I have taken in addressing you. I could not resist expressing my approbation, however humble it may be, of the policy designated in your speech. At first I did not suppose the idea of destroying the nationality of Mexico by annexing her to the U. States or holding her as a conquered Province, could be seriously entertained by any portion of the Democratic Party. But I am now satisfied, from the expressions of General Cass and Mr. Dallas that I was mistaken.

From J. A. Campbell [99]

MOBILE [ALA.,] *1 March 1848*

DEAR SIR I have received your letter of the 23rd inst. together with a speech of Mr. Yulee of the Senate. I have read the latter

[99] John A. Campbell, afterwards well known as a Justice of the United States Supreme Court, 1853–1861, and as a peace commissioner in 1865, was at this time a practicing lawyer in Alabama.

carefully. I think Mr. Yulee establishes that the inhabitants of a territory have no right to determine for themselves their municipal laws or domestic institutions but are dependent upon congress or the States for them.

I think congress has the power to organize the inhabitants of a territory of the U. S. into a body politic, and to determine in what manner they shall be governed. As incident to this power I think that Congress may decide what shall be held and enjoyed as property in that territory, and that persons should not be held as property. I think further that when a territory is acquired by conquest or by treaty and the municipal laws in force in the territory are not changed by the treaty of cession or by an act of congress that they remain in force. That they do not remain in force as "temporary" acts or among a portion of the inhabitants but they remain in force as laws to which all the people in the territory ceded and all that may emmigrate to it owe obedience. I think further that slavery is purely a municipal institution and falls under this principle. With these opinions I hold Mr. Polk's war, as likely to produce the most disastrous consequences to the Southern States.

I have, as far as in my power I could do, opposed the lust for territorial acquisitions he has encouraged. I have viewed with mortification and disgust the abasement of our politicians at the feet of his administration and I wrote the resolutions offered by Mr. Yancey [1] to the Montgomery Convention requiring the rejection of territory unless the treaty or an act of Congress provided guarantees against Mexican and abolition legislation and laws.

My reasons for my opinions are that slavery is an institution dependent upon the laws of the State that has adopted it. That the slave master can not carry his slave property to a State in which the relation is not sanctioned. That we must produce a law or custom which sanctions slavery operative in the territory where the slave is or the relation will be at an end. That the Constitution of the United States does not sanction the title of a master in his slaves except in certain specified cases. It provides for the recapture of a fugitive—for the suppression of insurrections by federal authority—it allows an enumeration of them for the purposes of representation and taxes—it no where provides that the rights of the slave owner shall be protected in all the territories of the U. S. or that the master shall be free to carry them as slaves to those territories. If there is any such right under the Constitution it is derived from some clause, it is no where expressed. Mr. Yulee does not derive it from any clause in the Constitution but [holds] that it is a right *reserved*—a right enjoyed before the formation of the Constitution and not conveyed

[1] William Lowndes Yancey, a lawyer of Alabama, was a Democratic Member of the House of Representatives, 1844–1846; he was prominent in Alabama politics, 1840–1860.

away. I do not think his argument well founded. His argument is: 1. That the people of the several States are Sovereigns of the territories. 2. That Congress is an agent or trustee and bound to hold the property for the common use of the people of the several States. 3. That each individual of each of the States may carry any article that the laws of the State in which he lives calls property to the territory and that he can hold use and enjoy it as property there—without hindrance from Congress or any government it may form.

The premises do not at all uphold the conclusion.

When you admit that Congress may form a *government* you concede the right to it to define what shall be property and how it may be enjoyed transferred or inherited. It may decide that persons shall or shall not be property. There is nothing about Slave property that I know of that takes it from the sway of legislative authority. It is true our State Constitutions have in many cases limited the powers of the legislature over them but in the absence of such limitations slaves fall under the influence of the legislature in the same manner as any other property. I have always understood that the laws of the place where the property is must determine the tenure by which it is [bound] to the holder and that no other laws were ever regarded except as a matter of comity and in the absence of a prohibitory law. I have especially understood that the relations of master and slave depended particularly upon the municipal laws of the place where the slaves were.

I think Mr. Yulee has applied to slaves principles that he would shrink from applying to any other species of property or to any other relation of persons. Suppose the Society of New York was arranged on the principle of the superiority of females and that the existence of the husband by those laws was merged in that of the wife.

Would that be the condition of things between those persons in a territory of the U. S. in which the common law was adopted after their immigration to that territory.

Suppose children and wives were vendible by the husband and Father in New Hampshire, would that right be carried with an emigrant to Wisconsin or Oregon.

The strength of our position is that slavery is the central point about which Southern Society is formed. It was so understood at the formation of the Constitution. It has been dealt with by the country since in the same spirit. This territory is the fruit of common expenditure and toil. We must insist that for the future the same spirit shall be maintained. We must not submit to disparagement on account of this institution. We must have an organisation of the territory that admits us as equals.

Now altho these are facts I see no provision in the Constitution which provides against an opposite temper. Nor can I gather a

legal right from what rests simply as a moral obligation upon Congress. If Congress does the people of the Southern States wrong their appeal must be to a higher authority—and in the last resort—we may overthrow the Congress.

Allow me to call your attention to the weight of authority and precedent against the position of Mr. Yulee—the repeated santions to the ordinance of 1787 by Congress; the implied sanction in the compacts of Georgia and North Carolina ceding territories and stipulating for the extension of the ordinance except in one particular; the Missouri Compromise; the admission of Texas with a restriction. The Supreme Courts of Kentucky, Virginia, Mississippi, Louisiana and Missouri have all decided upon the validity of the clause in the ordinance that restricts slavery. They have maintained the right of the children of slaves born after the ordinance to freedom and that freedom was obtained in virtue of that ordinance.

See what a contradiction is given in the acts of every territorial government restricting the introduction of property from other States in some form or other and continually changing the terms on which it is held and regulating the mode of its enjoyment.

As to that other proposition that the laws remain in force not for limited terms and transient purposes but as laws of a permanent and abiding character the history of Louisiana furnishes strong proof. One case is that of Indians held as slaves by the French prior to 1762. The Spanish regulations forbade the servitude of slaves. The French law was never directly repealed nor were the Spanish regulations of Charles 5th specifically introduced. The Indians claimed their freedom on the ground that the laws of Spain by the treaty were extended to Louisiana. The Court declares the principle in these words: "it is an incontrovertible principle of the laws of nations that in cases of the cession *of any part of the dominions* of one sovereign power to another, the *inhabitants of the part ceded retain their ancient municipal rights* [?] *until they are abrogated* by *some act* of their new Sovereign." 5 Martins Rep. 284.

The Spanish laws remained in force in La. until repealed in 1828 and furnished the rules of action upon all subjects when alterations had not been made. The fact is implied in the law, for organizing the Louisiana territory and in which the freedom of religion is expressly guarded.

My object in writing the articles you refer to signed "George Mason" was to warn our people not to rest upon *opinions*, however well founded but to insist on *guarantees* in advance of a cession of territory that we should suffer no harm. I write you my opinion as a lawyer that you would not be safe in going to California or New Mexico without a change of laws with your slaves—that in all probability in a suit for freedom commenced by your slaves against you

you would be lost—that those arguments that courts most value are opposed to you—and at last the thing settles down to a controversy between the slave and his Master in a court of justice.

I have written to you more at length than I desired. I have written frankly and openly to you. I see we are on the eve of collisions and conflicts worse than those with Mexico. I see we at the South will come out of these conflicts with the loss of everything—I fear honor—as well as influence stability strength. I have felt to you and for you, since your conduct on the declaration of war more warmly than I ever expected to feel in regard to a public man. I know you will have no such support as you ought to have. The public opinion around you is all corrupted and is adverse and we at the South have hardly an opinion at all. Our editors are engaged in recruiting for the Presidential struggle and insult every man, if such creatures can give insults, who is not willing to be as prostrate as themselves.

Our public men are all fettered to party and do not give sound and independent judgments to the people.

I have thought over this subject for a long time and I can only say that were I a member of Congress I would let the war continue forever before I would take 697,000 [square miles] of territory which must be free territory—and that I would not let the war continue an hour with the hope of getting any territory that belongs to Mexico. I firmly believe that the position and policy of *Hale* [2] is far more favorable to the Southern States than that of the President or any of his counsellors.

From C. A. Davis

New York, [N. Y.,] *13 Apr., 1848.*

My Dr. Sir: I notice that a bill has pass'd House of Rep. unanimously, (Mr. Grinnells [3] bill) regarding the ventilation and better regulation of Imigrant passenger Ships, and which bill is now perhaps awaiting action in the Senate.

I understand that certain interests (more alien than native) are at work here to delay the passage of that Bill, or if it passes, to urge that the 4 Section be struck out—this section imposes on the vessel to have certain food on board. I hope sincerely in common with every humane man that this bill will neither be delayed or altered.

Every days delay but adds to the accumulating misery. Thousands and Thousands of poor and ignorant families are now daily taking their passages for U. S., totally unconscious of the misery and

[2] John Parker Hale, a Democrat of New Hampshire, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1843–1845; elected as an antislavery man to the Senate, 1847–1853, 1855–1865; Free Soil candidate for the Presidency in 1852; minister to Spain, 1865–1689. See J. B. McMaster's History of the People of the United States, Vol. VII, p. 502.

[3] Joseph Grinnell, a Whig of Massachusetts, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1843–1851; president of a railroad, a bank, and a cotton mill company.

suffering that is to await them on the voyage on board some of these vessels which are totally unfit to carry human beings to sea—it is said in extenuation that many of these miserable people have the seeds of fever and disease in them before starting—in one sense this is not true—they have *nothing in them*—they are no doubt emaciated by long privation, but only need reasonable comfort and food and pure air to build them up, but on board many of these floating Laza Houses, they find nothing, but loathsome dens to sleep in, if sleep they can—nothing to eat but what they can cook themselves in most inconvenient places on deck. Where bad weather prevents cooking and they remain under closed Hatches festering in disease, death comes to many of them in mercy, and strews the ocean with their bodies, and those who outlive the voyage, (and they must be strong indeed to do so) land half dead and diseased and crowed our hospitals with infectious and indescribable suffering.

This Bill provides a remedy—none of its requisitions are unreasonable—and no humane man who knows anything of the matter wd. countenance any alteration of the Bill (Except to increase its requirements) or to permit its passage to a Law to be delay'd one hour.

That same cupidity and inhumanity which is evidenced by the present system may secretely strive to arrest this Bill or seek an alternative, but I hope ineffectually. The reason assigned by some why the 4th. Sec sh'd be struck out is because the Bill now before Parliament, had such a section struck out, as it was opposed by agents engaged in sending off emigrants etc.—but why should that guide us. England and all Euopre may desire to get rid of a portion of their starving population on any terms. We are ready to receive them but "in mercy not in judgment." It is but right they sh'd come to us measurably healthy—this bill will compass that end, not let them come as now, diseased and dying. I repeat that every hours delay is full of human suffering, and in the name of common humanity I w'd urge the passage of that Bill.

From R. K. Crallé

LYNCHBURG [VA.], *April 19th, 1848.*

MY DEAR SIR:

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Clay's late letter has produced deep dissatisfaction with a large portion of his former friends in this section of the State; and I make no doubt the like feeling pervades every other. Many think he is the evil genius of the Party—determined to rule or ruin. His letter, under the present aspect of affairs (should it lead to his nomination) destroys all hopes of the opposition in the State. Many of the

friends of Taylor will allow the election rather to go by default than vote for him; while many others heretofore belonging to the Administration Party, will return to the flesh-pots. The State is lost if Clay be the candidate.

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From Wyndham Robertson, Jr.[4]

MEMPHIS TENN. *10 May 1848.*

MY DR SIR: Since the receipt of your very kind letter received several months ago, I have had occasion to observe from time to time the abolition movements which have been made in and out of Congress, and am more deeply impressed with the belief than ever, that if the Union is ever dissolved this same slave question will be at the bottom of it. I could however, but indulge the hope that the excitement incident to its agitation would have subsided, in a measure, upon the death of Mr. Adams.[5] But it appears not. The recent movement by Hale and Giddings evidently manifests a desire on their part and on that of their friends, to make a decisive issue, so that the war may commence and the result be as it may. So far as the participation of Hale and Giddings in the attempt to *rob* the citizenry of the District of Columbia of their property, is concerned, and place it beyond their reach, there can be but one opinion entertained. The very fact of the introduction of a Bill, *tacitly* approving the course of the kidnappers and refusing, indirectly, to make it a crime, is the strongest evidence of his having "aided and abetted" and encouraged them in their base purpose. My objcct in writing is to inform you that the people throughout the State are *grateful* for the course indicated by you and for the position assumed. A meeting of the citizens of this place will be held in a few days, the object of which will be to condemn in the strongest terms the action of the abolitionists in Congress, and to approve and applaud your magnanimous devotion to Southern rights and institutions. This is nothing more than an act of justice due to one who has so long and so consistently stood by us, throwing "oil upon the waters" when serious and alarming dissensions have arisen. As I wrote you before, your popularity in Tennessee has greatly increased. At the late democratic State Convention held at Nashville, the leaders of our party by a large majority expressed themselves as favourable to your nomination for the Presidency—the delegate from this District is instructed *unconditionally* to go for you, and if I am not mistaken the whole west prefers you as the man of all others who is best entitled to our entire support.

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[4] Wyndham Robertson, jr., was a son of Governor Robertson, of Virginia.

[5] John Quincy Adams died in Washington, D. C., Feb. 23, 1848.

From J. K. Paulding

HYDE PARK DUCHESS COUNTY. [N. Y.,]
May 30th 1848

MY DEAR SIR, Many thanks for your admirable speech on the Yuccatan question,[6] and for the copy of Mr. Wise's correspondence, the receipt of which I ought to have acknowledged before.

The facts stated by Mr. Wise, became known to me in substance, while in the Navy Department, being communicated by the commanding officer of the African Squadron, and by the then consul at Liverpool, who I requested to investigate the truth of certain reports I had heard. You may recollect a certain Mr. Gunroy [?], who was at Washington about that time, a good philanthropist, in his way, like most Quakers. He called on me at the Department, to request I would appoint an officer to command on the coast of Africa, zealous in the cause of Suppression; and I took the occasion civilly to advise him, while devoting his attention to the United States, to look a little into the conduct of his own countrymen. I then stated to him what I knew to be facts, in relation to the English capital, and English manufactures which furnished the great basis of the Slave Trade, as well as the extreme forbearance of the British Naval officers, in respect to all measures for preventing the shipment of slaves.

Mr. Gunroy, expressed great surprise at this; thanked me in the most courteous terms, and assured me, he would devote himself to a thorough inquiry into the subject on his return to England. Soon after his return he made a great speech at a great public meeting, I think at Norwich, in which he spoke not only, freely but falsely of the Americans, but said not a word about his own countrymen. A few days since I met with a naval officer who had lately been a cruise on the coast of Africa, who stated to me that whenever a British cruiser captured a Slaver she proceeded to Sierra Leona, where the best of the Negroes, were invariably selected for the use of the colony.

Your views on the subject of Yucatan, and indeed all South America, accord entirely with those I have long entertained. My opinion is that the dominion of the ancient possessors, will some day, perhaps not very distant, be again resumed. The original race of white men, or rather mulattos, is incapable, and unworthy of freedom, still less of exercising dominion over other races; and I see nothing in perspective but perpetual struggles between a succession of rulers whose ambition to govern is only equalled by their incapacity for the task. I fear Europe is not much better off, and that the end of the struggles will be anarchy, and barbarism. For aught I can see, she is destined to the fate of Asia.

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[6] Speech on the proposed occupation of Yucatan, delivered May 15, 1848. Works, Vol. IV, p. 454.

From H. Bailey

CHARLESTON [S. C.,] *2nd June, 1848.*

MY DEAR SIR, I have just received your favor, relative to the nomination of the Baltimore Convention, to which I hasten to reply. I concur entirely in all your views, as well as to the impolicy, and even the impossibility of our supporting Mr Cass, as to the necessity of suspending any action on our part, at least until the result of the Whig Convention is known. I regret to say, that on the latter point, however, there is a division of opinion among our friends; some of whom are so indignant at the course of Mr Commander,[7] and his adoption by the convention, that they insist upon our having a Public Meeting at once, to denounce the whole concern. Others of us think, the game rather small to meet for the purpose of denunciation merely; and that it would be dangerous to meet until we had determined upon some course to be taken for the campaign, inasmuch as a public meeting might plunge us against our will into a position, from which we could not retreat. We think that great caution and deliberation is required to determine our course wisely, and especially that we ought not to think of planning our campaign, until we have the benefit of the light to be thrown upon the field by the results of the Whig convention. Still our young men are hot for immediate action, and some of our older heads, to wit, Boyce, and Conner, are just as unreasonable. Elmore and myself have succeeded, with great difficulty, in postponing the meeting until Tuesday next, but will have much greater difficulty in further staving it off. I shall make use of your letter for that purpose; but if you were to drop a line to Boyce, or Conner, to urge upon them the evil of this precipitation it would be much more effectual.

I write in haste, in the hurry of our Court business, and so must conclude.

From W. W. Harlee [8]

MARION C. H. [S. C.,] *8 June 1848*

DEAR SIR, The nomination of Gen. Cass, and proceedings of that clique of Ruckerites etc. at Baltimore, are likely I think to place this State in an awkward position towards that party with which she has generally acted.

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[7] Most of the South Carolina Democrats favored registering a protest against the convention system, as then organized, by staying away from the Baltimore Convention. In Georgetown, however, a meeting held on Apr. 17, attended by 54 men, selected Gen. J. M. Commander as a delegate. He went to the convention, claimed the right to cast the 9 votes to which South Carolina was entitled, was seated, and allowed to vote for South Carolina. See Calhoun Correspondence, edited by Jameson, p. 757, letter by Calhoun to Thomas G. Clemson dated May 26, 1848. The Charleston Mercury, May 5, 26, 30, 1848.

[8] W. W. Harlee was a member of the South Carolina Legislature from Marion, 1846–47, and a member of the State convention of April, 1852.

With the Northern wing of the Democratic party we have ever had but little sympathy, and with most of the politicians of that wing I have long since given up all hope of fraternising. *Our Democracy* is *talked* of merely, is recognized occasionally at democratic conventions, but is soon afterwards either deserted by those of the North who avow it, or laid aside until our votes are counted. I should have said this is what was formerly done, but the last meeting the disguises heretofore assumed, seemed to have been only partially worn, and the refusal by the North and partly by the South and West to adopt Mr. Yancey's resolutions,[9] really looks as if the interests of *party* are to be the only tests and guaranty that we are hereafter to have.

This zeal for the success of party, and making it paramount to all other considerations, will soon settle its fate with us. Principles of course we cling to, but the blind adherence to party it seems to me we must at once repudiate. With respect to Gen Butler [10] should he accept I suppose there would be no particular objections as little of consequence is known of him except that he is a Kentuckian.

But as to Genl Cass a decided change will have to be made in the minds of our people on the subject of his opinions with respect to slavery and the Wilmot Proviso before he can muster a Corporal's Guard in So. Ca. The object to this communication is to request for my personal information if the opinion I have formed as to his position on that question be true, and I hope you will not regard it too great a liberty, or tax upon your time to ask your views.

1. Is not Genl Cass in favour of the Wilmot proviso upon principle? and has not this been the position recognized by him and his friends? I am aware that when the question came up in the Senate he voted against it, but in his speech he distinctly put his vote upon the ground that it was premature and uncalled for to make any regulations about Territory till we had a title to it. He seemed to have purposely avoided however a committal upon the question ultimately.

As there is a difference of opinion here, I should be extremely obliged to get your views as to his opinions upon this question at your leisure. Should the opinions of Genl Cass remain as now unsatisfactory to your people, it would seem to be useless to call the Legislature together to cast the presidential vote.

I once thought we might with propriety vote for Genl Taylor, but his Allison letter [11] though it commits him but little, commits him too far for me, especially as to the exercise of the veto power, with respect

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[9] A minority of the platform committee, led by William L. Yancey, offered a resolution favoring "non-interference with the rights of property of any portion of the people of this confederation, be it in the States or in the Territories, by any other than the parties interested in them"; but the motion was lost by a vote of 36 to 216. The 36 votes were all from the South.

[10] William Orlando Butler, of Kentucky, served in the Army in the War of 1812, was a Democratic Member of the House of Representatives, 1839–1843; served in the Army during the Mexican War; Democratic andidate for the Vice Presidency in 1848, but was defeated.

[11] To Capt. J. S. Allison, Apr. 22, 1848. See Niles' Register for July 5, 1848.

to the Tariff Internal Improvements etc. in which I think he clearly indicates that the majority of Congress is to govern him. Besides this letter there is little known of his political opinions, and there seems to be little more propriety in voting in the dark, than in throwing our vote away altogether.

From Louis T. Wigfall

GALVESTON [TEXAS,] *June 10, 1848*

DEAR SIR: I trust that you will excuse me for obtruding this letter upon your time and attention. The result of the Baltimore nomination connected with the critical position of the South will I hope be considered by you as some, if not sufficient, excuse for the liberty I take. I have no means of knowing your views, much as I rely upon them, except by a direct application to you. I have the less hesitation in making this application, from your known frankness and candor in, at all times, expressing your opinions, and giving your country the benefit of your judgment without a fear, or consideration, of the consequences that may result to yourself. I need hardly add, I trust, that anything you may write will be regarded by me as entirely confidential and that a knowledge of your views is only sought for my own satisfaction and the government of my own course. It is for yourself to select your own time and manner of making public your position as to the next presidential election. Genl Cass's views as to the adjustment of the Slavery question in the territories we are about to acquire from Mexico are unsatisfactory to me as you will see by glancing at the paper which I take the liberty of sending you. In addition to these objections I consider him as unsafe if not unfitted to be trusted with the direction of our foreign relations. He appears to be a propogandist and seems determined to hazard our own liberty from an insane hope of forcing it upon others who are neither capable nor willing to enjoy it. His fifty four forty and whole of Mexico notions make me apprehend much danger to our own government in the present troubled state of Europe should he be elected to the Presidential chair. His sympathies for those struggling for liberty in other countries may make him forget that we have such a thing to lose in our own. The nomination by the Whig convention will be known before you receive this. Should Genl Taylor be the nominee have we anything to hope from him? His views upon the veto power are certainly very objectionable and in the present state of affairs render him dangerous to be trusted. The Allison letter *I know* was concocted in Washington and drafted by Balie Peyton [12] at Genl. Taylors house and brought down by him

[12] Balie Peyton, a Whig of Tennessee, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1833–1837; served in the Mexican War; minister to Chile, 1849–1853; later lived in Louisiana and California, and then back in Tennessee.

(Peyton) to N. O. for publication for the purpose of securing his nomination by the Whig convention. I do not know Genl. Taylor's views upon the Wilmot Proviso. His long devotion to Mr. Clay however would seem to raise the presumption that he is not very sensitive upon the subject of Northern aggression. *I think I may safely say* that he will *not be run by his friends* should he *not be the nominee of the Whigs*. Should he be nominated I am in doubt whether he can be trusted by the South since his entire identification with the Whigs.

Upon these subjects I shall be glad to have your views as fully as you may have leisure to write. I have removed to Nacogdoches and shall remain here only for a few weeks. Should you have leisure to reply to this your letter will reach me if directed to Nacogdoches.

From W. L. Yancey

MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA *14 June, 1848*

MY DEAR SIR I have reached home, and regret to say, that the public sentiment here is decidedly against taking any action against the nomination, and that nine-tenths, and I fear even a greater proportion, are determined to vote for the regular ticket. I find here not more than half-a-dozen, who are ready even to pause and consider what should be done. I find also, however, great ignorance of the political character of Cass and of his want of decision and consistency even as a democrat. I find nearly all ready to award praise to me for my course, but not bold enough to face the storm.

I greatly fear that we can not make even a start in Alabama, situated as we are without a single press, and all too poor to give their time to such an undertaking. If we had a press, we could do far better, and I honestly conceive that we would do well for our country, if by creating a third party, it would secure, in the event of our failure to grasp victory, success to the Whigs. Acquiescence in this nomination, or even silence and neutrality, will so corrupt public opinion at the South, by causing it to believe Cass opinions to be good constitutional law, that hereafter when all may desire it, and it may be imperativcly necessary to resist that arrogant and insulting action which our subserviency now must inevitably generate in the North, it will be impossible to rouse our people to resistance.

In this aspect, it is indeed all important to preserve at least a neuclus around which to rally our countrymen: and if it is not preserved, I tremble for the result.

I have labored incessantly, but I begin to despair. I have hardly yet struck a spark from the flinty bosom of the party.

From M. Torrance [13]

COLUMBUS [GA.,] *19th June 1848*

DEAR SIR The annexation of a large portion of Mexican territory, has presented rather a new question to the people of the U. States. At first blush the doctrine laid down by Genl Cass, that the question of slavery was one for the people of the States and territories to decide, appears sound enough. I presume [it] would not be objected to by anyone if the territory was *entirely* unsettled; but that not being the case, the question arises, "Shall the few ignorant Mexicans now in the country have the power of excluding the Southern people from settling amongst them with such property, as they choose to carry with them." Another question, equally grave, presents itself. "Shall we yield to Congress the power to decide the question?" A difficulty presents itself either way. If left to the *present occupants*, they will probably exclude our people, and would we be in a better position, by referring the question to a body in which we are in a minority? I have contended, that our (Southern) people should have permission to go there with their peculiar property and *risk* the decision of the majority when the territory forms a constitution and demands admission as a State, and that Congress should guarantee this privilege, but I have been met with this argument. "If you yield the settlement to Congress, will it not be surrendering our rights to the Wilmot Proviso men?"

If you have leisure I should like much to have your views on this subject. To me it appears surrounded with difficulties. It is a difficult matter for the South to get justice, in cases to us apparently very plain; how much more so where there is a loop to hang a doubt upon.

I am glad to see that the Mercury appears for the present disposed to remain neutral. Circumstances may render it wise for S. Carolina to take no part for the present at least, in the Presidential canvass.

Some of our Whig friends are counting on So. Ca going for Genl Taylor. I presume they are reckoning without their host. I have objections to Genl Cass. I think his course on the Oregon, Mexican and Yucatan questions has been unwise, but on most of the great questions he is much safer than any man can possibly be who will owe his elevation to the Whigs. Genl Taylor elected by the Democrats would be a democrat and if elected by the Whigs he must be a Whig. What then can we promise ourselves by supporting Genl Taylor? Major Howard [14] agrees with me as to the course of So. Ca. Cass is not our first choice, but all prefer him to Taylor.

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[13] Mansfield Torrance, brother of William H. Torrance.

[14] Maj. J. H. Howard, of Columbus, Ga.

From Geo. Dennett

PORTSMOUTH, N. H., *June 24th, 1848.*

DEAR SIR, I feel exceeding anxious relative to the political movements going on between the two great parties in this country. Ever since I have taken an interest in the political affairs of the nation, I have always favored and acted with the democracy of the South as regards her institutions, and the doctrine that Congress has no right under the constitution to legislate on the matter of Slavery in the District of Columbia by passing laws abolishing the same.

The controversy that now agitates the country in regard to new Territory is one of vital interest to the South. I do not hesitate to say that your friends in this quarter are equally strong with you on this point. They agree fully with you that there is nothing in the constitution to prevent, in fact it gives to all the right of living and enjoying their property at the north or south as they please, or taking it from a state into a territory and there enjoy it as they please. Doctrines contrary to these are anti-democratic. Every lover of free principles and every lover of his country cannot consistently take any other position. I have never been in a situation that enabled me to do anything in behalf of those principles other than exert my feeble influence at the polls.[15] This I have always done, and still intend to do, if I can do so with effect. As matters now stand, I am at a loss to know how to act, and act efficiently with the South. Gen. Cass is the candidate of the democracy by nomination. He is not my choice. Of the three prominent candidates before the Baltimore Convention Judge Woodbury had my preference. I know him well, and know him to be right on the Southern policy—he is as strong for the south as any southern man.

I regret (as the south in that convention had no candidate of her own) that Judge Woodbury was not nominated. Gen. Butler the nominee for Vice President. I suppose he will be far more acceptable to the south to preside over the Senate (in case of a tie vote) than the candidate of the Whigs,[16] for the same office. I hardly see how the south can give the whig candidate for Vice a single vote and be true to herself.

Gen. Taylor is the candidate of the Whig party, and can be relied on by the South with as much, if not more safety than Gen. Cass. At the same time Gen. Cass is sound on the Tariff, Internal improvements by the General Government, veto power, and Independent Treasury, and apparently so on the question of Slvaery. Gen. Taylor has not, and probably will not make his views known to the public on these great questions.

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[15] At this point the writer refers to a footnote to his letter in which he says: "I have held the office of naval office in this district under Mr. Van Buren, and of collector under Mr. Tyler, and was rejected by the Senate, in June, 1844."

[16] Millard Fillmore, of New York.

It is in the power of your friends here to give the vote of this State to Gen. Cass or Gen. Taylor as will best serve the interests of the south, and they will do it, if they can understand what her interests are, or in other words which of these gentlemen will receive her support in the coming election. If we act in the dark we are likely to get into a false position, this we wish to avoid. We intend to vote, or not vote, as will best subserve the object in view.

The above has been written some days. I doubted the propriety of sending it to you, having had but a slight acquaintance with you. Having merely had letters of introduction to you some four years ago from Judge Woodbury and Hon. Lemuel Williams, then Collector of Boston. My attachment to your principles is the only excuse I have to offer for so doing.

Any reply you please to make to this letter, will be considered strictly confidential. Please send me a copy of your recent speech on the territory question.

From F. W. Byrdsall

New York [N. Y.,] *June 25th 1848*

Dear Sir I enclose you the Pronunciamento of Mr. Van Buren against the rights of the Southern people, to gether with the proceedings of the Barn Burners' Convention at Utica.[17] Within the last twelve months there has been extending through the free States, so called, a fanatical feeling for what the demagogues term free Soil and the non extension of Slavery. Be assured that if Mr. Van Buren had not ascertained the existence and spread of this feeling, he never would have come out so unequivocally and decidedly as he has.

When the nominations made at Baltimore and Philadelphia [18] were promulgated I felt satisfied that in the success of either Candidate, the rights of the South would be safe and consequently the Union. But it is known to me that the majority of people in both parties, as well as amongst the neutrals opposed to both, is in favor of the anti Southern Crusade. I find Cass men, Tayler men declaring against the "extension of slavery to territory now free." This war cry appeals to the prejudices of the Northern people as well as to their sectional and selfish feelings; public opinion on this idea is accumulating and the South must do something to create a reaction in the popular mind. You have already advanced the right principles and the sound arguments as regards the rights of the Southern people, but you have not been adequately sustained by Conventions, nor has the South, for

[17] The Barnburners of New York met at Utica, the third week in June, 1848, and listened to a letter from Van Buren against the extension of slavery. He was immediately nominated for the Presidency by acclamation.

[18] The Democratic Convention met at Baltimore, May 27, 1848. The Whig Convention met at Philadelphia, June 7, 1848.

its own sake, united upon you as the exponent of its cause, or as the candidate of its choice. Neglect in this way—has had the effect of lessening the currency of those principles and of giving no force to those arguments. Hence it is that they have been called abstractions, because the people whose rights and interests were involved regarded them as theoretic and never united to give them "form and pressure."

The mighty torrent of public opinion in the Northern and Middle States must be met and stemmed. The longer the conflict is postponed the worse will it be when it comes. It is a poor shield to depend upon the Veto of the Executive to defend the rights of the South. It is a great Constitutional weapon but its exercise depends on the moral courage of one man.

I cannot help thinking that the Southern members of Congress should unite at the close of the Session in calling a great Convention of the Southern States before the ensueing presidential Election. Surely twenty or thirty men from each slave State could be found willing to assemble together in such a cause, not only involving *all* their own rights but the preservation of the Union; I mean by the words "all their own rights," the Rights of the States— constitutional rights—Rights of person and of property. Resistance to the modern crusade includes every thing of any value to the State or the Citizen.

The language of a great Southern Convention protesting against a violation of all rights dear to the Southern people—against a violation of the compromises of the Constitution and against measures whose success would inevitably dissolve the Union, would produce a reaction in the minds of the people, East, west, north and South of the very tendency.

From L. H. Morgan[19]

Rochester, Monroe Co N. York.
June 30, 1848.

Dr Sir, Will you send me a copy of your speech in reply to Mr. Dix [20] on the Oregon Bill.[21] I have read it as given in the papers, and wish it in full for further study and to preserve. We are anxious in New York to hear all that may be said on both sides of this great question: and to do what justice requires in such ways as we may be able to act upon it. It absorbs the public mind, and will continue to do so more and more until it is settled. We are afraid of the indefinite propagation of the colored race, upon which the South

[19] Lewis Henry Morgan, the anthropologist, was born in Aurora, N. Y., 1818; died in Rochester, N. Y., 1881.

[20] John Adams Dix was the Free Soil candidate for Governor of New York in 1848; he was elected to the Senate as a Democrat and served 1845–1849; postmaster of New York City, 1861; major general in the Union Army, 1861–1865; minister to France, 1866–1869; governor, 1873–1875; defeated as Republican candidate for major of New York City in 1876.

[21] Delivered in the Senate June 27, 1848. Works, Vol. IV, p. 479.

seems determined. The feeling towards that race in the North is is decidedly that of hostility. There is no respect for them. No wish for their elevation; but on the contrary a strong desire to prevent the multiplication of the race so far as it is possible to do so, by such legislation as shall be constitutional and just. The attachment to the Union is unwavering: and the mass of the people have no disposition to encroach upon the Constitutional rights of the Southern States. But I think it must be regarded as certain, that if a conviction seizes the public mind, that Congress has power to make the territories of the Republic free, without infringing the rights of any portion of the Country, this conviction will be persisted in to the last extremity. If the South gets the better of the argument, and it certainly will if in the right, then the people of the North will be satisfied to see slavery spread. But if it should be otherwise, and the South should be unwilling to yeild, we shall find our Republic in the greatest peril. The unity of our race under the same government and institutions, is of more consequence to the welfare of humanity at large, than the perpetual bondage of the whole African family. That unity can only be perpetuated by concessions and compromises.

I did not intend to write you a letter. I hope you will not consider my observations upon this great question in the least impertinent. It is a question upon which we can not but feel the deepest interest.

From Louis McLane

Baltimore [Md.] *July 1, 1848.*

My dear Sir, I am gratified, though not disappointed at hearing, from all quarters of the power of your recent speech upon the Oregon Bill; and I now write to ask that you would be so obliging as to send me a copy when correctly published.

It has long appeared to me quite clear that the power of Congress in the government of the Territories is subject to material limitations and restrictions that have been greatly exceeded in our past legislation; and that in fact over *slavery* the general government has no power whatever, except in the instances expressly referred to in the Constitution.

I am not without deep solicitude in regard to the agitation, at present prevailing in the North, upon this subject, which is not diminished by the extraordinary and unblushing treachery of some of the leaders. I do not forget, however, that all the past assaults upon this institution and the rights of the South have proceeded from the party, in its various guises, in opposition to the Democracy of the Country, and that in every instance real protection has been found in the power of the *Democratic Party;* and that I hope will be

yet maintained, even at some sacrifice of individual feeling and preference. Even Southern men dependent upon Northern federalism and modern bluffing could afford no better security than "Northern men" professing " Southern principles."

From Chesselden Ellis [22]

NEW YORK CITY, N. Y., *July 5, 1848.*

MY DEAR SIR: Allow an old friend who feels as strongly as ever his attachment to you personally and politically (though differing in some matters occurring since he saw you) to obtrude for a few moments.

I have devoted myself to *business, exclusively,* since the expiration of my Congressional term, so much so, that I have not read a message or a document, or a speech in Congress or our Legislature, since that time; but always voting the regular nominations, satisfied that the party would get right in the main, notwithstanding its errors.

I observed in a Washington correspondent of some of our City papers a few days ago that Senator Bright [23] had introduced the *Missouri Compromise* into the Oregon Bill and that it would extend to the newly acquired Mexican territory and it was stated that *you approved the measure and would be satisfied with it.* I have seen no contradiction of this Statement nor any analysis or outline of your speech, and suppose therefore it is true.

If it be true, allow me to urge the importance of immediate and decisive action.

I should deeply regret to see Van Buren whose friends *cut me down* in the election of '44 on account of my support of the *Annexation of Texas,* again come into power or even important and gratifying prominence. But let me assure you that unless this territorial slavery question be settled speedily, he will inevitably ride over both political parties in this State "rough shod." Our representatives would laugh at this prediction—but I assure you *they* are utterly incompetent to judge. The anti-Slavery feeling in reference to this point is deep and all pervading at the north and the revolution which has begun will disappoint even its friends. I am *one* of the *people* mingling daily with *mere business men* and I am myself utterly astonished at what I see and hear on this subject among them.

Unless this question be settled now, Van Buren will sweep this State and probably strong pluralities in some of the eastern States. Of the west I know but little.

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[22] Chesselden Ellis, a Democrat of New York, was a member of the House of Representatives, 1843–1845; defeated for the Twenty-ninth Congress.

[23] Jesse David Bright, a Democrat of Indiana, was Senator, 1845–1862.

If the question be now settled, *Taylor* will carry this State—without doubt. The breach is too wide in the democratic ranks to be healed, *ever*. *Cass* is utterly hopeless here in any event. Vast portions of the Clay men will go over to Van Burean, if the question remains open. That question closed, they will, a great majority of the discontents, go into the *Taylor* ranks.

I should regret to see Van Buren go into the House most severely.

Nothing but the definite settlement of the question and the establishment of *territorial governments* now, so as to leave all questions closed and determined, can in my opinion prevent the results I have predicted.

Do not imagine that I have abandoned *Catholic doctrines*. I am as firm and as open on the subject of the diffusion of Slavery as I was upon Texas annexation and ever have been. I never get wrong on these subjects. I even voted for the admission of Florida with *chains riveted by* her *Constitution itself*. My Van Buren colleagues refused to do so. I have detested and *denounced* the *Wilmot proviso* from the outset and now I would like to see you lay *Van Buren once more flat on his back*. I write on my own motion entirely—have consulted no one and expect to have but little, if anything, to do with politics ever again.

I shall vote the Baltimore nomination—for I have never deviated from *regular* nominations. But no one here doubts Taylor's election, unless the Slavery question carries it into the House.

If I have mistaken your course, attribute it to the cause mentioned.

I have seen friends whom John Van Buren has approached and I learn that his expectation is to carry the election into the House and there take advantage of anything available in the chapter of accidents. Failing in that object, they will aim to get up a northern "free labor, free soil" party, as they call it, for future action, if the question is unsettled.

I would like a copy of your speech when the revised edition appears.

From Eustis Prescott

Boston [Mass.,] *5th July 1848*

My Dear Sir I have been spending a few weeks in this City and State with the hope of further recruiting my strength, having been much debilitated during my long illness, but now I am happy to say nearly restored.

During this period of idleness I have not been an inattentive observer of political movements, and as I am extremely anxious to know your views as to the probable results of this singular *triangular* warfare, intrude upon you my observations.

John Van Buren is a man of more talents than his Father, a ready stump orator, calculated to entrap the masses, and has devised this platform of *free soil* on which to advance himself hereafter as its head. Principle—they have none, and the leaders care not a rush about the extension of slavery, it is however a good trap to gull the fanatics.

I have little doubt that Van Buren will be nominated by the Buffalo convention,[24] and if so, it is very possible, nay probable, that he will get the votes of Maine, New Hampshire, and Ohio and barely possible New York and Massachusetts. This would beyond doubt take the election into the House, of the result there you may be enabled to judge ere the session closes.

The Democratic convention committed a great blunder in nominating Genl Cass, a trimming politician of moderate talents, little personal popularity, and open to attacks from every quarter, and sure to have the decided hostility of Van Buren and his friends, for to him they have always attributed V. B's want of success in the convention of 1844.

Judge Woodbury ought to have been the candidate, and with him, success would have been almost certain, even against Genl Taylor, this I urged strenuously upon my friends in the convention.

Genl Taylor I consider a very unsafe man, he is already in the hands of designing *Whig* politicians—mere office seekers of very inferior talents, and has himself declared he will be a mere Executive officer. Filmore [25] is much more objectionable, and his defeat, if possible, is I think of paramount importance for the protection of Southern interests and Southern democratic principles. Genl Cass I think cannot be elected—how then can Butler be separated from him—he I believe to be a very safe man altho of moderate talents.

The Nine votes of South Carolina may decide the election, and she may again have the honor of sacrificing herself for her principles—glorious little State how I honor you!

Can a State vote only for Vice President? If not, she can vote for one of her own sons as Presdt. and Wm O Butler for Vice, two or three States might I think in this manner elect the Vice Prest.

The election of Free trade and State rights men to Congress becomes at the present juncture of paramount importance, and I have, and shall, urge it very strongly on my friends. I hope to be in New Orleans (although at present out of business) in Decr. next.

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[24] The Free Soil Convention met at Buffalo Aug. 9, 1848, and nominated Martin Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams.

[25] Millard Fillmore, a Whig of New York, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1833–1835, 1837–1843; defeated as Whig candidate for governor, 1844; elected Vice President on the Whig ticket with Taylor in 1848 and became President upon the death of Taylor in 1850; defeated as Whig candidate for President in 1852 and as National American candidate in 1856.

From Joseph W. Lesesne

MOBILE [ALA.,] *July 5th 1848*

MY DEAR SIR I had commenced a letter to you a few days ago, dictated by the deep feeling of doubt and embarrassment with regard to the approaching Presidential election, which pervades to a greater or less degree, all classes of conscientious and sober minded men at the South. Before concluding my letter, Mr. Van Buren's manifesto, drawn forth by the nomination of the *Barnburners*, has made its appearance, and so changed the aspect of affairs as to render all previous enquiries and speculations almost out of place. Still, so far as I am concerned, the difficulty does not appear to be diminished, but rather augumented by this startling phenomenon; and I am as much at a loss what course I ought as an individual to pursue as before this extraordinary document made its appearance.

I have concluded, from previous various indications in So. Ca. that so far, your own judgment is in favor of entire inactivity at the South in regard to the Presidency, and of employing all our energies in producing union and concert of action among ourselves. Hitherto, I have been strongly inclined to regard this as our true policy; altho' not without some misgivings as to its soundness for practical purposes. Nearly the entire Democratic party of the South who may vote for Genl. Cass, will do so reluctantly, and only because they consider that the South will be safer in his hands than in those of Genl. Taylor. Of course I speak of those who do really reason on the subject; for here, as elsewhere, the mandates of party are still soverign over a large number who do not reason at all, except upon the chances of the spoils of political victory.

For my own part, I have no faith in Genl. Taylor, or rather none in our obtaining under his auspices any better position on the great question of the *Territorial rights of the South.* Like Gen. Jackson, there are ten chances to one, that he will fall into the hands of the worst men of his party, because these are the first and most successful to assail an unexperienced man with the sort of sycophancy, and to yield to him that sort of unmanly subserviency so grateful to, and so potent with, military men, even the most disinterested and sagacious of them. Southern Statesmen are wholly unequal to the task of contending with the unscrupulous host who will surround Gen. Taylor as soon as he is elected. Therefore I can see nothing to be gained by throwing our influence in his favor, with the calculation of rendering the course of his administration subservient to our policy and rights. The Whig party already possess him, and will retain their hold; and the merc fact that he is a slave-holder, is in the view I take of the question of slavery in the Territories, a most insufficient and slender dependence.

With regard to Gen. Cass, he is to me, the most obnoxious of all the candidates whose names were before the Convention, the most objectionable *sectionally* and *nationally*.

He is of the *progressive democracy* in the worst sense of that phrase; a phrase in this country, of very questionable propriety in the mouth of any one, for *stability*, *conservatism*, are the social elements we most need, and *progress* (which with the class to whom this idea is addressed means *agitation*, *experiment*, *and mob-supremacy*) is what we ought most to dread. With Gen. Cass, "*progress*" means Territorial acquisition by fair means or foul indifferently. He is the representative, to my mind at least, of the worst elements in the country—North western ignorance and vulgarity, popular violence and ambition;—an uneducated demogogue, (the most dangerous of the species,) in principle and by nature;—and under his guidance, if his past course foreshadows his future, we shall be launched into an endless career of ambition and insolence; and be involved in wars of plunder with every friendly power that owns an inch of tempting soil in our neighborhood. On his advocacy of such a war, his claims rest: and his election would be esteemed by him and his friends the popular *vox Dei* approving the past and proclaiming the path of his future glory. His views too, with regard to the right of Territorial legislation on the subject of slavery, are as objectionable as it is possible for them to be. To confer the right of legislating on this subject upon the people of the Territories, is to give away in advance the rights of the South to an equal participation in the benefits of all past and future Territorial acquisition, a concession which I am amazed that so many at the South are found willing to make by giving him their support.

Such are my feelings with regard to the two men; and I am satisfied that they are shared by a larger number at the South who are reckoned upon by Gen. Cass and his friends than is generally supposed.

What effect is the movement in N. York destined to produce, which ought to modify the course it behooves the South to pursue in the coming contest? What change has been wrought in the existing elements of party strife by the startling appearance at the head of that movement of so cool and crafty a man as Mr. Van Buren? To me I confess, he presents himself in quite a new character; that of a bold, unscrupulous and vindictive demogogue. His letter is marked by most decided ability. It is precisely suited to the purpose for which it was written, and is conceived and was manifestly designed, as the fierce war-cry of a new and formidable party. With regard to the want of all conscience and principle it manifests, it does not at all surprise me. My earliest conceptions of him were of a shrewed and unprincipled political huckster, the subservient tool of his party, capable, when it suited his purposes, of soaring with

it to a certain height of patriotism, and equally ready to wallow with it in the gutter, to mingle in its worst debauches, and to defend its most atrocious acts. But I confess I had no idea that he could, unaided and alone, rise to the dignity of revenge; and in pursuit of it, hazard the ruin at once, of himself, his friends and his country.

But aside from this, I regard his letter as a development deserving the most anxious and sober consideration at the hands of the southern people. A new party is to be formed at the North—to us the most formidable that has ever yet existed—a party founded upon avowed hostility to the South, and whose professed purpose is to prescribe us to our present limits, and to bring its whole moral influence and that of civilized Europe in its new movement towards freedom, in its new state of unrest, and volcanic eruption, to bear against us. And the present agitated condition of the universal mind of man is seized upon as the auspicious moment for this terrible and atrocious purpose. Our *condition* was never more dangerous, our *duty* never more solemn:—both call for a degree of calmness and sobriety almost more desirable than we have ever evinced on this question, but now absolutely necessary to our safety. The time is near at hand when our fate is to be decided. In a few years we must be prepared to say whether we will withdraw from the Union, or purchase a further fraternity in it by giving up our slaves and consenting to social ruin and disgrace. We have no longer vulgar abolition to contend with. The party now forming occupies a higher position, and operates on an infinitely wider basis.

On this point God grant that we may be united. But whether we shall or not, is by no means certain, and will depend perhaps altogether upon the wisdom or folly of the course we pursue in the approaching election.

It appears to me that if the friends of Mr. Van Buren succeed in bringing out respectable nominees at their approaching convention, with a prospect of rallying a strong party to their support, the Southern States ought to meet in Convention without distinction of party, and take counsel what they shall do. But this suggestion which in time past has been so often made, and would have benefited us so much had it been adopted, is not I fear, likely to meet with much favor. Nothing appears to be sufficient to rouse the South to a sense of her danger. The circle of the conflagration has for years past been rapidly contracting around us. But until the magazine is on fire, and it is too late, we shall I fear, remain practically blind and indifferent.

P. S.

I do not see under existing circumstances how you can withhold the public expression of your views with regard to the duty of the South in the present emergency. But of this you are of course best

able to judge. I shall personally feel much obliged by hearing from you on the subject, if you determine to withhold a more public expression. Since my recent change of pursuits I have been able to give but a very limited attention to passing events, and I have taken no public part whatever in politics. Your lamp has ever thrown a broad and cheering light in my path, and would be most grateful to me now, and useful, if only to aid in guiding my own humble footsteps. You must be aware how very various and conflicting the opinions of even good and able men at the South are with regard to the question of Slavery in the territories. All profess to be agreed that the Southern people are entitled to occupy them with their slaves as much as the Northern people with their goods and chattels. But how is this right to be enjoyed? how is it to be endangered? and if assailed, how is it to be protected? whether the question is not a purely legal or a political one? These are points upon which no two persons are entirely agreed, and are full of intrinsic difficulty.

Since writing the above the news of your speech has reached us, but I have seen only a sketch of it. Mr. Van Burens acceptance of the nomination comes also by Telegraph.

From E. M. Seabrook [26]

EDISTO ISLAND [S. C.,] *July 8th, 1848.*

MY DEAR SIR,

* * * * * * *

The Presidential contest presents a political crisis which calls for the greatest deliberation, caution, and wisdom; and I feel in common with my fellow citizens, the greatest solicitude that our State should occupy her true position.

The objections which exist against both candidates and parties render a choice difficult and at best but an alternative of evils. The position of General Cass on the Slavery question, his unsoundness on the "Internal Improvement System" and his unsafeness on the foreign policy of the country, as evidenced by his course on the Oregon and Mexican questions, render him exceedingly obnoxious to a So: Ca: republican, and especially so, when considered as the representative of the radical democracy of the North.

On the other hand, there are strong objections to General Taylor, although sound on the slavery question. His elevation to the Presidency, would be that of simply a successful General and over statesmen grown grey in the service of their country; his ignorance of politics (from his own mouth) and therefore his liability to be made the tool of bad and designing men. His views as expressed in his Alison

[26] E. M. Seabrook was a member of the State house of representatives from St. John's, Colleton, S. C.

letter, and his liability to be taken possession of by the Whig party when once in power, and the establishment of all their party measures —These are certainly strong objections to him.

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From A. J. Donelson

BERLIN [GERMANY], *July 8th, 1848.*

MY DEAR SIR, I was much honored by your letter of the 23d. of May. Since then I see that the Whigs have thrown away Mr. Clay and taken Genl Taylor. I am too far off from the scene of action to express an opinion upon the result of the contest, but think that I can be scarcely mistaken in supposing that the canvass will be very exciting. It looks to me as though it would turn less upon the real policy of either Whigs or Democrats, than upon the patronage in the gift of the President, and in this point of view that there is reason to anticipate bad effects from it.

Here as in all the portions of Europe except Russia, the agitation still continues, and with less menacing features, so far as the general peace is concerned, than at the breaking out of the French Revolution. Germany is about to try our Federal system and to see whether it will not do to apply it to states governed by Kings, as well as those governed by Presidents and Congresses. In this spirit the Arch duke John of Austria has been chosen *vicaire* of the new Government at Frankfort, who will without doubt accept the office. But he will go into a Government that will have originated from no definite views of its powers. He will soon see that it is no easy matter to harmonise the prejudices and interests of 30 or 40 independent states.

It is to the zoll verein that is to be attributed the reform now proposed in Germany. That association has opened to the eyes of the people the advantages of a system which would so far nationalise Germany as to make here one people in foreign negotiations and in the regulations of her customs frontier. In the pursuit of this object other considerations now enter, until it may be said that there is nothing either local or national, that is not the subject of popular discussion and legislative inquiry throughout every German State.

Stump speakers are now daily heard advocating the dethronement of monarchs, the abolition of all titles of nobility, and the adoption of institutions as democratic as those of any of our States. All that the monarchs can do is to bend to the storm, and to avail themselves of the good will of their subjects in making the best bargain they can for the preservation of their personal property, and in maintaining a position which will enable them to interpose their weight, if the crisis produces anarchy instead of Governments.

You will remark that these constituent assemblies all exercise legislative powers. They not only supersede ancient Governments but they regard each of their decrees as a law. The incompatibility of such a pretention with the true sovereignty of the people, is already illustrated by the act creating the *Vicaire* and defining his functions. The State Governments perceiving that such a claim of power was inconsistent with their sovereignty, have thought to guard against such an influence by notifying the Arch duke that they concurred with the Assembly in inviting him to that office. It is evident however from the debates at Frankfort that that assembly considers itself competent to put into operation a new Government without the consent of the States. Here then is a source of trouble which sooner or later must end in a serious conflict.

A difficulty of the same nature remains to be solved by each particular state when settling the constitutional basis of its Government. The local Assemblies declare that the sovereignty possessed by them is supreme because it was conferred by the people, and that all their acts are binding as laws without further reference to the people. What then becomes of the Kings who as parts of the existing system may or may not accept what is done by the Assemblies? or if they do accept what guaranty have the people that the assembly will have adhered to their instructions? The Assembly may by compact with a King make a very bad Government, one as oppressive as that which it supersedes.

Such are some of the difficultics resulting from the prevalent ideas of the omnipotence of the existing Assemblies in Germany. They will satisfy you that the revolution is but in its beginning, and that it is not yet entirely certain that its objects will be attained without civil war.

But however discouraging are some of thesc considerations, we cannot doubt that the German statcs will settle down finally upon a system resembling ours. The attempt at Frankfort will have the good effect of enlightening thc public mind, and preparing monarchs to abdicate positions which the changes of society make no longer necessary. Some of them I believe would now do so if they could be sure of the quiet possession of thcir personal estates.

Very few probably of those who have taken the lead in the creation of a new Federal Government, are aware of the consequences which will follow. Even if a monarch or an Emperor be made thc Executive head it is incompatible with the preservation of this feature in the state Governments. No people will consent to be taxed to keep up two sets of Kings: and if they submit to the one created at Frankfort it may be expected that after he shall have assisted them in dethroning the local monarchs, these last will unite in depriving him in his turn of this privilege: and then there will remain nothing but republics

united as ours by a limited constitution, but possessing more centralising powers.

This King has just got out of the difficulty in which he was placed by the Danish war, there being an armistice of three months. He is also doing what he can to satisfy his polish subjects, there being a commission now instituted to examine that whole subject, and see what Government will suit them.

It is said that the Emperor Nicholas has sent some troops across the Turkish line into Maldavia, but the Minister of the Sultan at this court told me today that if the fact were so it would be on the invitation of the Sultan. He says *the only two conservative Governments in the world ought to help each other.* The sooner Russia extends her dominion in that quarter the better it will be for civilization, which will soon react upon her and force her to adopt a more free system of Government.

In looking over my letter I find that I have not thanked you for your Yucatan speech. I certainly would not encumber the United States with such a possession. All our strength should be reserved for Cuba, which belongs to us by nature, and is becoming more and more necessary to enable the holders of slave property in the U States to preserve it.

I hold that the institution of slavery if abandoned in the Tropical regions will leave the Anglo Saxon as incapable there of maintaining his true character as it has left the Spaniards in Mexico.

The only inquiry is whether it is better for humanity that that portion of the world should relapse into a savage negro and Indian state, or be gradually improved by permitting the white man to continue the civilization which he is capable of enforcing as the legitimate superior of the negro or Indian.

From Benjamin F. Porter [27]

CAVE SPRING, GEO. *17 July, 1848*

MY DEAR SIR, You are no doubt so frequently solicited to a correspondence by men who have no other motive than to draw out, for the purpose of exposing your opinions, that it is a delicate task even for a frank man to communicate with you. But I trust you have learned enough of me to know that however our opinions have differed as to men, I have always felt the value of your great services for the country, and have always been content to trust its destiny to your hands. It is so rare to see eminent statesmanship united to unsullied private virtue, and to unstained independence that, a slight breach of conven-

[27] Benjamin Faneuil Porter, born in Charleston, S. C., 1808, was admitted to the bar in that city, but afterwards studied medicine and practiced in Alabama, where he moved in 1830. He returned to law and became reporter of the State in 1835.

tional propriety may be excused in those, who feeling the value of such instances, would guide their own course, by the judgment of such a man as you are.

What, my dear Sir, are we of the South, to do in the present alarming juncture? Up to the present time I had suffered myself to hope that the love for the Union which I had hoped was strong over the Northern States, if not their interests, would have stifled the ruinous efforts being made, to interfere with the rights of the South. I am forced now to believe that nothing will stay the hand of abolition; the more especially, as I find, all over the South, men, who are openly contending for the right of the people of territories to prohibit the emigration of slave holders. This from slaveholders strikes me as a very alarming future in events; and yet the supporters of Genl Cass in Alabama, are very generally yielding this point. This course appears to me so inexcusable that, I can neither pardon it, nor see any thing but utter ruin in its tendency. Now, though for some time acting with the Whig party, I could support no man or measure at all equivocal on this point; and I had expected as much from Southern Democrats. At this time, it seems to me that those not blind[ed] by the fanaticism of party, should be acting together; and take some decided steps to save the South. I look upon this topic, as one of higher importance than all others. The Tariff, banks, internal improvements, etc., are in a measure but matters of government practice—the regulation of its machinery: but this affects the Soul of the Constitution. The effects of the first may pass away, or be bad, or good, as times and circumstances change, but *this* must last forever in the distruction of the Union and of the Constitution; and in the reestablishment of the worst of tyrannies. Would it not be best for us, at once to establish a paper in the South, devoted exclusively to our protection in this matter? This is my impression; and I am willing to give up my energies wholly to it. I have already corresponded with many on this matter and all admit the necessity, but do not act. Now my plan is to act promptly, the very moment the necessity arises; for nothing great or meritorious can be effected without energy and firmness. Do not suppose that I write you as a politician. Not so. There is too much of Machiavellianism in politics for me. I am in this matter in downright earnest; and too much is at stake with us, to trifle now. I shall therefore be gratified to know your opinions, expressed with the frankness which induces me to ask for them, and without a fear that they are committed to unworthy hands. Whatever you say to me shall be kept with the confidence which an honorable man owes to himself, as well as to others.

I shall spend a month or so at this place.

From Lewis F. Allen

BLACK ROCK [N. Y.,] *July 19, 1848.*

DEAR SIR The New York State Agricultural Society will hold its annual Cattle Show and Fair on the 5th 6th and 7th days of September next at Buffalo. The N. Y. State Exhibitions have now become objects somewhat allied to national inportance in the estimation of the public, and from the preparations making in various parts of this, as well as some neighboring States, individuals of which purpose joining in our exhibition, we anticipate a festival of uncommon interest this year. An attendance of at least 50,000 strangers is confidently expected.

It has been the rule of the presidents of the Society (and which position I now fill,) to invite some distinguished gentleman from abroad to deliver the annual address which is always the closing part of our labors—and as this duty now devolves on me, in behalf of the Society, I most respectfully and cordially invite you to discharge that office. Mr. Webster, of the Senate—Mr. Van Buren, Gov. Seward, Gov. Wright—Mr. Bancroft of Mass—now Minister at St. James, and other distinguished gentlemen have favored the Society thus in former years, and it would now give us the greatest pleasure to have so distinguished an agriculturalist as well as so renowned a statesman as yourself discourse to our Society and the multitude to be assembled on that occasion, as we know you can do, on that absorbing subject of agriculture and its collateral interests.

Several gentlemen of your State, whom I have had the pleasure of personally knowing, have favored us in previous years with their attendance. Among them was Col. Alston, President, I believe, of your State Senate; and it is partially owing to a conversation I had with him last fall at Saratoga, in which, replying to a direct question of mine, he believed that you would probably (if within the limits of your convenience) accept an invitation to address our Society, that I have ventured to ask this duty at your hand.

You are a frank man, Mr Calhoun, as well as a sincere and honest man, and I only say this now, which might otherwise appear mere flattery and common place elsewhere, to preface what follows, which is, that from the political position which you hold in relation to this section of the United States, you may feel that the prevailing sentiment of the people here would be prejudicial to your presence. Let me assure you, my dear Sir, that nothing would give us greater pleasure than to welcome you into this quarter of the Union, and to take an "Honest Nullifier" by the hand, and to give you a free and hospitable reception at the hands of the *New York State Agricultural Society.* Rely on it, your presence among us will do good, all round. Many of our best men will be here. It *will be neutral ground,* when we

all meet on a common footing and to discuss one great pervading and absorbing subject, the improvement of our agriculture. I have deemed it necessary to say this much that you might be aware of our feeling toward you, should you, as I trust you may, come among us. And to put aside all bias in the matter, I will remark that I am myself a whig and opposed to your party in politics; but whig as I am, and having a most profound respect for your personal character and exalted patriotism, I should feel particularly honored in your acceptance of this invitation.

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From R. K. Crallé

LYNCHBURG [VA.,] *July 23rd, 1848.*

MY DEAR SIR: I received, some days ago, your favour of the 10th inst., and by the mail before the last a pamphlet copy of your speech on the Oregon question. I had, however, read it before as published in the National Intelligencer, the paper having been handed to me for that purpose. Both paper and pamphlet have since passed from my hands, for great is the interest it has excited, especially amongst the grave and thinking portion of the community. My attention was first called to it by Mr. Dabney, the President of the Bank of Virginia here, and a leading member of the Bar, who pronounced it the ablest argument he ever read. Though a leading Whig, and hitherto by no means a political friend, it has so affected him that he hesitates not to say that he would prefer to see your name before the country above all other men for the Presidency. He cannot, he says, vote for either of the candidates now before the People. His feelings and opinions have an echo in the bosoms of thousands of others, if they would give them expression.

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But what is to be the end? I rejoiced to see that you were one of the Committee [28]; but I fear you will not be sustained. To run a direct line would be but an extension of the Compromise [of 1820]; and though it might give *temporary quiet*, I fear it would but strengthen a precedent which has already produced bitter fruits. It would seem to yield up forever the Constitutional question,—and this will sooner or later draw after it all the powers now claimed by the Abolitionists. It would be better, *for the future*, to leave the question open as you suggest,—but I much fear you cannot do this without danger. For, unless guarded against, it might bring up Bagley's notion of the right of the Judiciary to act finally on the question of slave *property*, during

[28] The Clayton Compromise Committee chosen in the Senate July 13, and to which was referred the pending Oregon bill and amendments.

the existence of the Territorial Government. But you will, I am sure, guard all these points as well as you can. The question *will unite the South.* Of this I have no doubt, and you can safely occupy the strongest ground. Cass is not strong enough to stagger the South on the question. *If there be peace,* he may, perhaps, unite the Party to a considerable extent; but if his friends take a wrong position on the subject he will lose every State. His hold on the Party is already slight and daily weakening. I think it highly probable, if Whiggery do not, as usual run mad, that he will lose Virginia in despite of Ritchie and the organization. The defection of Van Buren has shaken men's confidence in the integrity of Northern aspirants for favour. Both Parties, I verily believe, would this day gladly compromise on you. Situated as I am it is impossible to see far on the horizon; but if the Buffalo Convention should much further disturb the political elements, it may yet become necessary to look beyond the present candidates. Taylor, I dare say, preserves his hold, but the tenure is by no means strong *as yet.*

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From F. W. Byrdsall

New York [N. Y.,] *July 28th 1848*

Dear Sir,

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After the present territorial Bill [29] is settled, a Southern Demonstration should be made to set forth among other things the amounts in shoes, hats, clothing and piece goods of Northern manufacture, annually consumed by the South. Also the amounts derived from the South by the North in profits on manufactures, Insurance, freights, commissions, brokerages and the other numerous rills which unite and carry to this part of the Union the whole surplus production of the South over and above a bare support. It is the Ocean of these abstractions from the South that builds up northern towns, improvements, etc., and leads shallow people to conclude that slavery is hurtful to Southern prosperity. Labor is labor whether slave or free, and any country that retains its proceeds, or derives them from another country, must prosper. A proper showing up of these facts, by figures and clear calculations showing forth the prosperity that would accrue to the South by going into manufactures, owning ships etc., and training slaves to other labor besides plantation industry, would touch the North where it is sensitive, in the pocket. It is *not* by means of slavery per se, that the South is behind the north, for the fact is that the products of the South and manifold

[29] The Oregon Territorial bill.

profits derived therefrom, have built northern towns, railroads, steamboats, ships, etc. All this ought to be exhibited. For years I have never ceased to insist that the north derives more of the profits of slavery than the owners of slaves, and the northern people are more interested in that institution than the Southern people.

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From George B. Butler [30]

NEW YORK [N. Y.,] *July 29, 1848.*

MY DEAR SIR: The free soil etc meeting here yesterday was a decided failure, notwithstanding great efforts to produce an impression by it. The names published for the call shew that our substantial Citizens are not in the movement. The Journal of Commerce has met it with manliness and decided effect, and will continue its course until the excitement has cooled down. The meeting yesterday will do much towards withdrawing those from it, who go into these questions for the purpose of being with the strong side. I have written on the subject every day when not engaged in a Rail Road cause, and was urgent with Mr. Hallock [31] of the Journal of Commerce to devote his paper to the side of the question which since it has so ably sustained. I do not doubt that the patriotism of the Country will finally triumph over those who endeavor to break up the Compromises of the Constitution. The tone of the South, in its present freedom from all violence, in its willingness to accede to compromises, in its moderation will be a great help in the final settlement of the question. This should be impressed on the South. A few who stood almost alone here at the outset are constantly strengthened by the support of men of moderation and patriotism.

We have this moment received the news of the defeat of the bill in the house.[32] Its passage would have strengthened the Barnburners, and I am inclined to think it wise not to pass any measure this session. They will have less force in pressing an affirmative measure against the interests of the South, than in attacking one passed before the North has had time to mature its views and settle down into a truly patriotic ground. I have been in favor of a line 36° 30′ instead of the measure which passed the Senate, although it would have been satisfactory to me as an adjustment of the question. Let all the

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[30] George Bernard Butler, a lawyer of New York, was secretary and legal adviser of the Hudson River Railroad Co. at its formation, and, after the completion of the road, joined in publishing the Journal of Commerce, being one of its editors until 1857. He was attorney for A. T. Stewart & Co. for 25 years.

[31] Gerard Hallock was an editor of some experience in Boston and New York before he became associated with David Hale in 1828 in the publication of the Journal of Commerce.

[32] The Clayton compromise bill passed the Senate July 27; on the following day the House laid it on the table.

violence and invective come from the North. The South ought to assume no other attitude than that of decided firmness and true patriotism. All will then be well.

From J. D. Wilson [33]

Society Hill [S. C.,] *4th Augt 48.*

Dear Sir: From the unsettled state of public sentiment in regard to the approaching Presidential election, I am induced to request your views in regard to the political merits of the two gentlemen who have been nominated by their respective parties. I need not say, that unless permitted, these views shall be regarded as private.

My own position before the people of Darlington, as a candidate for a seat in the State Senate, will compel me sooner or later to declare my opinions; and with the information now in my possession I cannot take any step, that will lead to a committal. To you Sir, I in common with the old States Rights Party of So. Ca. look for counsel, in a matter, in which, I believe the rights of the South are involved.

Some months ago my personal preference was for Genl Taylor. But first, his letter to Mr. Alison, particularly that paragraph in reference to the Veto Power; and subsequently his nomination by the Whig Convention, with the qualified abandonment of his independent position by his Louisiana friends in that Convention, caused me to look with some distrust. And now his acceptance of the nomination of that Convention, without the slightest declaration of principle, particularly in reference to the absorbing question before the country, induced me to conclude that he may be regarded as the candidate of that party, with the understanding that he will, if elected, carry out their principles and policy.

To Genl Cass, my objections are strong. His course in the Senate on the Oregon question, and the Mexican War, prove that he is ultra; and but for wiser counsel, the country would have been involved in calamity. Yet there is one redeeming virtue. Whilst Minister at the French Court, he took a bold and decided stand, that seems to me, must meet the approbation of every American.

And now Sir, having briefly expressed my own opinion in regard to Genl Taylor and Mr. Cass, will you permit me to ask you for information. Your opinion is frequently asked for, and would go far to settle public sentiment with reference to this vexed matter.

I now carry out a long cherished desire, and have been urged to it, from seeing the report of the proceedings of Congress in regard to the

[33] J. D. Wilson was for several years a member of the house and then the senate of the State Legislature of South Carolina from Darlington district.

"Compromise Bill." From the report in the Mercury, the Bill was carried in the Senate by Southern democrats aided by northern and western democrats; and defeated in the House by the votes of 15 Southern Whigs. The result of this effort at compromise, has made the matter more complicated. If left to pursue my own course, I would support neither of the gentlemen nominated. But this I suspect would be distasteful to the majority.

It is probable, that my name is unknown to you; But I am a South Carolinian, whose highest effort is to promote the interest of his State, and looks to her most experienced statesman for information. I cannot go to my own immediate representative (Mr. Sims), because I believe his opinions would be partial, and not as effective.

For the sincerity of my interest in the information asked, I refer you to Mr. Burt, Mr. Woodward or Genl Walker, with whom I have had the pleasure of an acquaintance in the Legislature of our State.

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From J. T. Trezevant [34]

MEMPHIS, TENN. *Aug 16th 1848*

DR. SIR, I will thank you to send me a copy of your speech or speeches on the slavery question as it may here come up in any of the bills before the Senate during the present session. It is one that is regarded as all absorbing here; but the Democratic portion of our citizens in this region look upon the late movement in Charleston [35] as singular, to say the least of it; and especially do they so regard it, when they are given to understand it has your sanction and echoes your own opinions in relation to the candidates for the Presidency.

Upon all the great questions of national policy which have divided the two parties of the country for the last half century, Genl. Taylor gives to Congress the right to pass, without check, such laws, as, to it, may seem proper. A National Bank may be chartered; a high protective tariff passed; a system of wild, extravagant internal improvements fastened on the country, absorbing all its revenue and begetting additional excuses for high tariffs—all these measures, against which the Democrats, from Jefferson's day to this, have battled, may go into effect, by a mere majority in Congress; and Genl. Taylor has given his almost positive assurance that, whatever may be his opinions upon their constitutionality, the *will* of *Congress* shall be carried out. This is but setting up the opinions of Congress in opposition to the constitution; and making a mere verbal law paramount to our written

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[34] J. T. Trezevant was descended from a Huguenot family of South Carolina.

[35] A movement was launched to support Taylor. The "Taylor Democrats" of Charleston put a ticket in the field for State elections in October, as did the Cass or regular Democrats. Charleston Mercury, July 21, Oct. 6, 7, 1848.

constitution. If this be so, there can be no use for a body of written laws. 'Tis idle to talk about "powers delegated" and "rights reserved"; for they are both mere fancies, varying as the different mental complexions of Congress may vary. If Genl. Taylor then can defer so entirely to the superior wisdom of Congress, in matters upon which he *must* form an opinion, as to their constitutionality; if he thus surrenders to Congress the right to pass any and all laws upon these great issues; may he not be induced to surrender a still greater question? May he not reason thus—That Congress does not propose to interfere with slavery in the states, or in the District of Columbia—that it simply designs to prevent its being carried to those territories where it does not now exist (as with us)—that, abstractly, it is a curse, rather than a blessing—and that the eternal agitation of the question may be thus promptly arrested—that the south has millions of acres for the employment of the salves, without this territory, and a large majority of his countrymen wishing it, he feels it his duty to let the action of Congress take its course and not "baffle it with Presidential vetoes." I say, may not this be his reasoning? Has he given us of the South any cause, save the fact of his being a slaveholder, to think he would veto a Wilmot proviso law? All that he has said is *against* us. I see Mr. Bell,[36] one of his warmest supporters, though from the South and a slave holder, admits Congress has the right to pass such a law. His Whig supporters at the North, and in Congress, almost all admit this right. Why should we think Genl. Taylor differs from them? These Congress Whig friends have lately shown their hands, by the vote on the Compromise bill and on the Oregon bill. There they are for Genl. Taylor, but *against the South.* The Democratic part of the House voted *with* the South; and illustrated the truth of Mr. Jefferson's assertion made years ago, that the democratic party of the North are the natural allies of the South.

All these late movements look singular; and when we look at Filmore's position, it shows a belief, on the part of the Northern whigs, that, during the ensuing four years, the question may be a close one in the Senate—that it may be a *tie;* and it is all important to have a Wilmot proviso man at the head of that body. It is idle to suppose the vote in the House will ever be *less* against slavery, than now. That strength is increasing every year. The lower House is *now* safe for their purposes—but the Senate is not. This *may* be, however, in four years, and then they rely upon Taylor's not "baffling an act of Congress with Presidential vetoes." He has said that he ought not to interfere with the action of Congress on "domestic" questions; and they count upon his "holding his hand," and letting

[36] John Bell, a Whig of Tennessee, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1827–1841; Senator, 1847–1859; Constitutional Union Party candidate for President in 1860.

Congress act untrammelled. And we have no assurance that he will *not* do so on this question. Then let a law of that kind be passed, and if he vetoes it, it requires ⅔ to pass it. This is more than the anti-slavery party can get in 4 years. But if he should *not* veto it, and it becomes a law, no majority will ever be raised against it, and it will never be repealed, even though we should have a President, after Taylor, who might think it odious. *His* action is not required till *Congress* acts; and that will never again be with the South. Their want of strength in the Senate now keeps them from compromising the question. They avoid it, knowing that in a few years they'll have the strength there too and then they ask no questions, with Taylor for President.

His warmest friends, Clayton, Bell, Corwin, Davis,[38] et al, are *against* the South now; but Genl. Cass has voted *with* the South and against Corwin, Davis and Hale upon this question.

But I do not write, presuming to enlighten the mind of one so conversant with political facts as you are; nor do I write, let me further add, for parading what you might think proper to say, in the public prints; for I do not care to borrow lustre reflected in that way, though I confess I shall be gratified at hearing your views upon the claims of the two candidates, as well as upon any other subject in which, as citizens, we may all feel a common interest.

From S. Graham [39]

NORTHAMPTON MASS. *Aug.17, 1848*

DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 28th ult. inclosing a pamphlet form of your Speech on the Oregon Bill, came to hand by due course of mail. Your note has been read and your Speech reread with much interest. I did not intend to trouble you again so soon; but in further researches in the matter of territorial government, I have fallen upon something which has created doubt in my mind, and induced me to ask your opinion concerning it.

You say in your Speech (page 3d), "The Senator from New York, points to the clause in the Constitution which provides" etc. (See the Speech.)

On first reading, I had no doubt that your views of the import of the word "regulations" were correct:—that the clause "referred exclusively to territory regarded simply as public lands." But, on examining the Journal of the "Old Congress" I find that on "Wednesday September 6th 1780, Congress thought it advisable to press upon

[38] John Davis, a Whig of Massachusetts, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1825–1834; Senator, 1835–1841; governor, 1841–1843, 1845–1853.

[39] Sylvester Graham was a preacher, lecturer, and vegetarian advocate.

the States having claim to the Western Country, a liberal surrender of a portion of their territorial claims." And to induce those States to make such a surrender Congress, on "Tuesday October 10th 1780 fixed conditions to which the Union should be bound on receiving such cessions." (See Journal Monday April 5th, 1784.) The conditions were as follows:

Resolved, That the unappropriated lands that may be ceded or relinquished to the United States, by any particular State, pursuant to the recommendation of Congress, of the sixth of September last, shall be disposed of for the common benefit of the United States, and be settled and formed into distinct republican States, which shall become members of the federal Union, and have the same rights of Sovereignty, freedom and independence as the other States. That the said land shall be granted as settled at such times and under such regulations as shall hereafter be agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled, or any nine or more of them.

The conditions, then, "fixed" by Congress, on which the unappropriated lands were to be ceded to the United States were First: that the lands should be disposed of for the common benefit of the United States. Second: that they should be settled and formed into distinct Republican States which should become members of the federal union, and have the same rights of sovereignty, freedom and independence as the other states; and Third: that the said lands should be granted or settled at such times and under such *regulations* as should thereafter be agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled, or any nine or more of them.

Now then, the question is, not whether these conditions did, or did not give Congress the legitimate power and right to prohibit slavery in the territories; but whether the word "*regulations*," in the third condition, does not relate to something more than "territory regarded simply as public lands." Does it not relate to the granting, the *settling* and the *settlements* of the territories? Does not the condition give to Congress the power and right to establish regulations under which the lands shall be granted, and regulations under which they shall be settled; and regulations under which the settlements shall exist till they become "distinct republican States as members of the federal Union, having the same rights of sovereignty, freedom and independence as the other States"? And did not the framers of our National Constitution, employ the word "*regulations*," in the clause in question, in the same extended and comprehensive signification?

I pray you Sir, in considering this question, do not let the fear of consequences deter you from any conclusions to which the honest reasonings of your mind naturally lead you. For if you grant that the clause in question, does comprehend, in its true import, the government of the settlers of the territories, you have still valid

grounds on which to establish your denial of the legitimate power and right of Congress to abolish or prohibit slavery in the territories.

You say in your postscript, "If an opportunity offers I will present my views of slavery (African, as it exists among us) at large. Truth is my object and I am willing to follow its lead wherever it goes."

Sir though I regard you as having one of the best constituted minds among all our politicians, yet I should feel little respect for you, if I did not believe you to have a sincere regard for truth. It is because I believe you act according to your convictions, that, even when I cannot agree with you in opinion, I still respect your sincerity. But I know man. I know his springs of action. I know the laws by which conditions, circumstances and influences affect his springs of action and shape his opinions and determine his conduct. I can therefore regard man with sincere benevolence, even while I abhor the objects and results of his action. However sincerely you may be disposed to follow truth, the conditions and circumstances of your complex nature are such, that, it is hardly possible for you to have perceptions of truth in relation to slavery, without those refractions of its light, which will, to some extent, give you erroneous impressions and lead you to erroneous conclusions. Still, I sincerely hope that an opportunity will offer, and that you will embrace it, to give your views of Slavery in full. I speak the more freely to you on this subject, because I am not one of our Northern Abolitionists. I differ from them widely in many respects. Yet no man is more thoroughly *antislavery* than I am and I regard as not one of the least of the evils of Slavery in these United States, the effect which it has on the political destiny of such men as yourself and Henry Clay.

In respect to what you say concerning the impracticableness of my presidential project I would reason with you more at large could it be of any avail. But—"It is too late!" I say it with sorrow of heart—*It is too late!* Neither yourself nor Henry Clay nor Daniel Webster can ever be president of these United States. "Available men"—men of no political character—men of no known political capacity—party subservients—tools—these are the materials out of which we must make presidents; while men whom nature ordained to this high destination, defeat themselves in defeating each other; and, in a great measure, waste in these efforts for mutual defeat, those energies which God gave them for the noblest services of their country. My dear sir, you may deem my speech too free, but it gushes out from a heart full of aching.

Will you place confidence enough in me to tell me frankly what you think of General Taylor as a candidate for the presidency? Is he in reality of any fixed political complexion? or is he a political

chameleon? Have the South confidence in him as a Whig? or only as a Southern man with Southern interests and sympathies? Do you not tremble at the popular madness which selects a briefly and narrowly successful military chieftain for the supreme Magistrate of this great Nation, and chains to the wheels of his triumphal car, the most learned civilians and ablest Statesmen in the land? I ask not these questions for sinister purposes, nor in idle curiosity, nor as a party politician; but as a political philosopher, who, in retirement of his own study, wishes to mature his mind into the wisdom of a political sage.

From J. Gadsden

CHARLESTON S C *19 Aug 47*

MY DEAR SIR At the particular request of several friends, I inclose you 4 letters from General Taylor for your perusal.

The explanation which he gives of what may be called the Sanders' Committal, will show how it was brought about by a confidence in Neighbours and friends: who might have considered that the right to withdraw General Taylor's name from the Canvass was not irreconcilable with his position, that if the Wigs did take him they must take him *without pledges* of any kind. Such seems to have been Taylor's construction of the authority he gave Sanders and as Sanders acted under authority surely Taylor was bound in honor to admit it and to abide the consequences. It does seem to me too much has been made of a matter which does not affect Taylor's relations otherwise to the Wigs or the People. That he would not accept of a nomination upon any Platform, and that the Wigs so understand it, we have the authority of Clayton and others. But it is not my purpose to explain away the mistake, of too much confidence in friends, but simply to show you letters which reiterate his *Independent Position* and leave you to your own judgment as to the course to be persued, at such a Crisis. You will find yourself in error as to Neutrality. The State are not prepared for it, and *will not receive it.* Your assuming it, with Butler and others will only distract us the more and leave the Combattants in the field, without the Leaders who formerly controlled harmony. Your taking your stand will produce a volley. If you decide for Cass, you will carry the State but only with a majority. But if you yield to Taylor as the safest man the Cass men will come in, and the State will present that *unanimity* which you deem so important. The objections to Cass with a large party, (and your humble servant among the number) is too deep set to be reconciled to him.

We *cannot*, we *will not go*. On the contrary those who affect to go for Cass are influenced *altogether* by *party ties*—ties which have been violated by the North, and which we have ourselves repudicated. May I beg you to reflect deeply before you distract and divide us. Neutrality on your part will distract. A declaration for Cass as the least of evils will divide us. A yielding to Taylor as the safest man, as one of us, as with us, identified in interests and sympathies will unite the State, as formerly, in one Solid Falanx.

Read the letters to Butler and Burt and return them to me to night. I will be at the Theatre.

P. S. I consider neutrality out of the Question, by neutrality I mean throwing away our vote. It may be too late to take up one on whom we could all unite. If the Contest therefore is narrowed to Taylor and Cass, reflect on the policy of taking up him who is not of the South and rallying on a friend and neighbour.

From Richard Rush [40]

PARIS, [FRANCE,]
63 Rue de Lille, August 25, 1848

MY DEAR SIR, I should owe you my thanks for only you letter introducing the Izards and Hugers, (and it is not for the first time that you have made me acquainted with agreeable Carolinians since I have been here,) but having received at about the same time a copy of your speech on the Oregon bill in the Senate on the 27th of June, I must, most especially, thank you for that also. I have read it with the greatest interest, finding it replete with instruction. For myself, having long seen much to excuse in our system of slavery, and regarding it less and less as an unmixed evil, the more I see of Europe, your discussion has awakened anxious thoughts in me. I did not think the danger from the question as great as I begin to fear it may be from all you say. May Heaven avert from us the calamity of the breaking-up of our Union from this cause. I cannot yet believe it. Those who would think it a less calamity than the existence of slavery in our new states if the people themselves choose to have that system, are in my opinion under terrible delusions.

The state of things here, is enough to baffle all reflection. In what the French Republic is to end, the wisest Frenchmen do not know. For France, the future is nothing but uncertainty. For Europe, there are perhaps more persons just now who think that things will end unfavorably to democratic forms, rather than in setting them up; though monarchies may be made more free and liberal

[40] Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, was Attorney General, 1814–1817; minister to Great Britain, 1817-1825; Secretary of the Treasury under Adams, 1825–1829; minister to France, 1847–1849.

by all that has been happening in France and elsewhere, within the memorable year.

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From H. V. Johnson[41]

MILLEDGEVILLE [GA.,] *Aug. 25th. 1848.*

MY DEAR SIR, The mail which carries this will also carry to you a letter of invitation to a public dinner which my fellow citizens have been kind enough to tender to me as a compliment to my course in the Senate of United States. Fearing that the distance is so great that you will not be able to attend, I take the liberty of suggesting to you, that, in the event of your not honoring us with your personal presence, it is exceedingly desirable by the Committee to obtain from you a strong letter on the The Compromise Bill reported by the Committee of eight. The Course of Mr. Stephens,[42] the representative of this District, has produced, not only here but throughout the State, considerable excitement. I enclose to you also a copy of his speech, by which you will see the grounds on which he has placed his defence and on which his party sustain his course. He has been unanimouly nominated for re-election by a District Convention. He has also published a letter in the Southern Recorder, in reply to strictures which have therein appeared on his course, in which he indirectly assails all those who voted for the Bill. All this presents this bill distinctly as the issue upon which the contest in this District is to be waged. It is believed that a strong letter from you in vindication of the Bill and in reply to the ground assumed by its opponents will be of much service to us in Georgia; that it will go far to unite our people upon the principles upon [which] the rights of the South ought to be maintained.

Your position on the Presidential Question is well understood. It is therefore not the object of the Committee of invitation, to draw any thing from [you] upon this subject. All they desire is a letter on the Compromise bill, without any direct allusion to Mr. Stephens or others except so far as may be suggested by your own sense of propriety.

It affords me pleasure to say, that thus far, I meet with warm greetings from my friends for the part I have taken upon the absorbing question of Slavery.

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[41] Herschel Vespasian Johnson, a Democrat of Georgia, was Senator, 1848–49; governor, 1853–1857; candidate for Vice President on the Douglas Democratic ticket in 1860.

[42] Alexander Hamilton Stephens, of Georgia, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1843–1859. Stephens moved in the House to lay the Senate compromise bill on the table. He was now a Whig candidate for reelection. See Correspondence of Toombs, Stephens, and Cobb, edited by U. B. Phillips, p. 117.

From Wilson Lumpkin

ATHENS [GA.,] *Augt. 25th, 1848.*

MY DEAR SIR Under the impression that you are now quietly at home, and left to calm reflection, on the extraordinary state of the world, and especially on the portentous state of affairs in our own country, I again resume my pen, with a view to a renewal of our correspondence. Your public position has afforded me from time to time, your views on the most vital subject, connected with our national existence. My own opinions most fully coincide with yours, on every important point connected with the subject of negroe slavery. I did not anticipate the events, which are so rapidly hastening a final issue upon the slave question. The sectional party now consolidating its ranks, under the lead of Van Buren and his associates, demonstrates beyond all doubt, that the argument on our constitutional rights upon the slave question, *is exhausted.* We have to *stand by our arms*, or yield everything, and become more degraded than our slaves. It is true, those designing and base men, who are governing the great masses of fanatics, could yet save the country. But this they do not desire. They are under the influence of feelings of hate and revenge, they are resolved upon, *reign or ruin.*

If there be any salvation for our Union, it is in the South. If we of the slave states were a united people, we could "conquer a peace." "Indemnity for the past, and security for the future." But alas! a house divided against itself cannot stand. The corrupt press and office seekers of the South, are daily becoming more and more reckless, and bold in their prosecution of their selfish plans and objects. They are ready to sacrifice the last hope of the perpetuation of our good system of Government, upon the alter of combinations of office seekers, who do not deserve the name of belonging to political parties, based upon principles of any sort. Coming events may possibly unite the South, but I fear not. When I consider the position of such men as Benton, Clay, Bell and thousands of their inferior followers, how can I hope, to see our people united. We have thousands and tens of thousands, throughout the Southern States, whose sympathies are all against us. Look at our little *pigmy* Stevens from Georgia, and his Southern associates on the Compromise Bill. Like Van Buren, they can only hope for the distinction of infamy, but they prefer that to obscurity.

If I vote at all at the coming election, I shall of course vote for Cass and Butler, but I see just as clearly as you do, how little we have to expect or hope for, from any political combination, under all the existing influences and circumstances. If you see any way by which we might hope to unite the South, do suggest it, for I repeat, this is the only hope to save the Union. Shall we stand still, till we see the result of the fall elections? Or what shall we do?

From Charles N. Webb[43]

HALIFAX, N. C. *September 1, 1848.*

MY DEAR SIR: I have read extracts from a speech recently made by you to your fellow citizens of South Carolina, from which I am unable to learn who you would like to see President of the United States. You seem to object to all of the Candidates in the field, and one would infer from your speech that you had made up your mind to take no part in the Election.

In the face of this however, it is asserted here, by Democrats (by what authority I know not) that you will support Cass and Butler, and that they will get the vote of your State.

Can it be possible that an individual so much wedded to the South, and her institutions as you have ever been, will support a man who in every respect is opposed to her interest—a man who is North in location and North in feeling, a Wilmot Proviso man beyond doubt? I am unwilling to believe it.

James K. Polk has given the Country a stab to its very centre, by his signature to the Oregon Bill, with the Wilmot Proviso attached to it. The Northern people hail it as a great triumph; and will hold it up as a precedent for future legislation.

It is said that James K. Polk signed the bill to advance the interest of Cass at the North. What are we coming to? A Southern President taking sides with the North, and Mr. Van Buren, who was elected President on account of his being a "Northern man with Southern feelings," running as the Northern Candidate for the Presidency, is enough to alarm us. It is enough [to] make us have misgivings about almost any and every man's firmness.

Now that the North has organized a Northern party, with Mr. Van Buren at their head, sanctioned by Cass and Polk so far as principle is conerned, what seems to be the duty of Southern men? Is it not their duty to go for that man who is Southern in location and Southern in feeling if one is to be found who is trust-worthy?

In whom sir do you think the South can rely mostly for the protection and safety of her institutions, General Taylor or Lewis Cass—one a Southern man and the other a Northern man? What is your plan for meeting the crisis which is fast approaching between the North and the South which will shake the Union to its very centre?

I address you this letter through the best of motives with the hope that you will give me your views for publication.

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[43] Charles N. Webb was editor of the Roanoke Republican.

From A. Burwell

VICKSBURG [MISS.,] *Sept 12, 1848.*

SIR: The present seems to me, to be an important crisis, so far as the Southern States, and especially the institution of slavery are concerned. The public mind is disturbed, agitated, I may say, alarmed, at the advances which opinion is hourly making, in opposition and open hostility to *our* institutions. Discussion and declamation are openly encouraged, upon a subject, which in better and purer days, was not considered proper for public debate.

I am incapable of the vanity of an effort to instruct you, by referring to events and indications, which proves that the South never was in such eminent peril before.

Constant agitation on this question (I mean the slavery question without reference to the Territories) must it seems to me, produce evil effects in the South, incalculble in their extent.

How long will agitation and discussion continue, and in what will they result? If we have seen but the beginning of the end, it becomes southern men to look to their own interests, aye to their own safety.

Discussion of this delicate subject must be ended; from it, the South has everything to lose, nothing to gain. The slaves hear and comprehend much more of the speeches and letters, which are delivered and written, than is generally supposed; and I know that it is very generally understood among the slaves, that a great movement is now being made on their behalf; the objects to be accomplished not precisely defined, but by which their condition is to be affected.

The important inquiry, "how can discussion and agitation be prevented?" must be answered, some day or other. The propriety and expediency of taking up this subject *now*, and acting upon it boldly, yet calmly and deliberately, must in some form be brought to the consideration and decision of Southern men. We may desire, and who does not, to postpone it indefinitely, if that can be safely done, but we are not worthy of the name of freemen, if we fear to vindicate our rights, and *protect our safety*, because this vindication and protection present an aspect of danger. But we can not postpone this question if we would. It is *pressed* upon us; it meets us at every stage of our affairs; it is thrust into every public debate and private conversation, and is now the rallying point of more than half the Union. Will we of the South be better prepared a year hence to defend ourselves than we are now; will we have then more of the elements of safety, than we have now? Will the North be more friendly, less disposed to interfere with, to encroach upon us, than now, or have less ability to do it? I can answer none of these questions in such manner as to induce a wish to delay action on the part of Southern men.

You, Sir, on another question, many years ago, assumed a bold position, and against the most powerful odds maintained it; technically it may be said that you failed, but the results of your exertions then claim for you the lasting gratitude of all who truly love their country, and especially of the South.

The fear of a dissolution of the Union inspired men with its love, on terms *endurable by and safe for the South.* No other motive seems to be sufficiently powerful. Northern men calculate the value of the Union, and to them, the balance will be found in its favor. It is time for us of the South, to make some calculations, and with coolness, deliberation and courage.

Is the mere Union (for it is fast becoming a mere Union, without community of feeling or mutual interest and advantage) worth to us of the South so much, that, for the apprehension of danger by its dissolution, we ought to incur the *"certain hazard"* of ruin, by permitting our most delicate relations to be the subject of unending debate and agitation and I may add of calumny and abuse?

The southern states can form an independent confederation, which can sustain itself against the world. An independent government and perhaps nothing but that, can and will put an end to dangerous and insurrectionary agitation. The North needs the South; derives greater benefits from the Union than the South; and as a last resort, (but the only one left to us), let us assume a bold, I will not say threatening attitude; one which at every hasard we will maintain; let us firmly propose a compromise and settlement, final and full of this vexed and dangerous question and present as an alternative, secession, and the establishment of an independent republic, peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must. Northern men may again make calculations, and we may have peace and security for ourselves and our posterity.

It is not a pleasant or enviable condition even for the bravest, to live over a magasine of gunpowder, with the knowledge, that an enemy is daily attempting to explode it; or that a friend is wantonly, thoughtlessly, using fire about it. For one, I much prefer, to meet danger in the open field; to seek it out; it then loses its terrors; it is disarmed.

If a disease attacks the limb, how idle to defer amputation until it spreads through the system, or encroaches so near to the vitals as to defy the surgeon's skill. The sooner the knife is resorted to the smaller the part of the body it will be necessary to cut off; if the operation is deferred, it may be performed at great loss, perhaps of the life itself. The application of these similes is too plain to escape notice.

The eyes of quiet citizens, men who have no political aspirations, begin to turn towards you as a beacon light for guidance and safety

and desire this subject to be brought, plainly and practically to your notice. Measures will be taken for Southern security: not so much as regards the area and territory of slavery (for these I regard as minor considerations) but against agitation and the fearful results which may flow from it. Who so capable as yourself of giving direction and effect to these measures, and combining with them that prudence and firmness, without which evil only can result from their attempt? The crisis in our affairs calls upon your patriotism, your firmness, your knowledge, and consumate skill in affairs of state to meet it.

Is the emergency so pressing as to require a convention of Southern States in imitation or opposition to the free soil assembly? What is the proper course to pursue? to act decisively or to remain quiescent? to assert our safety boldly and meet the danger fearlessly, or to wait until we are more defenceless, and the enemy are upon us?

For myself, and I believe I but echo the *real* not the *party* opinion, of most of our citisens. I am not disposed to act rashly, or to defer action, when deemed necessary, though it may be attended with danger. I am willing to submit to your judgment, and hope you will not overlook these suggestions, because of their humble source.

From A. J. Donelson

FRANKFORT [GERMANY], *Sept. 27, 1848.*

MY DEAR SIR: I was greatly obliged to you for the copy of your able speech on the territorial bill, which reached me in Switzerland. It was ineffectual I see in the vote of the House, but I trust its moral influence on the country will be useful.

I concur with you in saying that Mr. Jefferson, in the famous ordinance for the Government of the Territory North of the Ohio, yielded to a feeling of Philanthropy, what all his political doctrines would now compel him to withhold. If now alive he would see that the free soil party instead of proposing to relieve the burdens of slavery, aimed to punish the white man in the South for having done what was his duty under the circumstances of his situation.

It will not do for the North to say they have abolished slavery. They have only banished the black man from their Territory, who has found an asylum in that of the South. To give themselves credit for such an act is to reverse the law given for our imitation in the case of the good Samaritan. How many are the blacks who are to enjoy the benefit of the free soil claimed by the Buffalo Convention? Does not everybody know that the North western Territory contains comparatively no blacks, and never will? Is not therefore the practical effect of all such legislation an idle boast, not benefitting the black race but punishing the white man who has had the humanity to protect it.

It is not by such pretensions that the impartial eye of our posterity will be swayed when they trace the events of our history. The best historian will see that the South have done their duty.

My residence in Europe has satisfied me that this institution of ours, called slavery, has had an agency in shaping our institutions which few of us in the South even sufficiently appreciate.

The presence of the black race in the United States enabled the white man to treat as his equal all his own race. A basis was thus formed for liberty as broad as the population; and hence popular sovereignty was a reality, not a fiction. The absence of such a basis in Europe is the secret of the failure of all its attempts to found popular institutions.

But I have not the space here to argue such a question, and if I had I would not hope to say anything new to one so familiar with the subject as you are. To give you in a few words however, my idea of the service which the slave institution has rendered us, allow me to say, that it is my firm conviction if all the inhabitants on the American continent were suddenly swept away, and if its vast solitudes were thus offered to the inhabitants of Europe for their occupation, settlement, and Government, the institutions they would establish would be no better than those they are now attempting to reform. This is only saying that in my judgement, if slavery be an evil as recognized by us in the South, it is one which has been sent by Providence, and our Northern friends ought long ago to have learned that their remedies for it, even if successful, would only doom them as well as ourselves to dangers far more threatening to our common liberty and prosperity.

You are aware that I am here as a Minister. You may desire to know then what I think of the destiny of this Government. The Arch Duke is a man of sense. He means what is right, and deserves credit for throwing himself into the torrent of convulsions which are pouring over his country. Crisis after crisis overtakes him until he is at last forced to protect the National Assembly with a guard of 12,000 regular troops, to declare the city of Frankfort in a state of siege, and to enforce his orders at the point of the bayonet. Yet you must not conclude that his Government is hopeless, or that he aims to acquire power at the expense of liberty. These extreme measures were necessary to save the lives of the assembly, and the city of Frankfort from pillage and murder.

The question which brings up this crisis is one that we should have regarded in the United States as anterior to the existence of a Federal Government. I mean that of the powers conferred by the separate States. In the Armistice made by Prussia with Denmark a part of the Assembly alleged that Prussia had not followed the mandate of the Assembly and thus denied the Treaty power to

the central Government. This rouses the jealousy of Austria and puts in motion the rivalries of all the Kings that are parties to the confederation. Hence the close vote in the Assembly, the people out of doors sympathising with the Left, and pushing their discontent with a revolt because they dread the military ascendency of Prussia.

Fortunately at the same moment the local contests at Berlin and Vienna render the separate action of either of those courts dangerous if not impossible. Should the power therefore which the Arch Duke is obliged to exercise not wound too deeply the national feeling he will still hold the advantage in the game, and thus afford a hope that a constitution may be formed under which the political education of both the Kings and the people of Germany may be improved. By such a slender thread suspends the chance that this Govt may bring better days to the German people. And yet it was on this slight hope that I advised the President to recognise the central power. Faint as it is it is better than that afforded by the independent action of the State Government, where if the Kings regain their firm power the people will suffer more than ever. France under the flag of the Republic does even worse than Germany. There the press has been muzzled whilst what is called a free constitution is manufactured. And France even looks with jealousy at the German project of Union and menaces Austria out of excessive love of freedom. I need not say to you that I turn sick from such scenes, and am almost ready to give up the hope of seeing the world governed by popular institutions. No one here looks into the future without trembling and none look back without seeing that old institutions are undermined, and must be succeeded by others having a different basis. What shall be the basis?

But if I turn from Europe to look at home, I am almost as much afflicted when I see the changes which have been wrought in the last two years in the party relations of our public men. The war with Mexico has increased our military glory, but it increases the immigration from Europe, which is itself a danger—it multiplies our points of contact with Foreigners—it forces us abruptly on many [?] untried questions at home, among which this of slavery is not the least.

I take consolation only from the hope that our statesmen adopting the spirit of your territorial speech, will study more closely the Constitution, and respect more cordially the spirit of compromise on which all our success rests.

P. S. Your young friend Giddings is here with my son. They have run away from the cholera, which I hope will be so far terminated next week that we may go back with safety, for I still consider Berlin my headquarters.

From James H. Taylor

CHARLESTON [S. C.,] *October 3d 1848*

RESPECTED SIR I have the honor to hand you a receipt of one Box containing two pieces of Cotton Cloth, manufactured at the Charleston Cotton Manufacturing Company's mill, in this City. These Clothes are made from the first Bale of New Cotton received in this place this season and are pretty fair samples of the Goods we make being perhaps a little improved by extra dressing and brushing. Our Factory now employs about 100 operatives (all white) and their pay is from $2 to $6 per week payable in cash monthly. 17 of these operatives are from the north and are well acquainted with the business. The rest are new hands collected from this City, and suburbs. As a general thing our Southern Girls do as well as the same class at older manufacturing establishments and will without doubt make as good operatives in time. The value of the raw material in our goods is about 2 cts per yard the remainder of its price is divided between Labor and Profit, Labor being 2 cts per yard more, and gross profit aside from commissions and Interest about 1½ to 2½% [¢?] per yard, according to width. Our small mill will pay per anm. about $50,000 for Cotton and Labor, and in dividends to stockholders about $16 to $18,000. We regard our experiment, as setling the question in relation to Manufacturing Cotton into Cloth to advantage by *Steam*, in our Southern Cities, and I have the strongest hope that in a few years the manufacture of our great staple will add to the Southern States incalculable wealth and propserity. I send you Sir these two pieces merely as a specimen of goods which cannot be surpased in the same grade by any manufactory in the United States.

From Osee Welch

STATE ILLINOIS GALENA *Oct. 7, 1848*

DR SIR Allow me to trespass upon your attention a few moments. My object is to get your opinion on a new proposition started in our community, which is deemed of sacred importance to our whole country, and your views will be held in high respect by every democrat in this part of the north, at least by all those who have considered your pollitical course, and views on all subjects vital to our national weal, and the powers of the Federal government. As new issues are starting throughout the north, your friends feel themselves entitled to your views on so grand a subject as I beg here to present.

It is believed by the most considerate Democrats that the principle danger to which our institutions are now exposed, is the assumption of powers by the federal government never confered by the Organic law, or the more subtle enlargement of the powers confered beyond

all constitutional limit, and that there is a dangerous tendency to this kind of usurpation in the Congress of the United States at this time, and to such an extent that every true patriot should take the alarm, hence the legitimate province and powers of the federal government cannot be too soon agitated and defined. That strange proviso of Mr. Wilmot, adverse to all the guaranties of the Constitution, has aroused the attention of many, to an investigation of the real powers of the government. We desire to get your opinion with reference to the powers of the federal government (Congress) to exercise *any jurisdiction whatever over her territories*, other than merely to survey sell and dispose of the land, and to protect the settlers by sending their Soldiers to the frontier to protect the citizens from invading enemies, and I beg to submit the following resolutions that you may see more clearly the proposition.

1st Resolved that their is no power conferred upon the federal Congress giving them jurisdiction over the territories, not even to appoint Governors or Judges for any territories belonging to the United States.

2 Resolved that Congress has no right to pass any law giving her jurisdiction or power to appoint Judges or Governors in her territories, unless that power be confered by the constitituion.

3 Resolved that the exercise of the right of Jurisdiction over the Territories, and the appointment of Governors and judges is a usurpation of power on the part of the Congress of the United States.

4th Resolved that the public domain and all the territories can only be held by the Federal government in trust for every citizen of the United States.

5 Resolved that it is the privilledge of any and every citizen of the United States to settle upon the public domain in the territories, ellect their Governors Judges and other officers and make such rules and regulations as their domestic convenience require, and the Federal Government according to the guaranties of the Constitution is pledged to sustain and protect them in the enforcement of these privilledges.

6 Resolved that the inherent right of the government to acquire territory can give her no right to the soil, other than a mere possessory-trust-title for the benefit of every citizen of the United States, who may choose to occupy said lands or territories.

Mr. Calhoun will confer a great favor upon some of his warm pollitical friends, if he will spare time to consider these propositions and favor us with an answer—he will do a favor to the common cause in which we all are interested.

From C. W. Jacobs

Berlin Worcester Co. E. S. Md.,
Oct 12th 1848

Dear Sir, It has become a prominent question, with candid men of both parties to know, whether in the event of the election of either of them, Gen. Taylor or Gen. Cass, to the office of President, they would sign a bill, giving to California and New Mexico Constitutions tram-

eled by the Wilmot Proviso or any other Proviso embodying those principles.

A knowledge of this question satisfactoraly obtained, ought and doubtless would determine the Electoral vote of this State, and as one most likely to know, and in whom we can place entire confidence I, in behalf of others and myself address you this letter.

The North can out-vote us, at least in the House, and Gen. Taylor has declared in one of his letters to J. S. Alison dated April 22nd 1848—"that the Veto should not be exercised except in cases of *clear* violation of the Constitution or *manifest* haste and want of consideration by Congress." Again in same letter "The personal opinions of the individual who may happen to occupy the Executive Chair ought not to control the action of Congress upon questions of *domestic policy*, nor ought his objections to be interposed," etc. etc.

The North, from that letter and a knowledge of their power, are induced, so far as they do, to support Taylor; while the South from his connection with The Institution of Slavery, his location, and consequent presumptive predilection towards the Institution, might safely trust him, but for that letter and the Comments on it by such men as Webster in his late Marshfield Speech, and Winthrop [44] in his later Speech at the *Mass* Convention.

These reflections too combined with Gen. Taylor's expressed preference for Mr. Clay and Mr. Clay's Lexington Speech, and the favor that speech met with at the North, all go to excite suspicion and distrust as to what course Gen. Taylor would take on this question were he elected. Nor are we any more certain of what Gen. Cass would do on this subject, in the event of being elected, as both North and South claim in him an advocate of their peculiar interests.

If not asking too much we would regard it as a special and lasting obligation conferred on us to know your views on this matter.

As to party, whether Whig or Democrat, neither can have our votes as such merely, but only as they conform to our interests and the principles of the Constitution and safety of the Union.

Should you feel disposed to give us the benefit of your views, it shall meet with that confidence and delicacy at our hands which is so justly due to yourself and the subject.

From David Johnson

LIME STONE SPRINGS [S. C.,] *18th Octr. 1848*

MY DEAR SIR, I have the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt of your favour on the subject of the election of Electors of President and Vice President and the Pendleton Messenger containing your letter

[44] Robert Winthrop, a lawyer of Boston, Mass., was a Whig Member of the House of Representatives, 1840–1850; Senator, 1850–51; defeated as Whig candidate for governor, 1851.

to a part of the Pendleton delcgation on the same subject.[45] Entertaining the same views with yourself I brought the subject before the Legislature at the last session supposing they would act upon it then and regret that I had not had access to the Messcnger as it would have supplied many valuable suggestions that did not present themselves to my mind. If argument can avail anything your letter has covered the whole ground and I fear that my personal influence will avail but little in such a question, but I would willingly use it for what it is worth to prevent what I should regard as a great evil to the state. The natural tendency of Republican forms of Governments is towards Radicalism and I sould regret very mcuh to see our Parish Representation deranged as I have always regarded it (although sufficiently Republican), as our principal conservative power. It was I observe made some thing like a test question in Charleston at the late elections and from what I can collect from the newspapers there secms to be a disposition there to conciliate the Parishes by adopting the District System in the appointment of electors and it may be that this will take and that I apprehend is the real danger.

Knowing as I do your devotion to the interests of the South and that with the best means of information and untiring zeal you have thoroughly investigated the subject of Abolition in all its bearings I am deeply impressed with your remarks on that subject. Indeed a casual observer can not fail to observe that it has taken such deep root at the North and North West that there is no reasoning with it. A few of the more considerate are willing to abide by the compromises of the Constitution and the merchants as a class are opposed to it from interest, but the great mass cherish it from feeling and I am charitable enough to suppose that they think on principle. However this may be they will at no distant day make their influence felt through every department of the Government and I agree with you that we have nothing to hope or expect from them. Nor have we more to look for from Presidential power—if indeed we should remain anything but a blank in the appointments. The veto was certainly intended as conservatism, but it is a dreadful despotism to be obliged to depend on the will of one man as a security for our most important rights, more especially when interest and ambition conspire to seduce him to forbear the exercise of the power and I turn with disgust from being obliged to select between the two prominent Candidates for the Presidency, having no confidence in one and nothing past or present to aid me in judging what is to be expected from the other.

I have been willing to flatter myself that the present exitement grew in a great degree out of the Presidential Election and that it

[45] The Pendleton Messenger, Nov. 13, 1846. See Sectionalism, Representation, and the Electoral Question in Ante-Bellum South Carolina, by C. S. Boucher, in Washington University Studies, October, 1916.

would pass of[f] with it. That perhaps is hardly desirable for we should be obliged to meet the question at no distant day and the sooner I think the better. We can not calculate on any accession of strength under the present operations of the Government, whilst there is great danger that the border slave holding states will yield to the pressure of circumstances. How long will Maryland, Western Virginia, Kentucky, Eastern Tennessee and even the Western part of No. Carolina feel it their interest to retain slaves. They are already unproductive as laborers and their sympathy would not weigh a feather against their interests and their prejudices on another scale. Throwing them out of the question, if unhapily my apprehension should be realized, there will be yet strength enough in the remaining states to make their rights respected if they can be brought to act in concert. A Southern Convention is the only means of accomplishing this and the very first movement of the Government of the United States improperly interfering with our rights ought to be seized on to call it into action. It will at least have my hearty concurrence.

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From Laurel Summers

PARKHURST, SCOTT CO. IOWA, *Oct. 21st 1848*

DEAR SIR Although a citizen of a remote corner of the Union and an entire stranger to you, I nevertheless have taken great pains to study and understand your views upon the various constitutional questions that are now, and have been for some time agitating the public mind, some of which are shaking our glorious Union to its very centre.

I am what we here call a democrat, and of course believe in a strict construction of the Constitution, and nowhere can I find in that time honored instrument any power delegated to the General Government to Charter a Bank, to Legislate upon the subject of Internal Improvements, either *general* or *special;* to pass what is called a *protective* tariff act, or Legislate upon the institution of Slavery. This latter question, as you are awarc, is now exciting the public mind more than all others, and unquestionably the most dangerous to the safety of the Union of these States. To my mind, a question more foreign to legitimate Legislation by the *General* government, has never been sought out by the fruitful brains of political demagogues.

I have viewed your course with greater care from the fact, that you seem to form your opinions independant of that blind devotion to men that actuates and seems to be the ruling passion of too many of our public men. Upon many questions of public policy advocated by you I have been compelled to differ with you; but generally upon great

constitutional questions your views to my mind are sound. Well, my object in writing to you at this time is to make the inquiry, What power has the general government to *compromise* the subject of Slavery? I hold that it is *not* a question upon which Congress can constitutionally Legislate. I believe that you hold to the same doctrine. My opinion, then is that Congress should not only *frown* down the *Wilmot Proviso*, but the *Missouri Compromise* line also, for if they have power to pass the one they have power to pass the other also.

Should you find time and feel so disposed I should be pleased to hear from you in answer to the above inquiry at your earliest convenience. You may rest assured that the democrats of Iowa are sound to the *core* on this subject. The Whigs are for Gen. Taylor *and the Wilmot Proviso*. What inconsistency!

From Charles G. DeLavan

BALTIMORE, [MD.,] *24th October, 1848.*

SIR, Like yourself I am a South Carolinian;—born, bred and educated within the limits of the State, it will be readily admitted that all my sympathies, my deepest attachment is to my native State; born within 20 miles of the city of Charleston my Widowed Mother removed near to Statesburg and I was reared under the immediate supervision and control of the late Gen. Sumter—this will be taken at all times at least in So. Carolina, as a voucher of my politics. My father in his youth had sustained his part during the Revolutionary War, and the deep scars of a British sabre on his head and shoulder testified to his fidelity and services;—But no more of that. Whilst a young man I emigrated to Tennesee with many other So. Carolinians, and have since been part of my time in Missouri and Arkansas, and occasionally in the Middle States where I happen to be at present, and from whence I address you. My present object is to assure you, that the opposition you have made and are making to the Election of Gen. Taylor to the presidency is unfortunate, and is founded on a misconception of his character. Had you known him as I know him all your Heart would have been with him, and all your energies exerted in his support; I know him well, and I know his antagonist Genl Cass *much better* than you do; and readily admitting the claims of Gen. Cass to being a man of education, intelligence, and in politics a Sound unwavering Democrat at least within the last 20 years, there are fundamental objections to him which in my estimation disqualify him for the Executive office;—He is deficient in moral courage, he has neither firmness, nor decision of character so indispensable to the incumbent of that office, when the nation should have arrived at some great crisis, and to illustrate this I could relate you an anecdote of

what occurred whilst he was Secy. of War under Gen. Jackson, and may do so hereafter. Not so with Gen. Taylor, besides his being a man of clear head, a fund of practical common sense, *which is wisdom*, and much better than scholastic discipline without wisdom—he is calm, decided, energetic and firm—not so ready perhaps as Gen. Jackson to "take the Responsibility" but equally decided and free to do so, on all proper occasions, and as firm in maintaining his position when it is taken, and then his habits, his education his sympathies, his interests are all with the South, and he will guard with untiring zeal and unwinking vigilance all the interests of the South. What though Gen. Taylor has said "*I am a Whig*" I know him in politics to be as truly democratic as I am—aye or as truly so as Mr. Calhoun himself. In days gone by when Mr. Clay led the Democratic party of the West, of which Gen. Taylor was a member, and Col. Taylor his father a leading a distinguished member, the latter mainly contributing as I have always understood to the passage of the Lexington resolutions, the basis of Nullification, an attachment was formed and a confidence bestowed on Mr. Clay which has continued to the present day, and without undertaking to investigate the soundness of every principle and the tendency of every measure of policy of which Mr. Clay in latter days has been the advocate, Gen. Taylor recollecting merely what their views were, when cooperating in years long past, he placed on a remote frontier and occupied with matters very different from politics, and remembering Mr. Clay *as he was*, says " had I voted it would have been given to Mr. Clay" and understanding that in the classification of parties in the present day that Mr. Clay is the Magnus Apollo of that party he says " I am a Whig " meaning no more thereby than as he would vote for his old friend and compatriot Mr. Clay—He must *quo ad hoc* be a Whig. I feel entirely confident from all I hear and see that Gen. Taylor will be our next Presidt. and that under his administration the South and Southern interests will receive ample and just protection, and from him the new party just starting into open view (the free Soil party) will receive a check, a rebuke that may perhaps drive it back into the dark recesses where it has been hatching for the last 10 years. I had an opportunity of seeing and hearing some of the trickery of that celebrated Buffalo Convention, which brought forward that unprincipled intriguer Mr. Martin Van Buren, and by which he will only be exposed and crushed, for one so cautious and wiley it is surprising that he suffered himself to be caught so readily, his overweening ambition had made him impatient, and he lent himself to the movement certainly with but slight hopes of success in the present struggle, but intending to lay the platform in advance for 1852, without adverting to the fact, that all the principles of the free Soil party, being the very principles upon which the *Northern* Whigs based their opposition to the South in years long gone by, and at a

time when this very Mr. Van Buren was stigmatised as "*the Northern Man with Southern principles.*" You see in the published addresses of Messrs. Webster, Choate,[46] Hudson,[47] Ashman,[48] etc. etc. with what bitterness Mr. Van Buren is attacked, denounced, and exposed—and in all of which they declare that the free Soil party have under a new name usurped the ground long since occupied by the Whigs of the North who are the true original free Soil party according to the Buffalo platform. Still Mr. Van Buren will answer a purpose, he will set the ball in motion, and be easily pushed aside by Mr. Webster four years hence, who is even at this time, the selected Candidate of the *Northern Whig* party embracing within its range free Soil, and to be pushed as far as Abolition if they dared do so. It is in such an emergency that Gen. Taylor would be wanted. In Men as in Horses I pay some regard to blood. I admire and have confidence in a good stock. Col. Taylor father of the General was an officer in the Virginia line during the Revolutionary War, and after peace removed to Kentucky;—He there stood forth in opposition to the general policy pursued and the Arbitrary measures of the Elder Adams;—He was a Jefferson Elector, a Madison Elector, a Supporter of the War of 1812 and stood shoulder to shoulder with the democratic party—and thus was Zachry Taylor cradled, nursed, and bred—he can not prove recreant to his lineage and breeding, and mark me Sir, in less than 12 months after his Election, Whigs, free Soil and all will be in opposition.

I prefer Gen. Taylor because he is Southern by birth, Southern in habits and taste, Southern in Sympathy and interests, whilst Gen. Cass is North, in all of this, and deficient in moral courage he might in a serious Crisis, from his Education, habits, connections and local position be induced to throw his weight in the scale agst. us.

From Z. L. Nabers

CARROLTON ALA. *Nov. 29th. 1848.*

SIR: The spirit and manner in which the late presidential canvass was conducted in reference to the question of slavery in California and New Mexico; the result of that canvass; the silence of Gen. Taylor on the Wilmot Proviso; his opposition to the Veto power; the known majority of the Free Soil party in Congress; are facts which indicate that our country is rapidly approaching a crisis, when the rights of the South and South West are to be disregarded, or our glorious confederacy dissolved. At such a time our country has none to whom she can look for counsel and advice with more confidence

[46] Rufus Choate, a Whig of Massachusetts, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1831–1834; Senator, 1841–1845.

[47] Charles Hudson, a Whig of Massachusetts, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1841–1849.

[48] George Ashmun, a Whig of Massachusetts, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1845–1851; chairman of the Republican Convention in 1860.

than yourself. Your opinion therefore upon the present duty of the Slave-holding States; the propriety of holding a Southern Convention to adopt such measures as will protect our rights; and the time the convention should be held; would be read and cherished with a deep interest by every Southern man, as well as by every lover of the Union in the North.

From C. G. Memminger [49]

COLUMBIA [S. C.,] *Dec 9, 1848.*

MY DEAR SIR Your engagements prevented you from appearing at the Bible Convention held in this place, and as that left them without sufficient speakers, I had to be impressed in your place. So that you will more readily excuse my apparent negligence in not calling in the evening to converse with you as I had promised. I collected your views from others who had seen you, and I think the action which we have determined upon in a caucus last night will meet your views. We pass a single Resolution declaring the time for discussion as to our exclusion from the Territory acquired from Mexico has passed, and that we are ready to cooperate with our Sister States in resisting the Principles of the Wilmot Proviso, at any and every hazard.[50]

I rejoiced to see you looking so well, and earnestly hope that you may be preserved in the service of the country many years.

From G. A. Trenholm [51]

CHARLESTON [S. C.,] *Dec. 11, 1848*

MY DEAR SIR, I have long since made the following reflections upon the Act of 1834 altering the value of Gold, and will be glad to know if you have ever regarded it in the same point of view, and what your opinion is as to the correctness of the conclusions I have aimed at. To spare your time as much as possible I shall condense what I have to say and reduce it to distinct propositions.

1. That previous to the Act of 1834 nearly all the Gold produced by the U. S. was exported to Great Britain because it was more valuable there than here.

2. That to the extent to which we added to her stock of Gold we strengthened and expanded her currency; and that the steadiness and expansion of her currency, added materially to our wealth by raising

[49] Charles Gustavus Memminger, of South Carolina, was a leader of the Union Party in 1832; for nearly 20 years he was head of the finance committee of the lower house of the legislature; Secretary of the Treasury of the Confederacy, 1861–1864.

[50] This is the wording in part of resolutions adopted by the two houses of the South Carolina Legislature. House Journals for 1848, p. 122; Senate Journals, p. 125.

[51] George A. Trenholm was a merchant of Charleston, S. C. His firm transacted a large business in cotton and enjoyed almost unlimited credit abroad. During the Civil War the firm engaged in blockade-running. He was Secretary of the Treasury of the Confederacy from 1864 to the end of the war.

in the same proportion the value of our chief staple (cotton) of which England fixed the price for the whole world.

3. That an expanded currency in G. Britain, tending to elevate the price of Cotton, and a contracted currency at home reducing the price of manufactured Goods, were conditions highly favorable to the South.

4. That the Gold bill therefore of 1834 was in its effects highly injurious to the Cotton growing region, by the following operations

1. Whenever the balance was in favor of this Country and had to be brought home in coin, we drew Gold out of the vaults of the Bank of England—for every guinea we drew she contracted the currency three guineas and by this violent contraction produced a sudden and ruinous decline in Cotton.

2. Whenever the balance was against us we exported Silver (while it lasted) which gave no relief to Great Britain where it is not a legal tender, and is not used as a circulating medium or as the basis of circulation.

3. That the Silver being all gone a struggle began between the two Countries for the Gold, which has resulted in making the same quantity of metal that would now perhaps no more than suffice for the commerce of G. Britain alone, supply the wants of both Countries to the injury of both, and chiefly to the injury of the Cotton Planter.

Much more might be said in elucidation of this view of the subject, but it would consume your time unnecessarily; enough has been said to secure your attention to the subject, if the views advanced are sound, and too much if they are not. I will be very glad to receive a line from you in reply.

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From J. B. Jones [52]

PHILADA. [PA.,] *Decr. 14th, 1848.*

DEAR SIR, From the indications at Washington, as well as in the North, North-west and East, one many conceive apprehensions of a settled purpose on the part of the strongest combination of the States, to nullify the Constitution, and to usurp a tyrannical supremacy over the weakest party. On this side of Mason's and Dixon's line, the terms of the Compact are not understood, and all arguments which tend to reprove the prevailing prejudice founded in ignorance, are doomed to remain unheard and disregarded. This is the work of party-leaders. They have succeeded in putting in motion a fearful

[52] John B. Jones, born in Baltimore, Md., 1810, was for many years a journalist. In 1857 he established a weekly paper in Philadelphia entitled the Southern Mentor, devoted to the advocacy of southern interests. He was the author of several books and is known by students of history for his Rebel War Clerk's Diary at the Confederate States Capital, published in 1866.

ball, which I believe no human agency as at present constituted can arrest. The barriers of the Constitution can not stop it—and it must eventually roll on in its course, increasing in weight and impetus as it proceeds, and crushing and desolating all before it.

And thus the generosity of the slave-holding states is repaid! At first the strongest party, how could they suppose that out of their generous grants and provisions (I allude to the N. W. territory) would grow an ovcrshadowing evil, first to humiliate, and finally to destroy them? They aided the North in attaining a political equality —and now the North would doom them to a degrading inferiority! It cannot be. Intelligent and honorable men will not bear it. If our forefathers were justifiable in the sight of God, in opposing forcible resistance to their brethren and kindred in Gt. Br. who resolved to tax them without representation, and otherwise oppress them, the same justification exists for the South at this day, in the same manner, to use every means in its power to resist a similar, certainly an equal oppression.

For my humble part, I would rather be one of the oppressed than one of the oppressors. But I would never submit to an injustice as long as there was a remedy. In the scrious difficulty which I think is about to be fully developed, my convictions and sympathies are all on thc side of the weaker party; and I shall be prepared to contribute my means and services whenever and wherever it may be deemed they can be useful.

The pernicious sentimcnts which now prevail so generally in the non-slaveholding States, have been, I think, chiefly disseminated from the principal cities. These cities, and indeed all the flourishing manufacturing towns, as you are aware, owe all their prosperity and wealth, to the profits realized from customers and consumers in the slaveholding states. This city, particularly, would be utterly ruined, if southern resentment should ever go so far as to produce a cessation of communication. Similar effccts would be felt in the other cities. And yet the chief papers here and elsewhere, supported by the merchants, are constantly tceming with fulminations against the south. It seems to me that if the Representatives from the South would utter a few just denunciations against these cities, indicating that a time may come when those they represent, may ccase to have intercourse with those who vilify them,—that the merchants whose reason can not be affected, might at least have their cupidity startled.

The people here seem to think that S. C. alone will nevcr submit to their meditated movement. And they affect to believe that it might be as well for S. C. to be detached from the union. Such is their hallucination!

I supported Genl. Taylor for the Presidency mainly because he was a southern man, and I was persuaded he was constitutional and South-

ern in principle. If I shall be disappointed, I can not be the friend of his admr. But if I should not be disappointed, then there will be great disappointment among his Northern supporters. They are irrevocably committed to the Wilmot Proviso.

I pray heaven that your efforts, and the efforts of all good men, to avert the blow now aimed at the Constitution, may yet be successful, without the necessity of a reorganization of the political system. But I almost despair of such a consummation, without the miraculous interposition of Divine Providence.

From J. T. Tasker [53]

BOSTON, MASS. *Jan'y 2, 1849.*

DEAR SIR: I persuade myself of your pardon in obtruding this upon your notice, from the fact, that I trust you will see it is dictated in a spirit of patriotism, and ardent attachment to the Union of these States. I have ever ranked myself among the supporters of your principles in the main, and for evidence of this I may refer to the files of the "N. Hampshire Gazette" [54] in the years 1843–'44 and '5, and also to my speeches during the recent presidential campaign, in this State, some of which have been published in part. I am prompted to *presume* upon your notice *at this time*, in consequence of the dark and portentious cloud that seems to be gathering over us, threatening the integrity of this Union, and because I think I see a safe course between Scylla and Charybdis.

You know, Sir, that in the late election the supporters of Gen. Cass in the North, as a whole, were, by the action of that most unprincipled of politicians (Martin Van Buren), brought squarely up to the mark on the slavery question, and boldly and manfully too defended the ground of "no jurisdiction in Congress", that Gen. Cass would not only veto the "Wilmot Proviso", but also any act authorizing the *extension* of slavery into our newly acquired territories. On the other hand, the Whigs of the North took the ground that Gen. Taylor would *not* veto the Wilmot Proviso, or any other measure which had heretofore been sanctioned by Congress, (which of course included all their old measures of Bank, Tariff, etc, etc.,): They even pretended to have received letters from him, of a private character to this effect. This, with Van Buren's base conduct, lost to the Democrats of the North Pennsylvania and New York, (but what lost us Georgia and Louisiana I don't exactly know).

I regret, and have regretted sincerely that Gen. Taylor did not by himself remove this ground of fraud upon either the North or South:—

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[53] J. T. Tasker was a prominent lawyer of Boston and a Democrat.

[54] The *New Hampshire Gazette* was published at Portsmouth.

and I foresaw, as you did, that, should the Demoractic nominee be defeated (and I feared he would be), the proper settlement of this question would be much more difficult, if not hazardous. Because the Democrats of the North, believing that Gen. Taylor would *veto* the Wilmot Proviso, and thereby expose and sunder the Whig party, would go in *for* the measure *for this very purpose*, and that they might not then be able so easily to retrace their steps. And besides, they regard a National Bank and a high Protective Tariff, the darling measures of the moneyed and corporate aristocrats of the North, as tending, in reality, to enslave themselves, and as unconstitutional; in fact, as you of the South regard the interference of Congress in the Slavery question. Again, they say if the South will form an alliance with the Whigs of the North, (who are known to be openly committed to the Wilmot Proviso), then let them look to that party for support on the Slavery question, especially when, by silence, they suffer a Northern Democrat to be beaten by a Southern Whig, since that office, for so long a time, has been filled by Southern gentlemen.

Sound or not sound, this is the way they reason. I am on terms of friendship and intercourse with many leading Democrats in N. England, (and among them Gen's Cushing,[55] Pierce,[56] of N. H., Rantoul,[57] et als), and know in the reasons(?) above mentioned is to be found the apparent caving in, on the part of the Democrats of the North.

Now, how can this question be *amicably* settled? That is the question. I confess I can see but one way, and that, I believe, you gentlemen of the South, *if united*, can bring about. If we get along in this matter without *dissolution* (Oh! what a horrible idea.) I think there can be no doubt but that the essential features and principles of our present revenue and financial systems, will, in the end, become firmly established:—their change will be injurious; they may be somewhat modified in detail, as occasion and the real good of the country may require. To this, I think, the *Whigs* of the South *ought* to assent, for the sake of the Union, at least, for the present. With the present complexion of the Senate, they probably cannot be changed for the next two years. If this can be fixed upon in your meeting to be had on the 15th inst., then, it seems to me the way is open for a settlement of this matter:—Gen. Taylor is not supposed, generally, to be under any pledges to any party,—but I have no doubt, he will yield to the general wish of the South. Now, suppose, in his inaugural address,

[55] Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1835–1843; commissioner to China, 1843–1845; served in the Mexican War; defeated as Democratic candidate for governor in 1847 and again in 1848; Attorney General under Pierce, 1853–1857; president of the Democratic National Convention at Charleston, 1860.

[56] Franklin Pierce, a Democrat of New Hampshire, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1833–1837; Senator, 1837–1842; served in the Mexican War; President of the United States, 1853–1857.

[57] Robert Rantoul, jr., a Democrat of Massachusetts, was Senator for a time in 1851, and Member of the House of Representatives, 1851–1852.

he should, protesting against any desire to influence the legislation of Congress, squint pretty strongly at an approval of Democratic Republican principles, and, in the organization of his cabinet, should select sound conservative men of the South, and such sound conservative men of the North as Douglas,[58] Woodbury, Worth, or Dickenson,[59] or Marcy of N. York, or others of the Democratic party, sending the more talented and moderate of the Whigs of the North abroad, and observing generally, in his appointments, at the North, a prudent and cautious course, of nominating to office the moderate and influential of both parties, having regard to this great question. In this way I sincerely believe, support from the North, sufficient with the united front of the South may be secured to settle amicably this difficult question. If this disappoint the Whigs of the North, why so be it—they richly deserve it. They canont justly complain of treachery either on the part of Gen. Taylor or of Southern Whigs; because of their utter disregard to truth and Southern principles upon this very measure, in the recent election. If they do, it will avail nothing,—they can do nothing. Such a policy on the part of Gen. Taylor, while it would tend to erradicate the corruptions that have existed in the machinery of the Democratic party, would lay deep and sure the foundation for a great constitutional Republican party, that will ride over all obstacles, and grind up all factions of northern fanatics, as a peppercorn between the upper and nether millstones. We shall have then, in this party, the great body of the South and of the Democrats of the North, together with the patriotic, wise and unselfish of the Whigs of the North.

If you of the South, as a whole, *can* agree upon and recommend to Gen. Taylor a course of policy of this or a similar character, I cannot doubt its success.

Let me not be understood as having any particular preference to the names I have mentioned. Though formerly on the most friendly terms with Judge Woodbury, in April last I was somewhat offended with him, and still am, (perhaps wrongfully) from the manner in which he saw fit to conduct [himself] in a very important case in which Mr. Rantoul Jr and myself were engaged on the same side, as counsel, and the Hon. R. Choat, B. R. Curtis,[60] the Judge's son,[61] and two others

[58] Stephen Arnold Douglas, a Democrat of Illinois, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1843–1847; Senator, 1847–1861.

[59] Daniel Stevens Dickinson, a Democrat of New York, was Senator, 1844–1851; delegate to the party national conventions in 1844 and 1852, and to the Union convention of 1864. His famous resolutions on slavery in the Territories were introduced into the Senate on Dec. 14, 1847.

[60] Benjaming Robbins Curtis, a lawyer of Boston, Mass., was appointed to the Supreme Court of the United States in 1851; he rendered a dissenting opinion in the Dred Scott case, upholding the right of Congress to prohibit slavery in the Territories; resigned in 1857 and resumed the practice of law in Boston. In the impeachment trial of President Johnson in 1868 he was one of the counsel for the defense. He was a brother of George Ticknor Curtis.

[61] Charles Levi Woodbury, son of Levi Woodbury, the Supreme Court Justice, a lawyer of Portsmouth, N. H.

from N. York, upon the other. But this does [not] prevent me from supporting him when I think he may benefit the country.

I hope and trust our Southern brethren will neither be hasty nor rash,—but sincerly pray God, you may by prudence and caution, and a proper exercise of the influence of your position upon Gen. Taylor, in whose hands, in my opinion, are committed the destinies of this Republic in a greater degree, owing to the circumstances, than they ever have been to any one man since the days of Washington, bring about such a state of things as shall carry our beloved country, in its integrity, along in its high way of liberty, to glory and renown.

I trust I need not say to you, that I am utterly opposed to placing the African races, on this Continent, upon an equal footing with myself, or that I prefer the Bill reported at the last session by Senator Clayton,[62] for the settlement of this question, to any other proposition yet made to my knowledge. I have no sort of sympathy with the Abolition politicians of the North, of whatever hue, with those *pseudo philanthropists*, who, while they strain every nerve to grind down the honest industry of the North, assume to dictate to Southern taskmasters not more severe.

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From Wilson Lumpkin

ATHENS [GA.,] *Jany. 3d, 1849.*

MY DEAR SIR I pass by unnoticed, all other subjects, however important they may be, for the purpose of dwelling for a moment, on the subject of the slave question, in its present aspect. It must now be obvious to every informed person, that the argument upon this subject is exausted.

The people of the slave holding states, must submit to degradation, inequality and the most flagrant injustice: or resist, as best they may, the arrogant strides of an unconstitutional and despotic majority.

A few days will give the result of your Southern Congressional meeting.[63] What will be the *tone*, and *harmony* of that meeting, I shall impatiently await to know.

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[62] The so-called Clayton Compromise plan provided Territorial organization for Oregon, New Mexico, and California, leaving the question of slavery to the operation of the Constitution of the United States as interpreted hy the Supreme Court of the United States. It was proposed in the Senate in July, 1848, and passed there, hut was shelved in the House.

[63] On Dec. 11, 1848, Daniel Gott, an antislavery Whig Representative from New York, offered a resolution to instruct the proper committee to hring in a bill to prohibit the slave trade in the District of Columhia. This passed on the 21st, 98 to 88, and a paper calling for a meeting of the southern delegates in Congress was circulated. On Dec. 23, 69 Members came together. A special committee of one from each slave State was appointed to draw an address to the people of the Southern States;t his committee chose a suhcommittee of five. Calhoun wrote the address and reported it to a meeting of the southern Memhers on Jan. 15, with 88 present. Disagreement followed and the address was recommitted. Another meeting of the "Southern Caucus" was held Jan. 22. The address was then adopted and signed hy 48 members, all Democrats save two. The Whigs withdrew from the movement.

Much depends upon the course which may be taken, by Southern men, who are now members of Congress. Every patriot of the South, ought at this time, to throw aside all former *party* shackels, and stand firmly on the constitutional rights of his constituents.

We have already yielded so much on this subject, for the sake of peace and Union, that we have lost the respect of our oppressors, and to no small extent, our self respect. I presume some of the most extravagant measures of the majority, on the slave subject, will be checked by Mr. Polk's vetoe, for the present; but this will only add fuel to the flame of infatuation, which is daily increasing in the non slave-holding States. Nothing now can quench this fire of *Hell*, but the united resistance of the South. And now the great question is, will the South patriotically unite upon this subject? I regret to say, I have strong doubts. On this subject I have not entire confidence in any State in the Union, except South Carolina. Believe me when I assure you, that our own beloved South, has many, very many, anti-slavery people in her bosom. People whose sympathies are with our vilest enemies. Nevertheless, in all the slave States, a majority will act with us, if we take decided ground, and act promptly and energetically. And thus, a decided course taken without delay, would silence, if not overwhelm, the leaven of disaffection, dispersed throughout the South. We have everything to lose, and nothing to gain, by a longer agitation of the slave question. Our opponents know, that time and agitation, is rapidly consummating all that, they desire. The gold excitement in California, will exclude slavery from all that region. Not because negroes are not superior laborers for mineing, but because slave holders, will not under existing circumstances run the risque of loosing their slaves. For myself, I prefer anything, that could befal me, to submission, to such Tyranny, as is decreed against the South, by the non slave holding States. I have confidence in God, in his truth and justice; and now nearly 66 years old, I would sholder my muskett and die in the field like a man, rather than wear the chains forged for my hands, by a people, who of all others, deserve to be detested by God and man, for their want of good faith to their confideing brethren.

From Louis T. Wigfall

MARSHALL [TEX.,] *January 4, 1849.*

MY DEAR SIR I take the liberty of sending you a copy of a Preamble and Resolutions adopted at a public meeting in this place. I trust that they will be responded to in other portions of the State. If they are not I am pursuaded that twill be only because the people are not aware of the dangers impending. The Resolutions were opposed both in the Committee and at the meeting by Mr. Hall

on the ground that they contained an attack on Genl. Houston and Mr. Polk and yet he was sustained by only three persons. Judging from the feelings of the people here, in this county I mean, I infer that Texas is ready whenever the occasion arrises to hazard as much for the Constitution of 87 as she did for that of 24. I have endeavoured, as you will see from the Preamble and Resolutions, to draw the public attention to our rights *under the Constitution* and recognise *only* the *Compromises which it contains*. If we admit the propositions that our only hope of safety is in the Union and that members of Congress can, under the name of compromise, alter the Constitution, the South is doomed. It seems to me that our only and last hope now is to stand upon the Constitution and declare that whilst we are willing to preserve the Union of 87 we will enter into no other nor allow its existence.

Texas would probably not take the lead in opposition to the application of the Proviso to the Territories of New Mexico and California; but would follow willingly and almost unanimously the lead of any other State. I see from the papers that South Carolina is thinking about "United Southern action." I trust that 'tis not all she thinks of. The South I have hitherto thought could not be united for a blow, but when the blow is struck would unite for defense and stand as one man. There must be a Wat Tiler to knock down the excise man. I shall be disappointed if South Carolina does not on this occasion strike the blow. Upon the Boundary question [64] Texas will act boldly and promptly. She claims to the Rio Grande and will beyond doubt maintain that claim at all hazards.

I see from the papers that a proposition has been made to admit California and New Mexico at once as a State. If such a proposition has been made with any prospect of being acted upon I should be glad to know your views. I believe there is *nothing in the Constitution* which fixes either the population or size of a Territory applying for admission as a State. If Congress has the *legal* right to make a State of California and New Mexico; the want of equity would be so obvious as to warrant us in objecting [at] all hazards. The object is manifestly to exclude Slavery and it is a matter of but little importance to us, practically, how we are deprived of our share of the common conquest and purchase.

I trust, my dear Sir, that you will excuse the liberty I take in addressing you at all and particularly the freedom with which I write. I thought that it might not be without interest to you to know the feeling of the people in this section upon the engrossing topics which are agitating the whole country and have therefore sent you our Resolutions which I trust will meet your approbation. Gen.

[64] This refers to the dispute over the boundary between Texas and New Mexico.

Rusk [65] will tell you that the Committee and officers are of the most respectable of our population. Your own views I have taken the liberty of asking because of the confidence I feel in them. I will only add that they are asked for my own guidance only. It seems to me that the time is rapidly approaching when the South will have to act and I desire to be in the right position when she does. I trust that my motives will be a sufficient excuse for my addressing you in a manner and with a freedom which the difference in our ages and positions might forbid.

From Jeremiah Clemens [66]

HUNTSVILLE, ALA. *Jan 8, 1849.*

DR SIR, I hope you will pardon the liberty I have taken in addressing this letter to you. I am desirous of obtaining some information which I believe you better able to supply than any one else. It is my purpose to urge upon the people of Ala., during the next summer, the propriety of passing a law to prevent the further introduction of slaves into the State, because such a law would, to some extent, prevent the States nearest the free States, (Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri for instance) from pouring that class of their population upon us, and then, when they are no longer interested in maintaining the institution of Slavery, becoming allies of the Abolitionists, or at least very uncertain friends to the planting States. As aids in this purpose I wish to obtain, or be refered to, such documents as contain a history of the "rise and progress" of Abolitionism, and also such statistical information as may be of use, in relation to the migration of the Slave population from the States referred to, or from other States now free, to a more Southern latitude.

I have ventured to address you in the belief that you could readily furnish me with the documents alluded to. If I am mistaken, however and if it will put you to any inconvenience, I beg that you will not trouble yourself about the matter. I can probably obtain them from other Sources.

Either of the Senators from Alabama [67] will give you any information you may desire in relation to myself or any assurance of the uses to which I shall put such documents as you may forward.

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[65] Thomas Jefferson Rusk, born in South Carolina, began the practice of law in Georgia; later he moved to Texas in 1835, and was the first Secretary of War for the new Republic. He took command of the forces at the battle of San Jacinto after General Houston was wounded. Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Texas, 1838–1842; Democratic Senator, 1846–1857.

[66] Jeremiah Clemens was a lawyer of Alabama; appointed by Van Buren United States attorney for the Middle and Northern District of Alabama in 1837; member of the Alabama Legislature for several years; raised a company of volunteers for service in the Mexican War in 1847; elected Senator in 1849 for four years, to fill the unexpired term of Dixon H. Lewis, deceased.

[67] William R. King and Benjamin Fitzpatrick.

From George B. Butler.

NEW YORK [N. Y.,] *January 26, 1849*

MY DEAR SIR You may see in the Journal of Commerce some of the articles editorial and in the shape of communications in relation to yourself and be curious to know their author. They were written by me. The first was a leading Editorial over a fortnight ago, the 2d a letter from Washington signed Viator written at Mr. Hill's in relation to yr admini[stration] of the War Department, the third the article enclosed. The public sentiment is somewhat improved on this subject, but I am amazed at the indifference manifested here (except by a few) and regret to think that nothing but a shock will set men to thinking on the subject.

My arduous duties as Attorney of the Hudson River Rail Road Co. and secretary of the Board, prevent much attention to any other subject. The signature "Fordham" is the place of my Country residence in Westchester Co. The President of our Board is the late Comptroller of this State Mr. A. C. Flagg who is quiet about politics, though connected with Mr Van Buren and his policy.

I found a letter a day or two ago written by Silas Wright on the subject of interfering with Slavery in the District, and he cautions those to whom it is addressed to beware of the men who attempt to disturb it. I shall publish it soon with some remarks.

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From C. R. Clifton

JACKSON, MISS. *Jany. 30, 1849.*

SIR,

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Allow me to add that the settlement of the slavery question ought not to be postponed. We are much stronger now, than we shall be two or five years hence. Let the extreme South be urged to pass laws, immediately—prohibiting the introduction of Slaves—and thus force Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri, to stand their ground, and make common cause with us. If not otherwise, it could be effectually checked, if each State would declare who should be slaves—that is—those who now are such, within their limits, and the descendants of the females thereof; tho' this would require reflection.

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From F. W. Byrdsall

NEW YORK, [N. Y.,] *Feby. 1st, 1849.*

DEAR SIR, I have read the address [68] adopted by the convention of Southern members of Congress to their constituents, as published

[68] Calhoun's Works, Vol VI, p. 285.

in the New York Herald, of which if published in pamphlet form, I shall look to you for a copy. From the commencement of the movement in Washington, all the newspapers here have been using the worst arts of the press to decry it and misrepresent the motives of those concerned in it; for it is a lamentable fact that most of the Editors, correspondents and owncrs of the public press, are men who have little or no regard for truth, impartiality, or personal honor. But notwithstanding all the charges of treason, conspiracy, denunciation, contempt and abuse that have been published the address will perform an important mission to the Confederacy. I blcss its appearance and hail it with hopefullness. It has my hearty approval.

The calm statement of wrongs sustained by the facts adduced, clearly demonstrates that nothing less than patriotic union amongst the Southern people can preserve them from the tide of encroachment upon their rights, encreasing year after year in magnitude. The address will go before the constituents of those who have endorsed it and those who opposed it, and this ordeal will decide the fate of the Southern States. I cannot suppose that the people of the South will prove recreant to their rights, their interests and their honor. The supporters of the address must come out of the trial before the people triumphantly. Give us a victory in all the slave states and then the issue will come up before the people of the free States, broadly, clearly and mightily, that Wilmot provisoes, abolitionism and all other aggressions and insults upon the South, must cease, or the Union is dissolved. Bring such an issue home to the heads and hearts of the North, make it as clear as the noontide sun, and at once the whole pack of incendiaries, Demagogues, venal politicians and unprincipled presses, will be abandoned and left to merited odium, detested by every patriot. This is the true way of preserving the constitution and union of the States.

The very anxiety to create prejudice in advance against the Southern movement, the base charges one day, the ridicule on another, the denunciation afterwards, with the avidity to seize on every little incident adverse to it, and thc praise bestowed on those who endcavored to frustrate it, or turned the cold shoulder upon it, are decided evidences of alarm, showing clearly that whether the Southern members do or do not understand the pith, value and mighty consequences that would follow a union of the Southern States in a common cause, that northern cunning fully comprehends what would ensue in this part of the Union. They dread it.

The existence of secret organizations in the free states to aid the escape of runaway negroes is so self evident that no one north of the Potomac would deem it necessary to ask for proof. Yet this is not all, for there is self evidence of the existence of funds for the furtherance of the same object, for in no case that I ever heard of, where a

runaway negro was brought up before any court, did there appear any lack of means or lawyers to aid and assist the runaway. But the case is different as regards poor white people. A late presentment of a grand jury of the county demonstrates that many hundreds were held imprisoned on Blackwell's Island because they had not money nor lawyers to maintain their rights.

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From J. C. Weems [69]

Traceys Landing P. O.,
Loch Eden [*Md.,*] *19 Feby 1849*

My Dear Sir Yesterdays mail brought me the Southern Address or rather the Address of the truly honourable Southern Delcgates in Congress to their Constituents drawn up by you and signed as I perceive by 48, would to God the other Southern Delegates had all done likewise. (I will not say could have seen as did the 48 because I cannot believe otherwise than that they do see, i. e., the whole of them). But a servile fear of thcir loss of Popularity, *their Idol*, alone prevented. And Poor Old Maryland stands it would secm at the head of the disgraced list. Not one individual's (Whig or Democrat) name on the list and why is it so? It does not require a Prophet or the son of a Prophet to give the answer. So nearly equal do the Parties stand in Md that a very few votes taken from either side and given to the other so complectly elevates or depresses the Beam of Party scales as to induce such Pittyfull political miscreants rather to commit perjury (as all inevitably do who sware to support the Constitution) than to chance the consequence of the loss of a few abolition votes.

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From W. Gilmore Simms[70]

Woodlands [S. C.,] *Feb 19, 1849*

Dear Sir I am indebted to you for a pamphlet copy of your admirable address to the Southern States, for which you will please reccive my acknowledgements. That it did not receive the unanimous signature of the Southern Delegates, is, I apprehend to be ascribed only to the demoralizing influence of party organization, the very worst of the evils which, it appears to me, threatens our section. Still, its effects will be mcasurably beneficial. It will lessen the insolence of our enemies, in alarming their fears. It will put off the

[69] John C. Weems, of Maryland, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1826–1829.

[70] William Gilmore Simms, the famous poet and novelist of South Carolina, was for many years a member of the State legislature.

day of evil, and contribute considerably towards preparing our people for it. By the way, I am greatly disposed to think that our people of the Southern States are in advance, on this subject, of their halting representatives. I do not doubt that they will have to pay a heavy penalty yet to the popular feeling for the selfish coldness and indifference which baffled your efforts at unanimity—the only thing which is necessary towards the complete triumph of the South in regard to this vexing question.

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From Robert Wickliffe

LEXINGTON, [KY.] *Feby 26th 1849*

MY DEAR SIR I thank you for your draft of the Address to the South upon the subject of the aggressions of the North upon the rights of the South. I had before, read it with instruction and pleasure. Ever since the second marriage between Adams and Clay (in forty one) I have trembled for the condition of the South and in my feeble way warned the South that nothing but unanimity could save them, but still the South is not and I fear never will present the undivided front which brave men, should do. Time was when I could keep Kentucky straight but the President makers have sealed her fate, I fear, for while there is not a man in the whole Legislature that dare avow himself an emancipator or a free Soiler, still, every Whig voter of the Legislature voted for Clay, one of the champions of freesoilism. Without union the South is to be used up in the next six years. The house is already prepared for all and every outrage upon the slaveholder and the majority in the Senate is melting away. The moment they secure the Senate, they will go it with a rush (as the vulgar[ism] is) until the South will have to choose between fighting the negroe stealers and the negroes themselves. I am from position and age unable to aid in averting the black crisis which the South has brought on herself by her divisions and Clay delusions beyond the feeble voice which I have long extended to rally the whole South particularly my own state against the combination of Whiggery and negrory; but while nineteen twentieths of the slaveholders are violent against negroe stealers, none but the Democrats vote against negroe stealing and the combination of the negroe party of the North and the Whigs of the South. What Southerner can look a man in the face and cry out I am no abolitionist that voted for Fillmore, and there are miriads that do it expecting the conservatives of both parties to protect them. May you live to open the eyes of the South in time to save her from her greatest and worst enemy, herself.

From F. W. Byrdsall

NEW YORK [N. Y.,] *March 16th 1849*

DEAR SIR,

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I judge that the address of the Southern members of Congress to their Constituents is doing its work well from the fact that Houston of Texas has come out with a pronunciamento; so has the other Southern members who voted against the adoption of the address, and so has Mr. Westcott [71] with an explanation in the Senate Chamber. It is the fear of the address and its consequences that brought out Houston, and not your Charleston speech nearly a year old. His production has the features of demagogueism upon its front; his artful conjuration of his reminiscences of Andrew Jackson is intended to evoke the prejudices of the past as aids to his enmity. There is a spirit of rancorous ambition that speaks not well for his head or heart.

I have seen an extract of the address of the Southern members in opposition to yours,[72] in vindication of themselves. It seems like a petitioning appeal to the north and South rather than a statement of wrongs, or a declaration of Rights. These men must have read history to little or unprofitable instruction. When did a sense of justice or the dictates of magnanimity restrain popular majorities from exercising power where prejudice, fanaticism or sectional interests led the way? The history of all democracies, aristocracies and even of our own country, all prove that those who know they have the power will exercise it justly or unjustly as it appears most advantageous to themselves. There is no other safety for rights but this—that they must not, shall not be infringed. A union of Southern Democrats and Whigs in Congress against Wilmot provisoism would have killed it forever and commanded the respect of the north. As it is I deplore it.

With Mr. Westcott's course generally I have no great fault to find, but his defence that the address did not go far enough in denunciation is not cogent. If it did not go far enough he could not deny with reason his acquiescence to [it] as far as it did go. He should have signed it.

It is in the power of Gen. Taylor to reorganize the political parties of the Country different from, and better for Constitutional doctrines, than they now are. Here again it is bad that the South is not united, for union amongst Southern members against encroachments upon Constitutional rights, would aid and strengthen him in the only

[71] James Diament Westcott, a Democrat of Florida, was Senator, 1845–1849.

[72] The counter-address, lauding those of the party in the North who had in general supported the South, and insisting that the preservation of the party and not its disruption was the true way to guard southern interests, was signed by only four men—Howell Cobb and John Henry Lumpkin of Georgia, and Linn Boyd and Beverly L. Clarke of Kentucky.

course that would eventually, because of such union, make his administration popular and do good to the Country.

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From W. P. Starke [73]

CHARLESTON, S. C. *April 4 '49*

DEAR SIR I found in the Hamburg Post Office the other day a package addressed to me bearing your frank upon its envelope. I have also to acknowledge with many thanks the receipt of the Southern Address in pamphlet form. The Address I read with the attention claimed by everything coming from under your pen. The careless indifference manifested by the South to open and repeated assaults upon rights so solemnly guaranteed is to my mind pregnant with vast mischief not only to her, but to the Union. What means this moral paralysis? While pain lasts there is always life and hope, but in the manifestation which brings relief to the patient his physician detects the premonitions of death. It is time for the people of the South to look the crisis boldly in the face. It will not do for us to hide our heads in the sand and imagine the danger is gone. We have tried tolerance long enough and it will be criminal folly for us to look longer for salvation from others. We have thrown grass at those who have wantonly invaded our rights with no effect and like the man in the Fable we must now try "what virtue there is in stones."

I wrote on the subject of giving the election of Electors to the people but did not print. In preparing for my examination for admission to the bar I had not the time to finish my investigation in a manner to suit me. Whenever the question arises again I shall endeavor to be at my post. Our Legislature did not seem to have a right conception of the importance of the question. I am afraid I don't misrepresent them, when I say there was hardly an advocate of the existing mode who would have risked the loss of his dinner upon the event. Everything seems to be preparing for Carolina her day of little things.

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From F. W. Byrdsall

NEW YORK [N. Y.,] *April 20th 1849*

DEAR SIR,

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I enclose you the description of the Clay birthday Festival, in which the unmistakable evidences of the Whig feeling towards General

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[73] Col. William Pinkney Starke was a native of the Calhoun region in South Carolina. He resided for some time at Fort Hill with Colonel Clemson, engaged, at the latter's instance, in preparing a biography of Calhoun from the papers left by him. See Calhoun Correspondence, edited by Jameson, pp. 18, 65.

Taylor are manifested. I do not blame those Whigs who are faithful in their devotion to Henry Clay, and I certainly like the conduct of those who declare their devotion to him. They are honester men than the Taylor Whigs of the North, who are using Taylor as they would an orange—squeeze the juice out and then throw away the rind. Such Yankee Whigs as Greely detest the idea of a slaveholder being President. They hate him too as a military man, as well as a Southerner. They are making much of him now, for the sake of the official patronage in his gift, and they (his advisers) are holding up the administration of Tyler to him as a president without a party, thus weaning him off the platform he erected before his election for himself to stand on subsequently. According to his voluntary pledges and declarations of being President, not of a party, but of the whole people, of carrying out the scheme of no party, of having no enemies to punish, etc. Democrats so called have as much reason and right under his pledges to be applicants for office as Whigs. It was upon his pledges of party neutrality and independence that he obtained the suffrages of a majority of the people, and I deny the right of any man to make professions calculated to win votes to be afterwards falsified. What is this but obtaining the Presidency and all its concomitants on false pretences?

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Fisher's lecture on the North and the South,[74] for the two copies of which I beg you to accept my thanks, is calculated to do much good. I have had them read pretty extensively already, and we are trying to get it in one of the papers of largest circulation. I like it because it shows cause for Citizens of the Slave States to be well satisfied with their social condition and that slavery is not detrimental to their moral, political or temporal welfare; and it proves to the people of the free States that Equal and exact justice has not been done to the South, neither by Congressional legislation nor public opinion.

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From F. W. Byrdsall

New York [N. Y.,] *May 7th 1849*

Dear Sir, Virginia has set an example to all the States South and Southwest of Mason and Dixon's line, which if they follow, will secure their just and constitutional rights,—will revolutionize public opinion in the northern States,—preserve the Confederacy from dissolution, and consequently the worse of all intestine feuds, the war of races.[75] I rejoice over the defeat of Pendleton,[76] as there was a great

[74] Elwood Fisher's "Lecture on the North and the South," published in 1849.

[75] This refers to a recent Democratic victory in Virginia.

[76] John Strother Pendleton, of Virginia, was chargé d'affaires to Chile, 1841–1844; Whig Member of the House of Representatives 1845–1849; chargé d'affaires to Argentine, 1851–1854.

principle involved, for I hold a Southern traitor in these days in perfect abhorrence, as a traitor to the whole Union. He who is elected in his stead is, I learn, a Brother of the recently chosen U. S. Senator of Florida,[77] who was supported in the Legislature of that State by the Democratic Members. An old friend of mine, the member from Jefferson County, wrote to me on the first of Jany. last:—"We have just elected a successor to Mr. Westcott—and in this matter we the Democratic party claim we have accomplished SOMETHING. The Whig nominee Ward is defeated by our running Morton. On the first balloting Ward got 27 votes, Morton 29, blank 2. On the second Morton 30, Ward 27, blank 1, necessary to a choice 30.—we, the Democrats 22, voting for Morton." All things considered, I am inclined to believe that both these Mortons are only half Whigs, at all events they are republicans upon the subject of free soilism.

Wilmot Provisoism would not have made such headway against the South if it had not been for certain fools and traitors from the Slave States as Benton, Houston, Stephens, Pendelton and others in Congress and Henry Clay out of Congress. Had the Southern Democrats and Whigs stood together as a firm phalanx in the common cause of the sacred rights of all their constituents, Northern members would have collected around them anxious to be foremost in standing by the rights of the South and public opinion would have been shaped accordingly. The open desertion of these fools or traitors—the cold shoulder of other Southern men was deemed by the rest of the world as an acknowledgment that the Southern Cause was a bad one; hence popular opinion against the South accumulated to a tremendous extent, the few northern men who dared to stand for the right were proscribed and persecuted—the press is not open to our vindication nor for love, and only for money when the amount is large, and thus does there exist a Crusade more becoming the dark ages than one of civilization.

And there are other points growing out of this state of things which Southern men should know. The Clay Whigs, Filmore & Co., and the anti Clay Whigs, Seward & Co., are becoming united in this State for the contest of 1852 under the master spirit Seward. They are united in the project of obtaining from the Taylor administration the controll and dispensation of the Executive patronage of the General Government in this State, to be divided between both sections of Whiggery, but to be alloted only to those who will use their position and influence to elevate him whom the calculating Whigs believe can carry this State against any competitor under the present condition of parties. Seward is a most able political tactitian, as well as Demagogue. It was he who when Governor of this State on a fourth of July

[77] Jackson Morton was Senator from Florida in 1849 as the successor to J. D. Westcott; Jeremiah Morton was a Member of the House of Representatives from Virginia.

addressed the Sunday School children en masse of New York assembled on Staten Island and said to them "that it was true we had attained political cquality, but not that social equality of condition without which our System of Government would prove a failure." I quote from memory and am certain of being correct in meaning and substance. It was this Governor too who recommended to the State Legislature that in our public schools the German, the Celtic, the Dutch, the French and other European languages should be taught in order that Emigrants could have their children trained to spcak their mother tongue. It was this Wm. H. Seward who defeated in 1840 the nomination of Henry Clay for the Presidency, and although the latter knows all this and has hated him accordingly, yet such may be the event of the future, however strange now (unless some intervention of Providence occurs in the mean time), that the mighty Henry Clay may live to discover that the impressions made upon the Whigs of the North by his Lexington Speech and Resolutions—his recent abolition movements—that in fact himself as well as strongest friends will be all useful and even used for the elevation of Seward, a competitor he probably never contemplated. But these are not all, for the Sage of Lindewald,[78] his Buffalo platform and dough head Barn burners have been contributing to this result, together with the hero of Buena Vista, if he ever *surrenders* the Executive patronage to Seward, Filmore & Co. These are the materials which the master hand of the politician has to shape to the end in view, and when we add to these the fact that he has gained the approbation of the naturalized Citizens, especially the Irish and German Catholics and their Bishop, a mighty Ally; that he has the Abolitionists or Semi Abolitionists—free soil men of all parties—the anti masons, anti renters, Socialists, Fourierists and majority of the Whig party, with Weed,[79] Greely,[80] etc., etc., the denouement of the political drama now commenced may be calculated. Oh, it is a spectacle to excite the mockery of a Mephistophiles to behold the great men of this day hcretofore the principal characters on our political stage, becoming knowingly or unknowingly subordinates to Wm. H. Seward.

The preservation of our Republic depends upon the South maintaining their rights, with a proper regard for their institutions and that self respect to induce union which will command respect every where. By proper regard for their institutions, I mean a patriotic pride in the mighty incontrovertible fact that nowhere on this habitable globe is there as little pauperism, destitution, suffering and crime, in proportion to population, as in the Slave States of this Union.

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[78] Van Buren.

[79] Thurlow Weed, of New York, was a journalist and leading Whig politician.

[80] Horace Greeley was the famous Whig editor of the New York Tribune.

The speculations which I have sketched in this letter respecting the political schemes of parties here are by no means only visible to me. They are as well or better understood by many others. In conversation with Mr. Hunt, brother of the Comptroller of this State,[81] a few days ago, a democrat and author of the anti Wilmot Proviso tract, he expressed himself so much to the point that I requested him to put the same in writing for your perusal. I enclose you what he wrote, though it is much more brief and goes not into the numerous particulars upon which his views are founded.

It is lamentable that General Taylor was taken up for the presidency because he was popular in the first instance, but really afterwards because he declared he knew nothing about the questions which divided political parties—that he had not voted in his life (if I recollect rightly)—that he would yield to the majority in Congress, etc., etc., and therefore the designing politicians conceived he would be a plastic tool in their hands. For so far they appear to be gradually using him to perform their wishes instead of his own declarations and pledges of independence. It will require a mighty effort to regain the ground he has already surrendered.

In short, my dear Sir, I am satisfied that the salvation of this Confederacy from the evils which now beset it depends entirely upon the Southern States, and therefore I write to you as the man having preeminently the wisdom and virtue to meet the crisis. I once had enthusiastic faith in the intelligence and virtue of the people, but experience has taught me to have faith in the intelligence of the Intelligent, and the virtue of the Virtuous. Popular opinion under the influence of a vicious public press is often erroneous. Our only trust therefore is in a benign providence and the wise and good men of our Country.

From H. S. Foote [82]

WASHINGTON [D. C.,] *June 5th, 1849.*

MY DEAR SIR: I have just read one half of Colonel Benton's Wilmot Proviso speech just delivered in Missouri. I would send the paper containing it to you, but for the fact that there is only a single copy in town, and that belongs to the Intelligencer office, which the Editors are reserving until the other half shall arrive, designing to publish the whole speech in their paper. It is the most labored speech of his life, full of fierce invective and coarse appeals to the worst passions of human nature. The whole speech, so far as I have read it, is devoted to a review of your course upon the question

[81] Washington Hunt was elected comptroller of the State of New York in 1849 and governor in 1850; he was a Whig Member of the House of Representatives, 1843–1849; in 1852 he was defeated for governor by Seymour, the Democratic candidate. His brother, Edward Bissell Hunt, was an Army engineer.

[82] Henry Stuart Foote, of Mississippi, was Senator, 1847–1851; governor, 1852–1854.

of slavery in [the] Territories. I am decidedly of opinion, my dear Sir, that it is calculated to do us much harm, if it is not seasonably countered. I am further of opinion that no man can do this but yourself. He is intrinsically beneath your notice, in my judgment a traitor to his country and to the South in particular, a base unprincipled man. And yet he has it in his power, owing somewhat to accidental circumstances, and somewhat to his extraordinary energy of character, to do us deep injury at this crisis. You cannot, as I think, refrain from responding to him, without much peril to the Union and the South. But in what more do you prefer doing it? Will you deliver a speech, or publish an exposé in your own State? Or would you prefer being written to from Washington requesting you to make an immediate reply? Either of these courses, it seems to me, would be sufficiently eligible.

I had intended last week at the Richmond dinner, expected to have come off in honor of the recent democratic victory achieved in Virginia, and to which I had the honor of being invited, to review Mr. Benton's whole course on the subject, and to prefer special charges in addition. The editors of the Union desired that I should do so, and certain enlightened friends in and about Richmond. I had looked into his whole political life for the right kind of materials and flatter myself that I had collected them in rich abundance. But the cholera broke out at Richmond, and my speech was not delivered, as the dinner expected was postponed. I may, and probably shall, in a few days address the people of Mississippi in defence of myself against the accusation of being unfriendly to the Union, which Mr. Benton has dared to prefer against all of us who participated in the Southern movement. But this will be a merely *local* affair. I have no *national* character, nor the high powers of discussion requisite for dealing with this momentous question in all its bearings and aspects. Let me earnestly insist upon your throwing aside all feelings of delicacy in regard to this matter, and coming out without delay in defence of our rights and our honor.

Whatever you choose to write will be at once published in the Union, with approbatory comments.

When I shall obtain a copy of Mr. B's speech *in extenso* I will cause you to be supplied with it.

From Henry Young

New York [N. Y.,] *June 6, '49*

My dear Sir Some days since I wrote you giving you my opinion on the *Signs of the Times*. You will recollect that I then said that appearnces indicated that Col Benton was to be the next Free Soil Candidate for the Presidency.

My acquaintance with some of the leading members of that party enables me to judge with tolerable accuracy. That question may be regarded as now settled. Col Benton will come fully up to the standard of the party. He may even be a little ultra and will the more certainly rely on being elected.

The Whig party are alarmed throughout the whole Northern States. The only chance they have in the opinion of the most inteligent leaders of the party is to come fully up to the Free Soil Standard.

In the late Congressional Election in Connecticut they ventured to put up Candidates that were suspected of being unfriendly to the exclusion of Slavery in the new Territory and were defeated even where they were known to have a large majority if they could bring all out.

How far Col Benton will be able to get the support of the Southern States may be uncertain even of the democratic ones but his nomination will compel the Whigs to select a candidate equally opposed to the institutions of the South and the most ultra will be apt to command the greatest number of votes. Col Benton is supposed by his Free Soil freinds to be a man who will not be behind his opponent coming up to the Standard.

You will see by the movements in California that we have but little to hope for there and if we may credit the knowing ones here that our prospects are little if any better in New Mexico. Large sums of money and able men have been entrusted with the especial care of the matter in that Territory. The next movement will be to drive the Institution out of the District of Columbia. Those interested there will be very glad they say to compromise by agreeing to exclude the Slave trade and to a prohibition of the introduction of any more slaves into the District, and a provision that all born after the passage of the law shall be free at 21. On this Col Benton will be expected to speak soon and next under every and all circumstances to admit no more Slave States into the Union.

The next prominent movement will be to anex the British Provinces. There is a Company or association of anexionists in this City where the matter is watched with great care. The leaders are men who were connected with the rebelion in Canada in 1837–8. They then administered an oath to such as were called Patriots. One man told me he administered the oath to 43000, most of whom were provided with arms. Recently he told me that about the same number were provided with arms, and would be ready to act by the 4th of July. I saw him a few days since and asked him if such a matter was now in contemplation; he said no. The separation from England and anexation to us would be bloodless. All could be effected by amicable arrangement.

There are Canadian merchants here frequently and with few exceptions all agree that anexation is certain and not remote. It would seem that such is the fact. So many States are directly interested that they can command a majority at any time and no effective opposition is feared.

What a pity that the South should have been deluded into the miserable policy of setting an example and getting up an excitement for anexing foreign territory, while such as we have got is turned directly against us, with the certainty of having so much more anexed as will render the very existence of our Institutions precarious, if not a speedy destruction of them.

It was much easier to see the evil than to provide a remedy. So may remonstrate but their influence will be powerless, for it must be evident to all who are acquainted with the Signs of the Times, that any opposition to the further extinsion of Territory must be unavailing.

I have remarked in conversation with these men that the South would not willingly submit to such a state of things. They say in reply that with Col Benton they shall have a part of the South or rather the South West, that the most determined opposition will be in South Carolina and that she has no strength of her own and none worthy of notice when united with such as choose to befriend her.

It is certainly deeply mortifying to my feelings to hear that State where I have lived so many years spoken of so lightly and not infrequently with derision, and by the more candid as superanuated and feeble.

I assure you my dear Sir that come what may, *Weal or Woe*, I shall ever respect you for the noble stand you took in opposing these untoward measures, and while I assure you of my respect I unite with you in my expression of mortification and regret that you were not successful.

From J. T. Trezevant

MEMPHIS [TENN.,] *June 7th 1849.*

DR. SIR, I am just in receipt of your favor. By the time this reaches you, you will have seen, that, owing to facts stated, we have deemed it best to postpone our Convention till the 16th Oct. next; at which time I trust the Southern and S. Eastern States will attend in commanding force. This I deem all important, if but to hasten a connection between this point and the South Atlantic Seaboard; and really no portion of the country designed to be benefitted by the Atlantic R. R. will be so much so, as that into whose lap our trade is poured, and to which, as a common centre, our ways of commerce are directed. Private enterprise, or state energy will accomplish it;

but the sooner it is done, the better; for it will direct public sentiment towards it, and will be regarded, at once, by Southern men, as an item (and an important one), in the chain of events that may be invoked to render us less dependent upon the North. The sooner the route from this point to the S. E. is finished, the sooner we begin to catch a great deal of trade that now goes by us, and secure a great deal that will soon go *directly east from the Ohio valley* to N. Y., if the grand system of R. R. projected from St. Louis to N. Y. be completed first. Once direct Southern travel and trade from the Northern rivers and northern cities, and direct them South, and the blow is felt; for 'tis a trade and travel of no small moment. Then I look upon a grand turn out from Va. N. C. S. C. Geo and Ala. as all important to beget and push up, a proper spirit of enterprise, in reference to connecting our great valley with the Atlantic.

But, lamentable as it is, there is a large party in our own State, disposed to cater for Northern support. Mr. Bell stands at the front, having, in his debate with Mr. Berrien, last Winter, made a bold and politic bid or *try* [?] bid for Northern votes, in 1852. Admitting in that debate the constitutionality of the Wilmot proviso, his position was caught up by the North American and the Tribune, as being orthodox, and his move in making such admission, though a Southerner, complimented as deserving more than ordinary reward. Bell carries with him nearly all of the leading Whigs of the State—Gentry,[83] Jones,[84] Brown [85] (Gov), etc., and those who dare not go quite so far, place the whole matter in charge of the Supreme Court; and own, openly and before hand, that they will *submit* when they cannot *do any better*. This is their defense; and all those who are for *preventing* the passage of such a law as the Wilmot proviso—who contend that the Constitution shall *not* be violated;—who say that they will *resist* the infraction of it, "at all hazards and to the last extremity," are called "disunionists," "agitators" etc.

'Tis a serious affair, to see, in Tenn, two parties upon this question, and shows evil influences are at work somewhere.

But the question with me has been, is it a matter with which Congress has a right to do? If not, can the *Supreme Court* take jurisdiction of it?

Will you allow me to say that your name has often been quoted here lately, by *Northern Whigs* (in spirit), as sanctioning the appeal they are willing to make to the Supreme Court? They allege that the compromise bill reported by you and Mr. Clayton recognized that right. I did not look upon that as your view, so far as I could judge

[83] Meredith Poindexter Gentry, a Whig of Tennessee, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1839–1841, 1845–1853.

[84] James C. Jones, a Whig of Tennessee, was governor, 1841–1845; Senator, 1851–1857.

[85] Neil S. Brown, a Whig of Tennessee, was governor, 1847–1849. Aaron V. Brown was a Democratic governor, 1845–1847.

from the territorial bill reported. If I am in error, will you correct me?

I will also thank you for a copy of your speech on this question (the power of Congress to exclude slavery, etc) as I am satisfied you denied that power, in some speech within the past two years.

It is a delicate question; and rendered still more so here by a division among ourselves, of which the North will take all advantage, in her future legislation.

In conclusion, my dear sir, I hope to see you and many others of your state, with us, in Oct. We want help, and that help must come from S. C. Va. and Geo. *Nashville and its influence are for St. Louis.* Most of our leading men have large interests in St. Louis, and she has, for several years, had a foolish jealousy of the commercial advantages of this point.

I again repeat, that we shall look for a large delegation from the South E. and an impetus may be given to things that may yet render the South more potent than at present.

From Richard Pollard

ALTA VISTA, NEAR WARREN, ALBEMARLE COUNTY, VA.,
June 11th, 1849.

DEAR SIR: You are justly looked upon as the most prominent Sentinel of Southern rights—the most efficient advocate of our interests. Viewing you in this character, I address this letter to you.

Since Mr. Ritchie has formed a connexion with Mr. Burke,[86] in the editorial management of *the Union*, it would appear from the Prospectus published by the two, together with the communication of Senator Foote, to the Ediotors, accompanying the proceedings of a meeting in Mississippi, upon the subject of Southern rights, and the continued aggressions of the North upon our institutions, that the *Union* is henceforth to be neutral upon the subject of the Wilmot Proviso, and its kindred associations. In this state of things ought we not to have a press at the Capitol to advocate fearlessly our Constitutional guarantees—our rights by the primary laws and legislative enactments? And can you not engage some suitable person in South Carolina to take charge of such a press? I think it would have the fullest support from all the Southern States.

Excuse me in the liberty I take in addressing to you these few lines. It is time the South should be aroused to its principles, and adopt measures to maintain them.

(P. S.) A *true* paper at Washington could doubtlessly do much for us, and would certainly be liberally and generously supoorted.

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[86] Dissatisfaction with Ritchie's proslavery leanings and his course in general aroused an expression of dissatisfaction from a caucus of some 50 or more Congressmen. Ritchie was forced to agree to associate with himself Edmund Burke as joint editor of the Union.

From Saml. Treat [87]

St. Louis Mo. *June 17, 1849*

Dear Sir: I forward to you by today's mail a copy of Col. Benton's tirade against you and the constitutional rights of the slave-holding States. I should have done this sooner, if I had not been absent from home. The design of the speech is manifold to get up a personal issue with you in order to withdraw public attention from his own faithlessnes, to bid for Abolition and Barnburner votes in the North, to secure once more the ascendency of the Van Buren, Blair and Benton faction. A determined effort is now made, and will grow more resolute each day, to hurl Benton from his seat in the Senate. On his return from Washington he published an "Appeal" from the Legislature to the people, and this speech is the opening one in the case. Mr. Jackson (the author of the resolutions) has published a statement, denying the allegations of Benton concerning their origin. Two-thirds of the Democratic papers in Missouri have denounced the Col.; and of the many public meetings held in the State, only one had gone with him. By Whig aid, which he is receiving, he may endanger the State, for the population is a strange one in many respects. Were the contest among Democrats alone, he would beaten two to one.

Although my ill-health has forced me to leave the editorial chair, I take just as lively an interest now, as ever, in the great questions of the day. A new journal will be commenced in this city in a few weeks, devoted to the constitution and Southern rights. Benton is canvassing the State, haranguing the people about your alleged movement to dissolve the Union, and seeking thus to arouse sympathy and assistance for himself. He quotes largely from some of the imprudent and unwise resolutions passed in S. Carolina, to give the appearance of truth to his imputations, and without such imprudence in S. C., he would have no ammunition whatever. The people of Missouri are devoted to the Union, and it is on that devotion he seeks to play.

Several Democrats here have desired me to write to you, with the suggestion that a calm *exposé* of Col. Benton's errors and of Southern rights under the Constitution, coming from you now, would be of vast moment. His speech is ostensibly an assault upon you and your views, and as he has chosen to assail you whilst absent, it may be well for you to vindicate yourself. The tone and temper of the "Southern Address" suit Missouri at this time. If it be consistent with your views, I hope to hear from you at an early day; but desire, whether you prepare any thing for the public or not, that you will

[87] Samuel Treat, born in Portsmouth, N. H., 1815; graduated from Harvard 1837; moved to St. Louis, Mo., in 1841, and was admitted to the bar; appointed judge of the court of common pleas in 1849; Federal district judge in eastern Missouri, 1857–1887.

favor me with private information, so that it can be used (not as coming from you) in meeting the Col's attacks.

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From H. V. Johnson

MILLEDGEVILLE, GA, *June 28, '49*

MY DEAR SIR, I have read Mr. Benton's great St. Louis Speech; and I have read it with mortification, but not with surprise. I am mortified at the exhibition which it furnished of his profound personal and political depravity. Was such arrogance, such vanity, such impudence, such falsehood, such base treachery ever before compressed, in so great abundance, in so short a compass? As a specimen of these qualities, it is indeed multum in parvo. I was not surprised however, because I was prepared for almost anything from Mr. Benton. I knew he was prepared for treason; but I confess I would have supposed, it would have been more covert. For few men have the temerity, to perpetrate that offence in open day light. I knew his hostility to you and that no assault would be too malign for him to attempt. Your purity, your inflexible firmness, your unwavering devotion to the constitution and republican principles have been a standing, living rebuke to him, for more than twenty years. With such coals of fire heaped upon his head, it is not strange, that, in his ravings, he should speak from the "abundance of his heart."

Now what I desire to say is, that I sincerely hope it will comport with your views of propriety, to reply to his attack. But my dear Sir, do not suppose from this suggestion, that I believe your fame requires it. I believe no such thing; I believe it is far out of the reach of any poisoned arrow from the quiver of Mr. Benton. I desire you to reply to it, because I solemnly believe, that in so doing, you will render important service to the South. He is not alone in his effort to bring the Southern Address into odium, by ascribing to you the authorship of the whole movement. In this he cannot succeed, except with a few who cherish unfounded and foolish prejudices against you. You know the extent and origin of these prejudices. They have been alluded to by Gen. Foot, of Miss. in his letter to Mr Wise of Va. And by the bye, Gen. Foot has exonerated you from the charge of having originated the Southern meeting very handsomely. His letter will do good in Georgia, and I doubt not in all the slave states. It will neutralize the slang by which the non-signers are seeking to throw ridicule on that movement. A reply from you I believe will do much good in the same way.

This is a crisis with the South. Those who signed the Address, are those who are emphatically her friends and on whom she is to

rely in the hour of peril. Those who failed to sign are seeking to avoid censure by expressing great devotion to the Union, and insinuating in no concealed terms that we are looking to a disruption of the Confederacy. Now is a most favorable occasion to set the public mind at perfect ease on this subject and show that we are the true friends of the Union.

When I speak of your being *charged* as the author of the Southern Meeting, you will not understand me as countenancing the idea, that it is a political sin. I really regard it as a compliment; for I believe it was a patriotic movement, and I glory in the fact of having signed the address. I use the language only as adapted to the state of the case.

Our Democratic Convention comes off on the 11th of July. From present indications, I believe we shall meet no difficulty in adopting the Va resolution [88] in full. The non-signers are alarmed and will raise no opposition. They will be very quiet, unless assailed, which will not be done.

From Rose Greenhow [89]

WASHINGTON [D. C.,] *Friday July 6th 1849*

MY DEAR SIR I cannot resist the desire to write you although I have in truth scarecely an excuse for trespassing upon your time—but having had contradictory accounts of your health I feel very anxious to hear directly from yourself. I trust that your healthful and pure pursuits may invigorate you for the arduous duties of the coming season. Indeed I wish that the crisis did not demand your presence in our National Councils, I always feel anxious about you in a stormy and exciting session, such as the next bids fair to be from present indications.

'Tis said here that the Administration will support the Wilmot Proviso, their policy so far as regards the exercise of the appointing power favors such a conclusion. Their papers all support Benton and republish everything laudatory in regard to him. The Union has decidedly improved of late, and the change is no where more perceptible than in regard to yourself. In publishing Bentons speach, they omitted the part most offensive towards you—that was it is true caused by the advice of Mr. Buchanan who was here at the time, he said that you and himself had been seperated upon some points but he had no doubt that you would both be together upon the trying questions of the day and spoke very handsomely of you. Mr.

[88] The Virginia resolutions were to the effect that in the event of the passage of the Wilmot Proviso principle in any form, or a law abolishing slavery or the slave trade in the District of Columbia, the governor should convene the legislature to consider measures of redress.

[89] Mrs. Rose Greenhow was the wife of Robert Greenhow; he was translator to the Department of State from 1828 to 1850. He wrote two valuable works on the history of Oregon.

Ritchie is now disposed to defer to your wishes and views in a great measure, he told me that this paper was open to you in any way. But at the same time said, that his position was a delicate one, that although he was thoroughly aroused to the importance of the present political crisis, that though all his sympathies were in the cause of the South—he had been advised that it would defeat his usefulness to the cause, by taking too decided a partizan-part in the questions at issue, as the other portion of the Democracy are only waiting the moment to establish an out and out free soil paper here; Burke so far seems to lean to the Southern side. Mr. Ritchie says that he is decidedly so in his feelings.

Mr. Ritchie addressed me a note last evening wishing to know whether I had heard from or could give him any information in regard to your views or wishes. My devotion to you and the interests you sustain may pardon my presumption in offering myself as a medium of communication, should you desire it, indirectly, or otherwise, with the Union or others, the same feeling being a guarantee for discretion.

Mr. Holmes has been here and I think discovers that he has committed a blunder in his unqualified devotion to the no party President, as yet the phials of his wrath are poured out upon the Cabinet or Regency for it is nothing else. H. E. declares that he was elected by the Whigs to carry out Whig measures—so far he certainly has respected most faithfully his obligations to that party for no one has received an appointment for other than brawling party service while they do not even attempt to play the farce any longer of requireing qualifications. Their Organs openly justify such a policy and proclaim the intention to act upon it. For my part I long to escape from this infected political atmosphere—else to plunge more deeply into it. Nothing would please me better than that my husband should be connected with a newspaper at this time. I cannot say what out pospects are in regard to the appointment. Clayton appears very favorable towards Mr Greenhow—commends his great talents and acquirements, says that he has a right on account of his services etc., but I cannot bring myself to give faith to the sincerity of this just appreciation. It is said that the Premiers aspirations are already directed toward the Presidency, hence all his patronage will be used for that end.

Our City continues healthy, there are as yet no certain cases of Cholera—it has been very fatal in Richmond almost causing an entire cessation of business. We have been greatly injured by it. Mr. Greenhows property being in the centre of the town has been deserted by the tenants-tis extending on the James River. Mr. Carter has been obliged to abandon his harvest which was never finer. Mr. Greenhow

has been quite ill but is somewhat better, his has been an affection of the head attended with great prostration. Mr. Greenhow joins in best wishes to yourself and family.

From D. L. Yulee

St. Augustine [Fla.,] *July 10, 1849*

My dear Sir The overt treason of Benton and Clay, and the coalescing process going on in the Northern States between the Free Soil and Democratic organizations, added to the now manifest indifference of the President and probable hostility of his Cabinet, brings us to a point at which it seems to me the Southern States must decide their course without further delay. To palter any longer with the question is to surrender, and surrender involves not disgrace only, but ruin also.

It would appear from the indications upon the political surface that so far as California is concerned, it is expected by our enemies and the idea is said to be encouraged by the administration, that a State organization in that territory, and the presentation of a State constitution and Representation at the next session will settle all differences, and that the South will accept this evasion as an adjustment. For one I cannot. It is but one of the modes, and a most effective one, of sealing our exclusion from these territories, before our emigrants have had time to reach their destination and establish their due influence in the direction of affairs there. But if even the South was willing to fall asleep in the lap of the Delilah of the North, and allow her locks to be shorn and her power dissipated by the addition of a new free State, and the consequent irreversible supremacy of Northern power in the Union, there are other issues preparing against us which we must meet. Nothing can be more plain than that the extinction of Slavery in the District of Columbia, and of the inter State Slave migration, and, if Northern politicians can arrange it, Canadian annexation, are to rise into the consequence of distinct political issues. The North I fear is to be embodied against us. We can only meet her by embodying the South in unmistakable unity of action. How is this to be done? We have treacherous influences in our midst to subdue, and an indifference amounting to apathy to be overcome. Yet I believe the mass of the South is prepared for the course of duty. Some mode of eliciting the manifestation of public mind, and of concentrating its purpose and efforts, is essential, and that before the next meeting of Congress. I doubt if the occasional meetings which occur in the Southern States having reference to the subject (and far different from the organized movements in your State) will answer the purpose. They have probably done all

the good which can be expected from isolated action. Some movement of a more systematic and pervading character it seems to me ought now to be resorted to. Are you prepared to advise? What ought the South to do? To what point should we direct our steps?

A convention of this county will meet next month to consider our Federal relations, and it is not unlikely its proceedings will have some share in influencing the tone of the rest of the State. It seems like a vain vaporing to meet and resolve what our rights are, unless we at the same time resolve to resist agression of them, and proceed to do so—for the aggression is impending. Besides I think the people can best be aroused by a *call to action*. But how to act? What to do? that is the point to be considered. Shall we shape our action to the contingency of a convention of the Southern States, or of a convention of the United States. If the first shall it be a convention based upon popular appointment, or regular state appointment—that is to say, by primary meetings, or the more imposing act of the Legislatures of the States. If to the last (a convention of the United States) shall we move it at this time or a later stage of the issues. Or is there any mode of action which is to be preferred. For myself, convinced that the inevitable alternative, if our honor is to be preserved, is an amendment of the compact of union, or its dissolution, I am quite prepared to meet the issue in this shape at once. As I once before remarked to you there is an elementary antagonism in the social structure of the two sections which will render their continued political connection as equals impracticable, unless by some amendment of the constitution a check can be provided against the aggressions of the more powerful northern section of the States. I am willing to try if such an amendment is practicable, but failing in this, I think the truest and best policy is to take steps at once for a separation. We must have domestic security, and fireside peace. We must hold and enjoy our customs and property in tranquility. If the Govt of the Union cannot exist consistently with these primary necessities, it fails of one of the first purposes of Govt and should be abandoned. Our institutions or the Union must yield, if the North presses her advantage under the compact. We must change our social or political structure. We must abandon slavery or the Union at once (unless the terms of compact can be amended), for the attempt to maintain both will only be to whet a knife for the throats of our families and selves.

The Independence of the Pacific States might solve the difficulty, so far as the accession of those States to the Northern Power is concerned, and I am nearly prepared to say I wd recommend and sustain them in an independent organization. This wd relieve us of the Wilmot Proviso question for the time and by crippling the Northern Power and arresting its unrestrained accendency in the Federal

Legislature, postpone any dangerous collision, until by the division of Texas, and the possible acquistition of Cuba, we might be in a position to check any such increase of free States as would settle their proponderance in the Government.

These are very crude reflections—thrown out hastily. To return to the object of this letter. We rest upon your wisdom to advise the South properly in this our great emergency. Are you prepared to advise, or would you prefer more time.

Perhaps preliminary to a Southern convention, or to Southern action, a consultation between the States should take place. Several modes occur to me for effecting this. The Governors of the several Southern States might be recommended by their several constituencies to assemble at some convenient point to consult and advise a course; or a convention in each State might as in So. Ca. organize a central committee of vigilance and these committees from the several States might assemble together for general consultation; or a few leading spirits from each State might meet by private arrangement to confer together, and devise some systematic movement; or we might organize a State Rights Republican party, and hold a National Convention, admitting all States from which Representatives subscribing to our tenets might come, for the purpose of erecting a platform of State Rights as antagonist to the Buffalo platform. Most of the Southern Democrats, a large part of the Southern Whigs, and a considerable strength from the free States might thus I think be embodied in what would eventually become the renovated Republican party. We must have some distinctive organization by which we may *be separated* from the enemies of the Rights of the States, whether those enemies claim to be democrats, whigs, or abolitionists.

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From R. B. Rhett

JULY 19TH 1849

MY DEAR SIR I congratulate you on your successful vindication of yourself from the malignant aspersions of Benton, in connexion with the Southern Address and your still more successful conviction of Benton himself of his long practical treason to the South.[91] This hatred of you, I really believe arises more from the conviction, that your influence in the South was adverse to his schemes of self-exaltation at the expense of our honor and safety than from any other cause. But whether his ambition or his enmity has drawn him in [to] opposition to your course, his influence in the South must now be gone, or the South is gone. If an avowed enemy to our institutions

[91] Benton attacked Calhoun in a speech at Jefferson City, Mo., May 26, 1849. Calhoun's reply was dated July 5, "To the People of the Southern States." It was published originally in the Pendleton Messenger, and later in the Washington Union and the Charleston Mercury.

can keep himself in the confidence of the Southern People they are self-destroyed. But I hope for better things. Benton as a Southern statesman is killed. Congress will not pass the Wilmot Proviso or any kindred measure, altho' there will be no end to anti-slavery aggressions in some form or other. The expedient which we will next have to meet, to master us will be admitting Free-States and excluding Slave-States from the Union. Here they will act within the Constitutional competency of Congress, and if submitted to with fatal effect. On the present issues the South will triumph, but all such victories only shift the ground of battle, with encreased strength to our foes, and encreased weakness to us. On this account I am sorry to come to the conviction that there is no chance for the Wilmot Proviso, or the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia at the approaching Congress. Would to God, they would do both, and let us have the contest, and end it once and forever. It would then accomplish our emancipation, instead of that of our slaves. But the Northern statesmen will commit I am satisfied no such blunder. We are put off to another and more formidable contest.

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From R. I[?]. Moses.

Columbus Ga. *July 26 1849*

Dear Sir As I do not propose to tax your time with an acknowledgment of this, I trust that I will not be deem'd unduly obtrusive, in expressing to you the pleasure I received from a perusal of your reply to the Missouri Senator. It is regarded by both parties in this region as a triumphant vindication of your own course, and with it the rights of the South, the two being so identical, that to repel an attack upon one necessarily involves a defence of the other. The recent letters of Mr. Clay, Col Benton, Mr. Van Buren and the speech of his son John at the Free Soil Convention, have tended to arouse both parties in Western Geo. and while the Democracy try to prove Gen. Cass' letter more acceptable to Southern feeling, (which it is not) and the Whigs still pretend to hope for better things from the present administration (which they can scarcely from the indications *expect*) yet there is evidently an excited feeling in the masses of both parties which has not been heretofore evinced and the impression is gaining ground rapidly, that the issue may be postponed but cannot be averted, and therefore the sooner it comes the better.

The Whig *politicians* evidently desire to keep matters quiet lest the Harmony of the party may be disturbed, while the Democrats have no such wish, but for this I do not accord to the Democrats any more "patriotism" than the Whigs, they have only changed places

since the Presidential election. At the Baltimore Convention the Democrats show'd as much party-fealty, and were as willing to make sacrifices for harmony as the Whigs are now. The safety of the South depends less upon the patriotism of her politicians than it does upon the boldness of her opponents. The North is becoming reckless and will ere long place signs in the political horizon that the *people* will be able *to see with their own vision* and not through the partial lenses of political partisans. Whenever this state of things arrives I judge from the tone of public feeling among the masses of both parties, that despite of all influences they will stand by their rights under the Constitution. And still if South Carolina were not a State of the Union, I should be less confident, for I do not feel certain that even Virginia would break the chains. The *people might be deceived by politicians* into a false security, until the time for resistance had passed, but I have no such fears for Carolina, and when she takes her stand an attempt to co-erce her *cannot be concealed* from the people of the other Southern States, and in a confidence that they will not stand by passively, is my great hope, that vassalage will not be our children's heritage.

I have taken no active part in Politics since last summer. My whole soul is absorbed in "the Southern question." And for that I have but three arguments; myself and two sons! They are young, but old enough to die, if the price of a protracted life is to be submission to an uncontrolled majority.

My present residence is in Columbus Georgia. My resting place shall be in my native State whenever she requires her sons to defend her soil.

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From Willis L. Williams

St. Louis, Mo. *31 July 1849.*

My dear Sir:

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Benton is west of us still, addressing the dear people and although he ought to be put down, and with proper management might be, yet it is hard to bring those who have lauded and feared him so long, to act independently against him. Our population is hardly enlightened enough, but still, he is surrounded with much more powerful opposition and more unanimous too, than he has had to encounter here for twenty years. Large numbers of the most prominent men in different portions of the State, are fully committed against his course, both on the Wilmot proviso question, and his appeal. Until your address came here, no one had thought of his disobedience of the former resolutions, which will no doubt be now pressed home

upon him with some effect. If Atchison [92] had the ability to meet him in debate, and would do it, he could fix his fate. If Green [93] of the House, would stick close to him, he might put him down, but you can't conceive of the cowardice of his constituents, when they are called upon to act against him. I was in our Legislature in 1844–5, when his last election came on, and we Whigs wanted only eleven votes wherewith to defeat him, but not a man in the State could be found to oppose him. I mean, of course, not a democrat. It is still too much the case, but we have hopes that by a union of the disaffected democracy and Whigs, at the next Session, he may be defeated, a consummation most devoutly to be wished. And yet there will be another difficulty. Many of our Whigs are northern men, or Kentuckians, and by means of their intelligence occupy seats in the legislature, and they are generally *proviso* men. So that no one can divine the result of matters. I trust something may turn up at Washington this winter and Session, that may lead him to take a leap that shall destroy him. "Quem Deus vult perdere ect," Geyer,[94] Bates,[95] and others, old Whigs and able men, have long since given up all effort to put him down with the ignorant Jackson populace here, and those of us who are younger, and less talented, but more ardent and sanguine, are generally too poor to spare the time.

You see that I am a Whig, but I am a Southerner in all that concerns her peculiar institutions. Born in Williamsboro, a little town in Granville Co. settled by my ancestors, when I desert the land of my nativity and whatever is calculated to advance her to prosperity and renown, may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth. I wish you were a Whig too, but perhaps then you might not wield the influence so necessary in this heated hour to attach to your honored name. No party as such merely can claim you, for you have ever been above its shackles that bind to the earth both Soul and body.

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From Thomas G. Clemson

BRUSSELS [BELGIUM,] *August 1st, 1849.*

MY DEAR SIR,

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As to the rest of the continent, things look bad indeed. The sword and bayonet is once more become the governing principle.

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[92] David R. Atchison, of Missouri, was Senator, 1843–1855.

[93] James S. Green, a Democrat of Missouri, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1847–1851; Senator, 1857–1861.

[94] Henry Sheffie Geyer, of Missouri, declined the position of Secretary of War under Fillmore in 1850; Senator, 1851–1857.

[95] Edward Bates, of Missouri, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1827–1829; presided at the Whig National Convention in 1856; Attorney General under Lincoln, 1861–1864.

Had France thrown her armies on the Rhine and into Italy there would not have been a monarch upon a throne from the Baltic to the Mediteranean. You perceive that the Republic of France has restored the Pope, that Russia is assisting Austria to crush the Hungarians, etc. The probability is that the governments of Europe, from present appearances, will become more despotic than they have ever been. Liberty and Monarchy on the continent appear to be incompatible words. Without instruction the people cannot retain power after having conquered it and there is nothing to prepare them for taking government into their own hands. Emigration from Europe to the United States is becoming greater. Few have ever gone from Belgium, but it is now becoming quite fashionable here. Some of my friends have sold out their property even at a great sacrifice and are going with their families and all the property they can scrape.

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By the last steamer I forwarded a power of Attorney to Mr. Pickens for the sale of my place. Had I remained in the United States, I would not have agreed to sell my place and negroes for thirty thousand dollars, including all my stock, implements, etc. But as I could not live there, and had no one to attend to my interests, it may be fortunate for me to have sold at any price. It is a lesson that has cost me dear. I hope to be done with Southern property, and shall feel greatly relieved, and thankful when what I have is safely invested in a country where it will yield me an interest of which I have been deprived for years.

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From A. W. Venable [96]

BROWNSVILLE [N. C.,] *August 7th 1849*

MY DEAR SIR I have deferred writing to you until this moment in order that I might give you a true state of the political history of this part of North Carolina. I arrived at home on the 6th of March our court day and immediately declared myself a candidate for Congress upon the platform of my speech of the 4th February 1849, the necessity of retaliation on the part of the Slaveholding States, Resistance prompt and open. As I expected there was immediately an organized opposition on the part of the Whigs and some overtures made to certain Democratic individuals to ascertain whether I could not be effectually opposed by one of my own party with the promise of Whig support. There was on the part of some Hunkerish Democrats an attempt to get up a convention to rule me off upon the ground that my recommended measures would produce immediate disunion.

[96] Abraham Watkins Venable, a Democrat of North Carolina, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1847–1853.

This signally failed and I declared myself an independent candidate upon the great Southern Question. A Whig convention nominated a talented young man as my competitor and the campaign opened. My health gave away about the middle of May and I was compelled to canvass a large district in a state so feeble as almost to render it impossible for me to travel. Had I been within the reach of the specific influences which produce cholera I must have had an attack of that disease. But although greatly emaciated and reduced I continued an active canvass. The whole Whig press of the State denounced me as a factionist, disorganiser and disunionist. The whole north[ern] press Whig and abolitionist flooded my district with assaults upon my political course; singing hallelujas to the Union, publishing extracts of Washingtons farewell address and one of our own senators together with divers others found amongst us Bentons speech at Jefferson city, and Truman Smith's[97] circulars, and libels, upon the Democracy, covered [?] with Mr. Badgers[98] Frank in many instances were brought to bear in aid of the most zealous and untiring efforts of every Whig leader in the District. The issue was made distinctly resistance or non resistance disunion or union in the event of continued oppression. After a most laborious struggle I have carried my district by a majority of 719 against a majority of 153 two years ago. This is a complete triumph of the high principles announced in the Southern address and the still more definite measures of resistance suggested by myself in my last speech in the house. I must acknowledge your kindness in sending me your reply to Benton. I had however effectually silenced that speech before it reached me a few days before the election. For the ability to do so I am indebted to facts derived from the perusal of the manuscript which you lent me containing the causes of the disorganization of the Democratic party in 1839 and the many conversations all of which I perpetuated in my memoranda book so far as facts and dates were concerned. My vindication of your course was considered perfectly triumphant and Bentons miserable falsehoods fully exposed. But your reply came in time to crush and destroy the last remaining vitality of his miserable attempt. As I expected I was taunted as one of your followers of recent conversion and of course burning zeal. But as those who threw the taunts had mostly been nullifiers I took a malicious pleasure in illustrating their renegade course.

The battle is fought and victory is won. Daniel[99] is elected over a Hunkerish Democrat by a majority of 2700. Things look better in this State and I trust that there will be a general reaction.

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[97] Truman Smith, a Whig of Connecticut, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1839–1843, 1845–1849; Senator, 1849–1854.

[98] George Edmond Badger, a Whig of North Carolina, was Senator, 1846–1855.

[99] John Reeves Jones Daniel, a Democrat of North Carolina, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1841–1854.

From L. S. Hoe [?]

MEMPHIS [TENN.,] *Augt 20th 1849.*

DEAR SIR The foregoing[1] is an extract from the Washington Union of the 6th Inst.

If Northern Abolition seconded by Southern traitors had not deterred our people from removing to California with their slaves by raising the cry of free soilism I possibly for one might have schooled myself barely to bear the foregoing. But the running freesoiler whose life was saved by southern valor at Buena Vista, the same who refusing to fight at Cerro Gordo left the victory to be purchased by the blood of the South, even before the treaty of peace raised the insulting cry that we should not have equal rights in the Country it was foreseen Mexico would have to yield. This has worked its effect. The position of the Union is all the North can desire in view of the orders given by Taylors Cabinet to Genl. Riley.[2] Non intervention as effectually excludes us as if the Wilmot Proviso had passed at the date of the peace.

I feel a most solemn conviction that the South must arouse from its negative position and assume that of the lion or this necessary outlet to drain off our surplus slave population will be cut off from us and the doom of our children sealed.

What is to be done? The miscalled Missouri Compromise was forced upon us by Northern votes. In an evil moment it was submitted to. The North has reaped the advantage of that oppression upon us. Does not the crisis demand of us to say to the North you forced this line upon us. We yielded. You shall respect the spirit of that enforced rule. It shall be slave territory up to 36° 30′ to the Pacific. This we will maintain if necessary at the point of the bayonet.

Let this be our sine qua non to be enforced at all hazards and to the last extremity and I feel an abiding faith that the North will yield. But if I am mistaken in this I feel it is the duty of the South to build the wall of separation.

I know too well the temper of Arkansas, Mississippi and West Tennessee to entertain the least fear of their firmness in meeting the issue. The necessary measures might easily be adopted to bring all the slave states to a common cause.

I have written my own notions plainly. This is no time for mincing terms. The South is not aroused to the danger. To sleep a few months longer must be fatal.

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[1] "That Congress shall abstain from all legislation in relation to the subject of slavery; leaving it to the people of the Territories themselves to make the necessary provision for their eventual admission into the Union, and to regulate their internal concerns in their own way."

[2] Gen. Bennett Riley was the head of the *de facto* government in California left by the conquest. He called the convention which adopted a constitution prohibiting slavery.

From Wilson Lumpkin

ATHENS [GA.,] *August 27th, 1849.*

MY DEAR SIR My long silence must be charged, to the want of something more cheering to dwell upon. To me the political horizon is still overspread with gloom and darkness.

I have to a great extent lost confidence in the virtue and intelligence of our Southern people. I fear they are not capable of *wise self Government*. I fear they will, for the sake of a few loaves and fishes, shrink from maintaining their rights and liberty. Many of the political leaders of the present day, are selfish corrupt men; the press to a very great extent is subservient to these men. Thus the people are often mislead, because the truth never reaches them. Since I last wrote to you, I have closely observed passing events. The Southern Address, your reply to Benton, and everything else which I have seen in regard to your course, has my undivided approbation. But sir, upon the slave question, So. Car. is the only State in the union prepared to do her whole duty. All the other States falter in part. With a single exception in Geo[rgia] the Whig press shrink from speaking out in a manly tone. And the Democratic press in this State, is not entirely free from the influence of former associations with Van Buren and Benton. We have an office seeking faction in Georgia, who look to nothing but self agrandisement, and the spoils of office. They have been reared in the New York school of politics, and of course feel but little of the true spirit of Southern Patriotism.

These men with Richie at their head, are still ready to fraternize with the Free Soilers of New York, upon all questions but that of slavery, and call themselves, the Old Republican party of the Union, and claim Mr. Jefferson as their founder.

The slave question is obviously a vital one to the South. And if we do not stand aloof, from all parties and individuals, who trample upon our constitutional rights touching this subject, we may give up the ship. I plainly see efforts making, and steps taken by many of the leaders of both parties, to prepare the public mind of the South, for that degradation, which fanaticism and designing aspiration, have decreed shall be the fate of our beloved Southern portion of the Union.

The new administration, is obviously using every exertion to avoid responsibility, by urging upon the mixed multitude now found in California, the speedy formation, of what they call a State government; and thus exclude the South from all her rights in the Territory. Had Genl. Cass been elected to the Presidency, the very same course would have been pursued. And I fear, and believe, a majority of our people, in the slave holding states, will favor submission to this base and vile project of selfish political partizans. Taylor's utter want of qualifications for the high office which he holds, leaves us without

hope from that quarter. He must be a perfect Automaton in the hands of others.

Corruption has gotten too deep a hold upon the politicians and press of our country, for us to indulge the hope, that we can unite the South in self defense, even upon this vital slave question. And nothing short of union upon this subject, can save us from degradation and horrors, which the strongest language, can but faintly depict. You and myself, may struggle through our few remaining days. But in the last hour, I fear we shall not be consoled with the prospects, which await posterity in this section of our Union. And yet the Almighty has in his goodness lavished upon us, all the blessings of soil, climate, etc., etc. If our political institutions could be preserved, in full force, according to the letter and spirit of the Constitution, I ask no more. And for less than that I will never willingly compromise. After a manly resistance, I may submit to *Brute* force. But with my dying breath, I will still protest, against the Demon spirit which has thus reduced me. If I was not a believer in providence, I should be very unhappy. But I trust in God, and hence have I hope. It seems to me, that a great struggle awaits the Southern States similar to that which is now going on in Kentucky and Misouri. Men like Clay and Benton are to be found in all the Southern States, men of tallents, determined to rule or ruin. And it appears to me more than probable, that such men, by the progress of things at present going on, will be encouraged at no distant day, to hoist the anti-slavery Banner, in most of the slave holding States; should this be the case, it will soon be recorded—The slave holding States, *were*.

We still have in Georgia, very many strong and Patriotic men. And we have honest able and Patriotic men, conducting many of our presses. Our governor is sound to the core on the slave question. But there is a *leaven* in both parties working mischief. The *leaven* of love of power and office.

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From Rose Greenhow

WASHINGTON [D. C.,] *August 29th, 1849.*

MY DEAR SIR Your last letter to me was received a few days before my departure from Washington upon a brief visit to Pennsylvania—not however before I had endeavoured to arrouse in Mr. Ritchie a cord responsive to the call of patriotism and Country at this crisis. He says that he agrees with your views upon the cardinal points at issue between the North and South but depricats agitation at this moment as he conceives that the public mind if allowed to rest will be more apt to resume a healthful state. The truth is upon

the mere truckling politician there can be little or no reliance, their own interests is the beacon which guides them and the supremacy of party takes precidence of all more sacred obligations.

From the information which I have had of late opened to me I think that the "Union" cannot stand much longer with its present Editors, universal dissatisfaction exists in regard to it. I think that you will be pleased to learn how compleatly the free soil party has been eradicated in Pennsylvania, it was brought into being by Mr. Polks appointment and the Baltimore Convention. Mr. Buchanan has stood by the South most effectively and has done what no other man but him could have done and put down that dangerous agitation. He says that the fate of this Union depends upon the firm and unwavering front which the South may present next Winter. That they should insist upon three things, that the Wilmot Proviso should be droped or rejected, that Congress should pass laws to enable Southern Slave holders to reclaim their property wherever found, which is neither more or less than insisting that the Constitution shall be observed and finally that the agitation in regard to abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia shall cease. He says thus far he will go with you heart and soul, and that Pennsylvania will stand by you in the assertion of your just rights, and in resisting the encroachments of the North. He says that he thinks all new elements of excitement ought to be droped at this moment as inexpedient. Such as the insisting upon the establishment of Slavery in the new territories as it can never be other than the abstract question of right without practical utility and would certainly embarrass the question at issue. He says moreover, that he thinks the South should concede the establishment of the laws of Maryland over the District, so as to prevent its being a Slave market, and the existance of those pens for slaves should be abolished, but not at this crisis would he recommend that they should yield this point even, but simply to drop the question of slavery in the new territories, neither allowing prohibatory laws, or laws in its favor; as the law of nature which is paramount, will settle how far that institution can exist. Mr. Buchanan regrets that the Missouri Compromise line was not adopted as the Cuba question could never be raised had that been the case. These are his views which have been boldly pressed in correspondances which I have seen when recently written to in regard to the establishment of a free soil paper at Washington, in more than a dozen instances, to my knowledge, for I have seen both sides, ending with most urgent remonstrances against the encroachments of the North, upon Southern Rights.

Your letter to Mr Greenhow was received yesterday. Now I must tell you the progress of the Cuba affair.[3] The main spring

[3]The reference is to the Round Island expedition for the liberation of Cuba.

or mover in the matter has just left me, having taken a parting breakfast, before starting on the perilous undertaking. The expedition will sail on Saturday, that is to say a steamer with a thousand men from New York or some point North with one part of the forces, and a steamer of a thousand tons with 12 or 15 hundred more, from New Orleans simultaneously well armed and equiped composed of picked men, and officers, ready for the perils the profits and honours of the venture. We think that all the elements of success are with them, as every chance has been calculated and everything which prudence and fore thought could suggest done to ensure full success. The Government here are in the secret and have done no more in the Matter of the *Proclamation* than regard for *appearances demanded.* The first fifteen days is the time of trial, and they invoke the moral aid, of all true hearts, who desire the incorporation of that ocean gem, in our sisterhood of States, and of all who sympathise with a people groaning under the Yoke of tyrany, determined to acheive freedom or die in the struggle. I send an extract from the Spanish paper published in New York under the supervision of the Spanish Minister here, it speaks for itself and I think ought to be published in every paper throughout this Union.

From Benjamin Gardner [4]

EUFAULA [ALA.], *Sept. 5, 1849.*

DEAR SIR, I take the liberty of addressing you this letter for the purpose of obtaining your views upon the propriety and practicability of a subject which I desire to bring before the Legislature of this State, (Alabama), and through that body, before the people of the South, if after mature reflection, it should be deemed advisable. I allude to the subject of our rights in the new territories.

Much has been said and written upon the question of the restriction by Congress of slavery in California and New Mexico; of the injustice and unconstitutionality of the Wilmot Proviso; of the great and unyielding necessity of maintaining our rights and our *honor at all hazards*, and under all circumstances; but I have looked in vain for any proposition by which our rights may be secured, our honor maintained or our equality preserved. I consider the Wilmot Proviso, so far as any *practical* results are concerned entirely harmless, as slavery, in the present aspect of affairs, can never obtain a foothold in the territories, even should that obnoxious and unconstitutional measure never be engrafted upon the statute books, and consequently, we are as effectually excluded, as if it were adopted a thousand times over. Now, it is highly important to the South in a political as well as a domestic point of view, that she should have her full share in our

[4] Benjamin Gardner was a member of the Alabama Legislature.

late acquisitions. It is unnecessary for me, in addressing *you*, to give the reasons which have led me to this conclusion,—they have doubtless suggested themselves to your own mind long since, and I am apprised that you comprehend fully their force and truthfulness. The question then, very naturally arises, what should the South do, in this great emergency, to maintain her equality in the Union and secure her rights in the new territories? I have thought much upon the subject, and have come to the conclusion that there is but one course which she can adopt, which promises any good *practical* results, or which can, in any wise, place her upon an equal footing with the North in our late acquisitions. That plan is this:—that each Southern State shall arm and equip a regiment of volunteer emigrants and send them to California, under its own auspices, with positive instructions to conform to all the laws usages and customs of the people there, which do not conflict with the rights of the South, and to protect those who may emigrate with them from among us, in the full enjoyment of their property of whatever description, should any effort be made, either by savages, Mexicans, or others to wrest if from them.

Having been elected a member of the Alabama Legislature from this (Barbour) County,—and feeling the great importance of the subject to which I have called your attention, as well as the necessity of union and concert of action on the part of the Southern States in this crisis, I desire to inform myself fully upon this question, that as a Representative, I may act advisedly, deliberately and for the good of the whole country,—therefore, having confidence in your judgement and ability as a statesman, I solicit, most respectfully your views upon this important subject. Should your opinions be adverse to the proposition I have suggested, I would be gratified to receive any other from you, which in your judgement, would be productive of more beneficial results.

It may not be amiss for me to add, in conclusion, that I am a *Whig*—an ardent supporter of the present Administration, and a Southern man by birth, education and in principle.

From Thomas G. Clemson

BRUSSELS, [BELGIUM,] *July* [*probably Sept or Oct.*] *1849.*

MY DEAR SIR We received by the last steamer your letter dated Fort Hill August 24 together with your reply to Benton in pamphlet form. I had read it some time since in the newspapers. It appears to be triumphant and very severe, which he merited. Could you have made it shorter it would have been more generally read, but I do not see how you could have curtailed it.

As to the state of Europe the change that has taken place in the last two months is very great, but neither surprising or unexpected. The people have spent their blood, their enthusiasm and their money, without having gained near as much as they might have done, had their efforts been well matured or well directed. In France, the Republic (such as it is) is fixed upon them in spite of themselves. They would do well under the present form of government, if the leaders were pure, moral or religious, but as it is, the people are uneducated and have become the pliant tools of those who live by their wits. The longer the present form of government lasts the stronger will become the conservative party. As to the liberty of the press, it does not exist, but the universal suffrage will be more difficult to take away. Where it will carry them time alone can tell. In France as well as Germany, but more particularly the latter, property is in the hands of the few; they are adverse to all changes, and particularly where the changes are against them. Hungary as you have learned by the papers could resist no longer. The sword and bayonet rule east of the Rhine and monarchy with its accompanying standing armies have nothing to fear at present. Some pretend that other revulsions may be anticipated before a very long time, but I do not think it probable, the people are exhausted and it is impossible for them to compete with power and the well organized armies that have become more wary since the late upheavings. Republicanism here is synonimous with socialism, and the example of France is not calculated to make prosylites. The funds are rising everywhere and there is as much order and tranquility throughout Europe as ever existed. There is no denying one fact and that is that all the powers of Europe are deeply and I think hopelessly in debt, how they are to escape bankruptcy remains to be seen. What is also true is that the existence of the actual governments depends on their standing armies, which absorb all their resources. To disarm would be the end of monarchy, and with the present forces ruin stares them in the face. Even in this quiet little country if the army was disbanded, Leopold would not remain two weeks on the throne, and of this monarchs are prefectly aware.

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From J. Raven Mathews

7th Oct 1849 [Georgia.]

My Dear Sir I recd. your note and have communicated its contents to my sister and the Doctor which in their reply is satisfactory. The Elections in this State are over and as much indifference by

both parties, I have never seen. I freely conversed with men of distinction on both sides and they both expected the same apathy would be the result. The fact is the Whig and Democ. extreme Wings unconsciously found themselves exposed to be approaching the outstretched arms of the abolitionists and a murmur of disapprobation was universally made—The Auga. Sentinel & Chrol. said to be in the interest of Tombs and Stephs., the Athens Banner, also in Cobb and Lumpkins[5]—There certainly is a great pause in the activity of all parties in this State and fortunately no election will occurr before the Bone muscle and sinew will have time to reflect and see the fatal gulf yawning at their feet. These two papers used your name as the Pis Aller for diverting the Public gaze and attention from the true reasons why the noncomformists to your and Judge Berriens papers did not sign but I think they have rather opend the door of investigation through their own columns. The question which they started was whether J. C. Calhoun or Tommy the Traitor[6] stood erect—by universal consent the latter has been placed where like Lucifer "never to hope again." The remaining question affords the people to enquire and read what has the former done and been doing all his life. The answer of both parties is that Tommy has betray'd the South and that John C. Calhoun has sacrificed his own national Rights of Promotion to stand by Southern Constitutional Rights. Every portion of Georgia has been interchanging Ideas this summer. We here have had crowds from the Mountains to the Seaboard, and depend upon it that our Rail Rds and Northern Cholera have done more for the South in political enlightenment than ten thousand speeches in Congress, and that these will yet be the means of striking more terror to the Soul of the Northern Tyrant than all that has been done by Congressional Resolutions, speeches and fending and provising Editoriral squibs. My idea is now to seriously and calmly, but carefully arrange for forming a third or Southern party, making no charges against who *was* wrong or right in past excitements at Home or at Washington—otherwise we shall have each one that is obnoxious becoming a Sangrado—better the whole village die than his published theories be recanted. Reconciliation should be the watchword to all save Tommy. The Presidential question by which all our rights have been whittled down will then be in place of our growing weakness made our pillar of strength. We can tender that office to the party who will most rigidly adhere to the Constitution and protect thereby the Peace and property of the South. This third party may become then the

[5] John Henry Lumpkin, a Democrat of Georgia, was a Member of the House of Representatives, 1843-1849, 1855-1857.

[6] Thomas Hart Benton.

ballance of power party, whereas we are now like unto the 2 litigious cats, the monkey, and the cheese. The Northern Whig and Democ. parties agitation of the Presidential question, and Southern Rights held forever in the Ballance and at every canvass a piece of cheese is bit off or yielded to ballance the scale either in favour of the Black or white Cat. I have already fatigued you unintentionally, enclosed is a carricature of my meaning.

* * * * * * *

From J. H. Howard

COLUMBUS [GA.,] *Octr. 8, '49.*

DEAR SIR

* * * * * * *

Had I been elected [to the Georgia Legislature] I should have passed resolutions pointing to some *definite* action (If I could) and appointed a committee composed of part members and part leading and talented citizens, to bear these resolutions to each slave holding State. I would if I could have succeeded, had an able committee to present the resolutions for each Southern State so as to have had our views laid before all the States at the same time. These were my views, be kind enough to give them some thought and write me. It is also my opinion that the best move the Southern members of Congress can make, is to boldly take the initiative and bring in a bill ordering a line to be *run* and *marked out* 36° 30′; let the territories on both sides be organized, *neither* though with the Wilmot proviso. This will leave the South privileged to go beyond 36° 30′ if they choose, subject to be overruled by the opponents of slavery, if they should be in the majority at the time it is proper to be admitted as States. While the marking the line on 36° 30′ will point to them a place where they will in all probability be secure against such majority. The Whigs I presume will desire to get clear of the whole question by admitting the whole country as a State or States. Whether *with* or *without* the proviso it is *too soon*. It is a *fraud* upon the South and should not be submitted to. If California and New Mexico were both now admitted as a State or States without the proviso they would with their present population exclude slaveholders the first session after their admission. Will you be kind enough in *confidence* to give me your opinions in regard to the course, Southern members of Congress should pursue at the next session; also what preventive remedy Southern legislatures should present *before* the meeting of Congress.

From Elwood Fisher

NEW YORK [N. Y.,] *10 Mo. 29, 1849.*

DEAR FRIEND

* * * * * * *

I saw a letter not long since from Senator Atchison who speaks confidently—positively—of Bentons defeat in Missouri; an event which after the result in Kentucky would seem to be highly probable. I think it also very probable that Clay and his colleague will be instructed by the Kentucky legislature to vote against the Proviso or resign. In this part of the country Abolitionism does not appear to be so strong as it has been. This I think results from the unexpected firmness and unanimity of the south. But it is also owing to the current expectation that California will have population enough to entitle her to admission as a state and that her Constitution will exclude slavery. I have suggested to many that even if there are enough people there for a state, they reside on or near the Sacramento and north of 36° 30′, and may be admitted with limits proper for a state, leaving all the territory south open to Southern emigration, and that the south will never consent that the few now in that vast territory shall control it all, but may agree to their admission with proper limits on the express condition that the south shall have south of that line. Even such an agreement as that however would be rather hazardous for the south, as it would let in a state that might unite with the other northern states to violate such a compact.

* * * * * * *

From John A. Calhoun

CEDAR GROVE [S. C.], *Decr. 14th 1849*

DEAR UNCLE I informed you in may last of my intention to visit Columbia. Having just returned from thence, I will give you some account of matters there.

I found quite a strong feeling on the Southern question, but a marked deficiency in concert, and a decided want of intelligence in discussing the means of meeting it. The plan finally fixed on (the final action had not been taken) I think will do *tolerably well.* This no doubt you have seen before this letter shall have reached you. The great difficulty of the Legislature's meeting this question properly arises in part from a want of general intelligence, but mainly from the influence of faction. I was forcibly struck with the change of things since the time of my being a member of that body—ten years ago. Then our Legislature was characterized by a high degree of intelligence, and a marked freedom from the influence of faction.

Now the quantity of young men, without experience, and with but little wisdom, added to the fact that there are a set of men now rising into influence in the State, who are premeditatedly infusing into that body an intense spirit of faction—has had a decided tendency to lower the political standard of the State; and, unless checked, will even prostrate, the heretofore high character which we have enjoyed. Every question now raised in the Legislature is made to lend somewhat to these factions. Even this great Southern question is not entirely above it.

The next question before the Legislature of most importance (and the first in excitement) is the winding up [of] the State Bank. And here all the virulence of these factions are manifested. I believe a large number of those on either side of this question are honestly contending for what they think is right. But the politicans treat the matter in quite a different light. Whilst one faction look to the Bank as a means of strengthening their influence, the other factions regard it as an obstacle to their aspirations. The centers of the two main factions are to be found in *Charleston* and *Barnwell*. And although there are *minor* factions on both sides playing around these leading factions—yet here are the two great centers. The contest I can assure you is most disgusting to any one who is able to see above these factions. They have not hesitated to mix your name with it, and in my opinion neither have any love for you, but on the contrary a decided dislike. Indeed, this game [?] in connection with your name was carried to such an extent as to induce me to denounce their conduct in no measured terms. It is evident to my mind, that the leaders of both these factions, as well as some of the subordinates look upon you and your position as constituting the chief obstacle of their ambitious schemes. It was my policy to mix freely with all the factions, and in doing so have collected many facts which I think it would be well for you to know: and if you desire it shall be given. But if it is not your desire to know these this matter can rest between us. I conferred fully with Governor Seabrook on these matters and received some information from him: and he authorizes me to say that he concurs in the main with my views. I regard Mr. Elmore as your friend. But the *deep interest* he feels in the bank question has I think made him somewhat indiscreet in the use of your name. The report was that he was using your letter to him to aid the Bank cause. Knowing your desire to keep out of these State issues, I can hardly think this is done with your assent. I have no sympathy for the war now waging against the Bank, and especially the way in which it is conducted. But I think it would be your best policy to keep out of it. Write me soon and freely on this subject.

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